

Sociopolitical Development and Radical Healing in Ethnic Studies Courses: A
Quantitative Investigation of Asian Americans' Critical Consciousness and Mental
Health

by

Jean Abigail Saavedra

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Hyung Chol Yoo, Chair
Justin Jager
Jocyl Sacramento
Eleanor Seaton

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ABSTRACT

Systems of oppression like racism and colonialism pose significant threats to Asian Americans' development and mental health, and education has been used to perpetuate these oppressions worldwide. Ethnic Studies education, which focuses on the first-person perspectives of racially minoritized groups, is a promising anti-racist educational intervention that may yield two psychological benefits that can prepare Asian Americans to navigate and challenge systems of oppression: sociopolitical development and radical healing from oppression. As the sociopolitical climate around diversity education becomes increasingly polarized and as research on the developmental benefits of Ethnic Studies education grows, quantitative research is especially imperative to corroborate qualitative research, support research-driven educational policy, and explore the extent to which Ethnic Studies education contributes to anti-racist youth development and social transformation.

This dissertation quantitatively explores Ethnic Studies education as an educational intervention for anti-racist youth development and mental health promotion among Asian American college students ($N = 254$). Asian American students enrolled in college Ethnic Studies courses in 2022 were surveyed at the beginning (i.e., pre-test) and end (i.e., post-test) of their Ethnic Studies course.

Study 1 utilized latent transition analysis to examine Asian American critical consciousness development among Ethnic Studies students. Profiles were differentiated by Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators. Profile membership was predicted by various demographic factors and prior familial and school racial-ethnic socialization. In terms of transitions over time, most students who were in

pre-test latent profiles with high scores across critical consciousness indicators transitioned into post-test latent profiles with higher average scores on critical consciousness indicators.

Study 2 applies the latent profiles identified at post-test in Study 1 and found that psychological assets related to radical healing help explain differences in psychological distress between latent profiles. Implications for future research and educational practice for promoting individual and collective well-being in the context of oppression are discussed. Taken together, these studies offer quantitative support for Ethnic Studies education's potential as an intervention to bolster Asian Americans' sociopolitical development and propensity for radical healing.

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DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

Racism—a cultural system of oppression in which beliefs, interpersonal processes, and sociopolitical structures reinforce a social hierarchy based on race—has persisted in U.S. society since its inception (Causadias, 2020; Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). Research demonstrates that racism harms and disrupts positive development and mental health for racially minoritized communities in the United States (i.e., Black people, Indigenous people, and other people of color (BIPOC), including Asian Americans) (Benner et al., 2018). To protect their wellbeing and challenge racist systems, BIPOC must sharpen their critical consciousness of racism, or the critical analysis, agency, and actions that enable youth to resist racism (Mathews, 2023). This process—referred to as sociopolitical development—may help youth challenge negative self-views, interpersonal discrimination, and structural inequities reflective of racism – coping and meaning-making strategies that may protect for youth’s psychological wellbeing over time (Hope et al., 2023; Watts et al., 1999). Promoting sociopolitical development among Asian Americans is especially timely and imperative given rises in anti-Asian racism and its negative impacts on Asian Americans’ mental health since the COVID-19 pandemic (Cheng et al., 2021; Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022).

The education system is a fitting site for sociopolitical development interventions, given how schools are a key context for human development where students spend a significant amount of time across childhood and early adulthood (Eccles & Roeser, 2015; Silva-Padron & McCann, 2023). Education is also a social structure that transmits messages about race and racism, a process called school racial-ethnic socialization

(Saleem & Byrd, 2021). Across history—from Native American boarding schools to U.S. Benevolent Assimilation policies in the Philippines (Buena Vista et al., 2019; Calata, 2002; Fish & Syed, 2018)—racial-ethnic socialization via American education has reinforced a white supremacist racial hierarchy, in which education systems, policies, and norms grant White Americans disproportionate power and privilege relative to colonized BIPOC (Zamudio et al., 2011; Walsdorf et al., 2020). Today, schools continue to transmit messages about race and racism that invisibilize and ostracize Asian Americans and relegate BIPOC to subordinate social positions relative to Whites (An, 2020; Chapman et al., 2020; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Since education is a developmental context that reinforces a discriminatory status quo, challenging traditional forms of education is an intervention strategy in the pursuit of anti-racist youth development.

Ethnic Studies education, or education focused on the first-person experiences, narratives, and perspectives of BIPOC in the United States, is a promising anti-racist educational alternative to traditional education (Sacramento et al., 2023). Ethnic Studies education was formally instituted at San Francisco State University (then, San Francisco State College) and the University of California, Berkeley in the late 1960s, amidst the U.S. Civil Rights Movement for BIPOC self-determination and equity in social spheres like education, politics, and the economy (Umemoto, 1989). The contemporary goals, curricula, and pedagogy of Ethnic Studies courses—including courses in sub-disciplines like Asian American Studies, African American Studies, Native American Studies, Chicana and Latina American Studies, and more—reflect these radical beginnings. The goals of Ethnic Studies education are to humanize minoritized groups and build students’

critical consciousness of racism and oppression (Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2019). Ethnic Studies curricula—characterized by themes such as indigeneity, colonialism, hegemony, and social and ecological justice—engage students in critical analysis of social systems and power dynamics that fuel oppression and social justice in the United States (Cuauhtin, 2019). Backing these curricula is Ethnic Studies pedagogy, or teaching that is characterized by cultural responsiveness, community responsiveness, grounding in the radical purpose of Ethnic Studies, and instructors’ critical self-awareness about their identity and positionality (Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2015).

Ethnic Studies’ goals, curricula, and pedagogy suggest that students may gain two important and interrelated psychological benefits from enrollment in Ethnic Studies courses: sociopolitical development and healing from racism. This dissertation examines each of these potential benefits and how they may be interconnected in the context of Ethnic Studies courses. Study 1 of this dissertation examines how latent profiles of Asian Americans’ critical consciousness vary between the beginning and end of an Ethnic Studies course, including an analysis of demographic and racialized predictors of critical consciousness. Study 2 examines how these profiles of critical consciousness of racism differentially predict students’ mental health-related outcomes at the end of the Ethnic Studies course. Sociopolitical development via Ethnic Studies education may prompt students to challenge and transform oppressive societal structures, ultimately diminishing the scope and negative impact of these oppressive systems on the development and wellbeing of BIPOC.

Ethnic Studies education may also be an important intervention for Asian Americans' sociopolitical development and racial justice advocacy. Asian Americans' sociopolitical development is tied to their racialized experiences, wherein they experience developmental and mental health risks and benefits related to racial stereotypes like the model minority, perpetual foreigner, and yellow peril (Au, 2022; B. Chang, 2023; Chen et al., 2021; C. J. Kim, 1999). These stereotypes are activated in combinations that reinforce a white supremacist, anti-Black racial hierarchy (C. J. Kim, 1999). For example, the model minority myth portrays Asian Americans as a superior minority group relative to other BIPOC due to their hard work and willingness to assimilate to U.S. American society (Au, 2022; C. J. Kim, 1999). This label is sinisterly used to blame other BIPOC for their relative lack of success compared to Asian Americans by upholding Asian Americans as proof that American racism does not hamper minoritized groups' opportunities for success (C. J. Kim, 1999; Liu et al., 2023; V. Yi et al., 2020). One crucial logical flaw to this stereotype is that it treats Asian Americans as a monolithic racial group, ignoring the diversity of socioeconomic and educational experiences across over 20 Asian American ethnic groups (Kiang et al., 2017; Sabado-Liwag et al., 2022; Young et al., 2021). A second crucial flaw of the stereotype is that it diverts attention away to the root, structural problems that historically and contemporarily disadvantage BIPOC (C. J. Kim, 2018; C. J. Kim, 2022; V. Yi et al., 2020).

Asian Americans are also labeled as the perpetual foreigner, through which they are stereotyped as foreigners in the United States despite their citizenship status, length of U.S. residence, or acculturation levels. Both U.S. media and law—e.g., the Chinese

Exclusion Act, Gentlemen’s Agreement, Immigration Acts—relegated and reinforced this foreigner status for Asian Americans (Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2014). As the “perpetual foreigner,” Asian American histories and experiences with racism and colonialism are invisibilized—hidden and deemed unimportant, since they are assumed inessential to U.S. American social fabric (Wray-Lake et al., 2017; Yip et al., 2021)—which may limit cross-racial solidarities based on shared experiences of oppression (Merseeth, 2018; V. Yi et al., 2020).

Lastly, Asian Americans are stereotyped as the yellow peril, or as sinister invaders who warrant anxiety and pose a threat to White Americans’ economic success and safety from foreign disease (Wu et al., 2023). This rhetoric was most recently activated during the COVID-19 pandemic, with politicians’ use of language like “kung flu” and “China virus” provoking hostility and violence towards Chinese Americans (and Asian Americans more broadly) (Wang & Santos, 2022a; Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022). Historically, Asians in the United States and abroad were accused of stealing White Americans’ jobs in the railroad industry (as cheap, foreign replacements for enslaved Black people’s labor post-Civil War; Au, 2022; Karuka, 2019), agricultural industry (Martinez, 1996), and automotive industry (Ngai, 2002; Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2014). Asian Americans were also vilified for dating White women amidst anti-miscegenation laws, which constituted a threat to the all-White racial composition of communities in the United States (Habal, 1991). In response, White American men who perceived Asian Americans as threats incited deadly attacks on Asian Americans (Choy & Tajima-Peña, 1989; Habal, 1991; Martinez, 1996). This yellow peril stereotype goes

hand-in-hand with the previous stereotypes mentioned: under white supremacist zero-sum logic (Okun, 2021), Asian Americans who are successful pose a direct threat to White Americans' high status in the social and economic hierarchy; thus, public perception of Asian Americans changes from "hardworking immigrants" to "unwelcome threats."

Confronting these power dynamics is a distinct developmental task within Asian Americans' sociopolitical development, necessitating that sociopolitical development interventions expose and provoke resistance to Asian Americans' racialization as "pawns" in a racist system (Mistry & Kiyama, 2021; Saavedra & Yoo, 2023). Ethnic Studies education that uncovers histories of racism and resistance may foster Asian American students' critical social analysis and provide emotional and contextual support to explore their racialization (Saavedra et al., in preparation). As a result, students may gain a) motivation to work towards equity and resist complicity in society's white supremacist racial hierarchy, and b) psychological protection from the negative impact of racism on mental health outcomes. Such possibilities position Ethnic Studies education as a promising intervention to support racial justice movements.

Despite the potential of Ethnic Studies education to promote a much-needed anti-racist society, few research studies have examined and evaluated the effectiveness of Ethnic Studies education. Moreover, few studies have examined Asian Americans' experiences in Ethnic Studies, especially through psychological and developmental science lenses. Pushes for increased academic recognition and research on Ethnic Studies are occurring concurrently with conservative right-wing opposition to Ethnic Studies,

situated amidst broader political hostilities around social justice-oriented approaches to U.S. education (Cabrera & Chang, 2019; Cunanan et al., 2023). Opponents of Ethnic Studies education, Critical Race Theory, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) representation in schools claim that such diversity education is socially divisive and developmentally inappropriate for youth (Aldrich, 2022; E. Chang, 2022; López et al., 2021), despite how Ethnic Studies students, practitioners, and emerging research suggest academic and developmental benefits of Ethnic Studies course-taking (Dee & Penner, 2016; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020). Thus, as Ethnic Studies opposition in states like Florida ramps up in tandem with Ethnic Studies implementation in states like California, empirical examinations of Ethnic Studies education's developmental implications are especially timely and essential for promoting research-supported educational policy.

This dissertation utilizes Sociopolitical Development Theory (Watts & Halkovic, 2022), Ginwright's (2015) Healing Justice framework, and the Psychological Framework for Radical Healing (French et al., 2020) to examine critical consciousness of racism and mental health among Asian American college students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses. Together, the proposed studies explore Ethnic Studies education as a site of intervention for critically conscious youth development and mental health promotion amidst the struggle for anti-racism.

STUDY 1

Ethnic Studies Education as a Site for Sociopolitical Development: Examining Profiles of Asian Americans' Critical Consciousness Over Time

I always ask myself, what does it mean for me to be Asian in America? We are refugees or whatever, but how does that relate to what is happening today? I was able to take courses in Asian American history, and that is something that I've never gotten the opportunity to do in high school or elementary school ... it made me question, okay who gets to write history? Why are we learning just from a certain perspective? Why is there not more than one narrative that is being shared or taught in high school? For me, that's an issue because history is really focused on Western history and not so much the overall experience. (Shannon, from Museus, 2021)

Asian American histories of racism and collective action are hidden in education and the broader societal conversations about racism in the United States (An, 2022; Fujino & Rodriguez, 2019). What happens when these histories are revealed? Anecdotal narratives like the quote above from Shannon, an Asian American college student, suggest that unmasking this history may prompt Asian Americans to critically reflect on hegemony and power in education, which is key to engagement in broader social justice movements (Museus, 2021). Ethnic Studies education, a source of school racial-ethnic socialization that provides such critical exposure to Asian American narratives and histories, offers vital opportunities to shape Asian Americans' critical consciousness, or their ability to analyze and resist systems of oppression such as racism (Freire, 1970/2000; Saavedra et al., in prep; Saleem & Byrd, 2021; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020;

Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2019). Such sociopolitical development is especially important for Asian Americans at a time when their interests and positionalities are weaponized by politicians to advance racist policies that harm racially minoritized communities (C. J. Kim, 2018; C. J. Kim, 2022; Saavedra & Yoo, 2023).

Research on Ethnic Studies education is especially imperative given the political fight for—and against—Ethnic Studies. Amidst the increase of diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives in the last decade, several U.S. states passed legislation implementing Ethnic Studies education (e.g., CA AB-2016, 2016; TEAACH Act, 2021). Conservative strategists responded by inaccurately weaponizing terms like “Critical Race Theory” and fear mongering around diversity education (López & Sleeter, 2023), which contributed to legislation barring diversity-related education (e.g., AR EO-23-05, 2023; TX HB 3979, 2021). Continued research on students’ experiences in Ethnic Studies education, especially as it relates to anti-racist sociopolitical development, may broaden empirical support for anti-racist educational policy in an era of mass disinformation and heightened racial injustice.

The current study draws upon Sociopolitical Development Theory (Watts & Halkovic, 2022) to examine patterns of critical consciousness of racism among Asian Americans enrolled in Ethnic Studies college courses. This study uses a pattern-centered approach (i.e., latent transition analysis) to examine profiles of critical consciousness among students and how students transition between latent profiles over time, providing a nuanced exploration of how dimensions of Asian Americans’ critical consciousness (i.e., critical reflection, critical agency, sociopolitical engagement, and Asian American racial

identity ideological values) distinguish patterns of sociopolitical development and how they may change over time in Ethnic Studies courses. I also examine demographic factors (e.g., gender, Asian ethnic heritage, U.S. region), racialized experiences (i.e., familial and school racial-ethnic socialization), and factors related to the Ethnic Studies course (i.e., lower versus upper division) that predict profiles of Asian Americans' critical consciousness to explore prior experiences and identities that influence the sociopolitical development process. Along with responding to the need for quantitative research on Ethnic Studies education, this research offers insight into the varied experiences that students may have within classes intended for critical consciousness raising, which may inform interventions for anti-racist sociopolitical development through education.

In the following section, I describe the process of sociopolitical development and how Asian Americans' racialization informs their critical consciousness. Next, I discuss how Asian Americans' critical consciousness may be predicted by familial and school racial-ethnic socialization. Lastly, I describe how Ethnic Studies is a distinct yet understudied form of school racial-ethnic socialization that serves as an opportunity structure for sociopolitical development, which serves as the impetus for the current study.

Asian Americans' Critical Consciousness of Racism

Sociopolitical Development Theory—initially developed as a psychological theory for Black liberation, drawing from Watts et al.'s (1999) community-engaged scholarship with young Black American men, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's (1970/2000) conceptualization of critical consciousness, and other liberation psychology

frameworks—describes how challenging oppression begins with building a critical understanding of oppressive social conditions (Hope et al., 2023). Sociopolitical Development Theory has been applied across racially minoritized groups to describe the process and components involved in developing critical consciousness (Hope et al., 2023). Critical consciousness is composed of three core elements. First, an individual's *critical social analysis* (also referred to as critical reflection) is an individual's ability to 1) recognize and discuss oppression, 2) analyze the structural and systemic underpinnings of oppression, 3) apply such awareness of oppression to conceptualize the root causes of social problems, and 4) strategize actions for social change (Watts & Halkovic, 2022). Such critical social analysis is informed by their prior experiences and upbringing, social identities, and opportunity structures (or contexts and relationships that help build skills, knowledge, and abilities conducive to sociopolitical engagement). Critical social analysis can be domain-specific, as in critical reflection on racism, or broadly encompassing critical reflection on inequality overall. Second, critical consciousness includes an individual's *critical agency* (also called critical motivation or sociopolitical efficacy), which is an individual's perceived motivation and capability to enact social justice-oriented change (Diemer et al., 2016). Third, these components of critical consciousness support an individual's *sociopolitical engagement* (also called critical action), in which an individual draws upon their skills, knowledge, and abilities to engage in activism for social justice (Watts & Halkovic, 2022). Activism for social justice can include resistance against oppression at the interpersonal level, educating others on social and political issues, joining organizations focused on alleviating social problems, and individual and

collective actions to aid oppressed communities or mobilize public and political support for social justice-oriented initiatives. Although sociopolitical development occurs across the lifespan, this developmental process is most often studied among adolescents, given that this developmental period is marked by increased identity and values exploration, increased complexity in analyses of racism and injustice, and burgeoning commitments to social responsibility and activism (Tyler et al., 2020; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014).

Together, critical social analysis, critical agency, and sociopolitical engagement encompass general cognitive, motivational, and behavioral components of critical consciousness. These general indicators of critical consciousness can be studied alongside indicators that account for the specific racialization of Asian Americans (i.e., Asian American racial identity ideological values) to better understand how racism and racial formation shapes specific sociopolitical development trajectories of Asian Americans (Saavedra & Yoo, 2023).

Asian American Racialization

Beyond general reflection on systems of oppression, Asian Americans' domain-specific critical consciousness of racism is shaped by Asian Americans' racialization in the United States. Asian Americans' racialization refers to how the social power dynamics—both within the United States and transnationally—shape public perception and treatment of Asian Americans as a racial group. Prominent theories describing Asian Americans' racialization—including Asian Critical Race Theory (Museus & Iftikar, 2013), Racial Triangulation Theory (C. J. Kim, 1999; C. J. Kim, 2022), and Asian Americanist psychology (Okazaki et al., 2007; Tseng & Lee, 2021)—frame Asian

Americans' racialization in the context of white supremacy, racism, and imperialism. According to these theories and perspectives, "race" is a social construction used to justify racism and imperialism, two systems of oppression based on racial and colonial hierarchies; and in the United States, these hierarchies are characterized by white supremacy, in which education systems, policies, and norms grant White Americans disproportionate power and privilege relative to colonized and racially minoritized communities (e.g., Asian Americans, Black Americans) (Watts et al. 2011). Research suggests that Asian Americans' critical consciousness of racism is intertwined with their knowledge of, beliefs about, and experiences with racialization (Moffitt et al., 2022; Saavedra & Yoo, 2023), underscoring the importance of framing Asian Americans' sociopolitical development within a broader understanding of the racial dynamics impacting Asian Americans.

In order to preserve a racial hierarchy marked by white supremacy and anti-Blackness, U.S. social policies and institutions historically and presently portray Asian Americans in accordance with racial stereotypes such as the model minority, perpetual foreigner, and yellow peril. Under the model minority stereotype, Asian Americans are universally depicted as the most economically and academically successful minoritized racial group, supposedly evidencing the claim (and disproving contrary claims) that BIPOC can rise above racism if they worked hard and assimilated enough (Au, 2022; C. J. Kim, 1999; V. Yi et al., 2020). However, this stereotype is problematic because it 1) is predicated on fallacious homogenization of Asian Americans, and 2) deceitfully obscures the reality that Asian Americans still experience inequities relative to White people in

education, workplaces, health status, and more (Kiang et al., 2017; C. J. Kim, 2018; Sabado-Liwag et al., 2022; Young et al., 2021). The perpetual foreigner stereotype depicts all Asian Americans as outsiders in the United States, regardless of their length of U.S. residence, citizenship status, or assimilation to and participation in U.S. society (Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2014; Yip et al., 2021). Lastly, the yellow peril stereotype depicts Asian Americans as dangerous and sinister actors that pose threats to people's health and safety, economic success, and all-White family compositions (Habal, 1991; Karuka, 2019; Wu et al., 2023). On top of the physical and psychological harms that these stereotypes cause Asian Americans (Choy & Tajima-Peña, 1989; Kiang et al., 2017; Wang & Santos, 2022a; Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022), these stereotypes distance Asian Americans from other BIPOC groups by painting their social and economic interests as incompatible with other BIPOC and masking the common oppression experiences that BIPOC groups share in a white supremacist, anti-Black society (C. J. Kim, 1999; Liu et al., 2023; V. Yi et al., 2020).

The prevalence of each stereotype is not mutually exclusive to the others (e.g., the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes beget the yellow peril threat; Au, 2022), and they are activated in combinations that reinforce a white supremacist, anti-Black hierarchy. For example, contemporary fights for affirmative action and against police brutality, wherein Asian Americans' educational and safety interests are pitted against those of other BIPOC, mask the way that these institutions structurally harm all BIPOC and benefit White people by upholding institutions that privilege whiteness (C. J. Kim, 2022). The fight for Ethnic Studies education also emerges as a new window into

these racialization dynamics, with states like Florida implementing Asian American history requirements in K-12 education while simultaneously banning Critical Race Theory-related language and the Advanced Placement African American Studies course (Association for Asian American Studies, 2023).

Still, it is essential to note that Asian Americans did not always passively accept their position in a white supremacist, anti-Black racial hierarchy. Many Asian Americans resisted discriminatory racialization processes and, instead, organized for self-determination for Asian Americans and other oppressed groups (Tran et al., 2018). An exemplar era of such activism was the Asian American Movement in the 1960s-1970s, which drew inspiration from the Black Power Movement and anti-imperialist movements in Asia (E. Lee, 2015). Asian American Movement activists engaged in activism for various social, political, educational, and economic causes, driven by three core principles: 1) *Asian American unity*, or unity and self-determination across Asian American subgroups (e.g., encompassing East, Southeast, and South Asians; multiracial and multiethnic Asians; Asians of varying gender and sexual identities, etc.), 2) *interracial solidarity* with other BIPOC and joint coalitions for racial justice, and 3) *transnational critical consciousness*, or a critical analysis of social and political movements in Asia (E. Lee, 2015). Asian American activists, before and after the Asian American Movement, embody these principles in their interracial and intergenerational struggles for improved labor conditions, housing rights, educational relevance, anti-police violence, anti-imperialism, and more (Tran et al., 2018).

Such history and racial dynamics shape the racial positioning that Asian Americans currently hold, which shapes the lenses through which Asian Americans phenomenologically analyze and act upon racism in the United States. This connection between Asian Americans' racialization and sociopolitical development is consistent with developmental science theories that assert the influence of macrosystem-level racial dynamics on an individual's phenomenological experience of racial categorization and stratification, which ultimately shapes individuals' developmental outcomes like critical consciousness (García Coll et al., 1996; Rogers et al., 2021; Spencer, 2006). Research among Asian Americans also supports the notion that an individual's interpretation of what it means to be Asian American is associated with their critical consciousness (Kiang et al., 2021a; Matriano et al., 2021; Saavedra & Yoo, 2023). Thus, when studying critical consciousness among Asian Americans, it is important to apply an *Asian Americanist* perspective that considers how Asian Americans' sociopolitical development is intimately tied to their racial positioning (Tseng & Lee, 2021). The current study implements this specificity by measuring Asian Americans' racial identity ideological values—specifically, the extent to which Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, and transnational critical consciousness are important to their understanding of what it means to be Asian American—as additional indicators of Asian Americans' critical consciousness of racism, which may expand the field's understanding of sociopolitical development from Asian Americans' vantage point. As conceptualizations of critical consciousness are broadened to include race-specific beliefs and dynamics, continued

research on how patterns of Asian American-specific critical consciousness are predicted by prior racialized experiences—such as racial-ethnic socialization—is warranted.

Demographic and Racial-Ethnic Socialization Predictors of Asian American Critical Consciousness

Applications of Sociopolitical Development Theory and previous research suggest that Asian Americans' critical consciousness of racism—or their critical analysis of and responses to racism, interpreted in the context of Asian American racialization—may vary depending on their social identities and prior racialized experiences, such as racial-ethnic socialization (Anyiwo et al., 2022; Briggs et al., 2022; B. Chang et al., 2023; Golden & Byrd, 2022; Watts & Halkovic, 2022). The current study examines demographic and racial-ethnic socialization predictors of latent profiles of critical consciousness among Ethnic Studies students to account for the influence of social identity and prior life experiences on students' sociopolitical development in these courses.

Students' social identities and contexts may shape their sociopolitical development trajectories prior to enrollment in Ethnic Studies courses. Prior research suggests that Asian Americans' critical consciousness may vary across gender, sexual orientation, and Asian ethnic heritage (e.g., East, Southeast, and South Asian) due to the various ways identity predisposes people to the risks of systems of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991; Yoo et al., 2021). For example, South and Southeast Asian Americans experience racial discrimination differently than East Asian Americans (Chang et al., 2023; Nadal, 2019), and women, non-binary people, and people who identify as lesbian,

gay, bisexual, or queer (LGBQ) interface with the risks of cisheterosexism more commonly than their male, heterosexual counterparts (Ching et al., 2018; Sangalang & Gee, 2015). Because of their experiences with oppression, Asian Americans with these minoritized identities may have reflected on oppression and committed to challenging oppression well before enrollment in Ethnic Studies courses. Additionally, Asian Americans' experience may vary as a function of region. Much of the literature in Asian American Studies is based on the experiences of Asian Americans in the West U.S. (e.g., California; E. Lee, 2009), and studies on Asian Americans in other regions of the United States (e.g., Midwest, South, and Southwest) suggest that these students' experiences with racism and critical consciousness may differ from those on the West coast (Atkin et al., 2018; Grim et al., 2019). Taken together, various identity and context factors may impact the patterns of sociopolitical development they have at the beginning of an Ethnic Studies course and how they change over time in these courses.

Asian American students' experiences in Ethnic Studies courses may also be informed by their prior racial-ethnic socialization. *Racial-ethnic socialization* refers to the transmission of messages associated with race, ethnicity, and racism, and this process is often studied in the family and school contexts (Juang et al., 2016; Saleem & Byrd, 2021). Although various types of messages about race and racism are transmitted in each context, the present study focuses on four types of familial racial-ethnic socialization and three types of school racial-ethnic socialization as predictors of critical consciousness among Asian Americans. First, within the family context, race-conscious socialization refers to messages about racial oppression and privilege (Atkin et al., 2021). Second,

diversity appreciation socialization includes messages about valuing and appreciating cultural differences across groups (Atkin et al., 2021). Third, colorblind socialization refers to messages that deny the salience or influence of race and racism in society (Saleem & Byrd, 2021), and this type of socialization was assessed in both familial in school contexts. Fourth, silent socialization refers to a lack of conversation about race and racism due to avoidance or discomfort with these conversations (Atkin et al., 2021). Within the family context, Asian American parents tend to emphasize positive messages (e.g., messages associated with pride and group success) and de-emphasize negative messages (e.g., messages associated with oppression) about Asian American ethnic-racial identity (Nieri et al., 2024). These patterns may have mixed implications for sociopolitical development, which highlights both positive aspects (e.g., critical agency) and negative aspects (e.g., facing oppression) of membership in a racially minoritized group.

Research suggests that *familial racial-ethnic socialization*—or the transmission of messages associated with race, ethnicity, and racism from family members to individuals—may contribute to Asian Americans’ critical social analysis, endorsement of critical racial ideological values, and sociopolitical engagement (Ahn et al., 2021; Byrd & Ahn, 2020; Saavedra et al., 2023). For instance, parents who scaffold children’s critical reflection and model sociopolitical engagement may set an example for their children to also engage critically with politics and civic life (Museus, 2021). Conversely, parents who do not believe that race is a salient structural determinant of outcomes in the United States may send similar socialization messages to their children or not discuss race and

racism at all (Atkin et al., 2021), which may influence the trajectory of sociopolitical development (Halagao, 2004; Saavedra et al., 2023).

Research on racial-ethnic socialization among Asian Americans has found mixed relations with critical consciousness, and these differences may depend on the facet of critical consciousness studied. For example, Atkin and colleagues (2023) examined Asian American racial identity ideological values (i.e., beliefs in Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, and transnational critical consciousness) among Asian American adolescents and found that participants whose mothers focused on integration messages (i.e., highest frequencies of maintenance of heritage culture and becoming American messages, and lowest frequencies of awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups messages) reported the highest levels of critical Asian American racial identity ideological values among participants. Conversely, Atkin and Ahn (2022) studied interracial solidarity beliefs and found that Asian American adolescents' whose mothers were more "race embracing" (i.e., transmitting high frequencies of race-conscious and diversity appreciation messages, moderate colorblind socialization messages, and low silent socialization messages) reported less anti-Black attitudes compared to other participants. When examining sociopolitical engagement, Zong and colleagues (2023) found that Asian American parents' political and civic socialization promoted their adolescents' sociopolitical engagement. Research among other BIPOC also suggests that familial racial-ethnic socialization messages—particularly cultural pride messages, preparation for bias, critical consciousness socialization, and color evasive socialization—may differentially relate to each component of critical consciousness

(Briggs et al., 2022; Diemer, 2012; Lozada et al., 2017; Tyler et al., 2020). Overall, the research suggests how familial racial-ethnic socialization messages may have different impacts across components of critical consciousness. Future research on critical consciousness using pattern-centered approaches may help delineate variations in these critical consciousness experiences and how they are predicted by familial racial-ethnic socialization.

Previous research also identifies *school racial-ethnic socialization* as an important predictor of Asian Americans' sociopolitical development, given the overlap between messages about race and racism with messages about power and oppression. Through school racial-ethnic socialization, messages about race and racism are transmitted to individuals via teachers and staff, peers, and institutional factors (Saleem & Byrd, 2021). These transmitters are also influenced by the historical and community context and other sources of racial-ethnic socialization (e.g., parents) (Saleem & Byrd, 2021). Along with colorblind socialization in the school context, the present study examines cultural socialization messages (also referred to as maintenance of heritage culture), which includes messages that describe the meaning and implications of membership in a particular ethnic or racial group (Saleem & Byrd, 2021). This study also examines critical consciousness socialization in schools, which includes messages that encourage students to recognize, analyze, and take action to combat social injustice (i.e., encouraging sociopolitical development) (Kubi et al., 2022; Saleem & Byrd, 2021).

In traditional school settings, the range of verbal and proactive racial-ethnic socialization messages specific to Asian Americans is limited. An's (2022) analysis of K-

12 U.S. History standards revealed that more than one-third of U.S. states did not require any curricular content on Asian Americans. When Asian Americans were included in curriculum standards, they were most often depicted as victims of nativist racism (e.g., Japanese American incarceration, exclusionary immigration policies; 55% of standards) or as immigrants to the United States (e.g., 26% of standards), and Asians were least often depicted as contributors to the United States (e.g., transcontinental railroad construction; 14% of standards) or as agents of change (e.g., Asian Americans in the Civil Rights Movement; 4% of standards) (An, 2022). This relative exclusion and selective depictions of Asian Americans align with previous research finding that Asian American students report less cultural and critical consciousness socialization at school compared to White students (Byrd, 2019; H. Lee et al., 2022). On top of formal exclusion in curricula, Asian American students may also be receiving racial-ethnic socialization messages from nonverbal expressions or silence. For example, previous research suggests that, when teachers omitted or seemed uncomfortable with discussions about the current racial climate, Asian American students perceived that their teachers did not care about their cultural backgrounds (Kiang et al., 2021b; H. Lee et al., 2022).

Although formal, Asian American-specific cultural and critical consciousness socialization messages are relatively uncommon, it is important to note that these messages are still transmitted at school via Asian American students' proactive integration of their racial-ethnic backgrounds into class assignments (e.g., adolescent-directed racial-ethnic socialization; Patel et al., 2023; Sladek et al., 2022) and students' and teachers' (especially BIPOC teachers') advocacy for culturally responsive and

critically conscious curricula (G. M. Kim & Cooc, 2020; H. Lee et al., 2022). This further highlights how Asian Americans are acknowledging exclusionary norms in their schools and are seeking opportunities to institutionalize culturally responsive, counter-hegemonic forms of education.

Overall, demographic factors and racial-ethnic socialization experiences may predispose *or* hinder Asian Americans' abilities to recognize and analyze inequality (i.e., critical social analysis), process what it means to challenge oppression as Asian Americans (i.e., Asian American racial identity ideological values), and feel equipped to resist oppression (i.e., critical agency and sociopolitical engagement). Continued research, especially on Asian Americans' racial-ethnic socialization experiences, can help clarify precursors to their race-specific critical consciousness development, thereby revealing potential intervention targets to promote developmental trajectories conducive to critical consciousness. Additionally, by studying Asian Americans, researchers can expand our broader understanding of the conditions that motivate people—especially those who perceive costs *and* benefits to the status quo—to challenge systems of oppression.

Ethnic Studies Education: An Opportunity Structure for Sociopolitical Development

One institutionalized strategy to broaden racial-ethnic socialization messages pertaining to Asian Americans is through the implementation of Ethnic Studies education. Ethnic Studies education—including sub-disciplines like Asian American Studies—focuses explicitly on the first-person experiences of BIPOC communities,

anchors its curricula in themes pertaining to power, oppression and social justice, and employs culturally and community responsive pedagogy (Cuauhtin, 2019; Sacramento et al., 2023; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2019). Due to these course features, Ethnic Studies education proactively engages in cultural and critical consciousness socialization and fundamentally opposes colorblind socialization messages, implying its potential as a school-based opportunity structure for sociopolitical development. Qualitative research on Ethnic Studies education further validates the distinctiveness of its racial-ethnic socialization messages relative to traditional education. Participation in these classes is linked to increased critical social analysis (Halagao, 2010; Osajima, 2007; Vang, 2021), understanding of Asian American racialization (Player, 2021; Trieu, 2018), critical agency (Halagao, 2004; Museus, 2021; Nguyen et al., 2018), and sociopolitical engagement (Halagao, 2010; Takeda, 2001; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2016; Trieu & Lee, 2018) among Asian Americans. Thus, through Ethnic Studies education, educators can increasingly equip students with the skills, knowledge, and attitudes necessary for sociopolitical engagement. The current study examines how this process unfolds over time by examining profiles of students' critical consciousness at the beginning versus end of an Ethnic Studies course.

While sociopolitical development occurs across the lifespan, examining these processes among college students—many of whom are emerging or young adults—may shed light on the unique influence of the college context on Asian Americans' developmental processes (Wray-Lake et al., 2017). Adolescence is a developmental period typically marked by increased complexity in racial-ethnic socialization messages

(Hughes et al., 2016), yet for Asian Americans, race-conscious socialization in schools and families is less common compared to other socialization messages (An, 2022; Juang et al., 2017). Due to the dearth of Asian American history discussed in K-12 education (An, 2016), many Asian Americans do not learn about Asian American histories in detail until college (Museus, 2021; Nguyen et al., 2018; Trieu & Lee, 2018). Exposure to these histories may jumpstart identity exploration and sociopolitical development processes for Asian American students. Students' development of perspectives on race, identity, oppression, and diversity may be further facilitated by how college settings expose emerging and young adults to a substantially larger social network with diverse backgrounds and perspectives on social issues (Andersson, 2018), and individuals' social networks are often at their largest in emerging and young adulthood (Wrzus, 2012). Emerging and young adults may also have more developed cognitive and emotional regulation skills and prosocial development compared to early and middle adolescents (Branje et al., 2021; Tyler et al., 2020; Veraksa & Basseches, 2022; Zimmerman & Iwanski, 2014), which may serve as assets when learning about the complexities of racism's manifestations and coping with vicarious exposure to racism in Ethnic Studies courses. Such possibilities reinforce how the college environment—including college-level Ethnic Studies courses—is a distinct opportunity structure for sociopolitical development (Lin, 2020; Museus, 2021; Osajima, 2007).

In contrast to the rich qualitative research on Ethnic Studies education, little quantitative research focuses on Ethnic Studies education, let alone Asian Americans' critical consciousness experiences in these settings. Insights about and future directions

for critical consciousness research can be derived from research on diversity education more broadly, defined as courses that employ curricula or pedagogies oriented towards multicultural awareness and awareness of social and political issues impacting minoritized communities (which includes but is not limited to Ethnic Studies education). Empirical research, reviews, and meta-analyses on diversity and social justice education broadly suggest that enrollment in these courses is associated with increased understanding of structural racism (de Novais & Spencer, 2019), increased political efficacy (Ro et al., 2022), increased sociopolitical engagement (Krings et al., 2015), and gains in other diversity-related outcomes such as increased cultural awareness, positive intergroup attitudes, increased racial understanding, and decreased racial bias (Denson, 2009; Denson et al., 2020; Engberg, 2004). Research on course features common in Ethnic Studies education—such as open classroom climates that encourage and respect diverse opinions on social issues and problem-posing pedagogy, wherein students and teachers co-learn as equal contributors to knowledge and engage in collaborative dialogue to analyze social issues (Freire, 1970/2000)—also suggest the benefits of these pedagogical practices for students’ critical consciousness (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014; Seider et al., 2021).

Although most of the research on Ethnic Studies and diversity education suggests positive benefits for students’ sociopolitical development (Sleeter & Zavala, 2020), some research suggests that the impacts of Ethnic Studies are not always uniformly positive. For example, familial racial-ethnic socialization messages may offer opposing viewpoints compared to messages in Ethnic Studies education, which may confuse students and

complicate their critical social analysis (Halagao, 2004). Additionally, the stark differences in racial-ethnic socialization messages between Ethnic Studies and traditional education may generate discomfort for students who are not yet ready to discuss their ethnic-racial histories or who are reluctant to see themselves as a member of an oppressed group (K. M. Lewis et al., 2012; Takeda, 2001; Trieu, 2008). Further research, especially studies that employ pattern-centered techniques (e.g., latent profile analysis), may help uncover different patterns of sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses, their precursors, and how students change over time.

Overall, quantitative research is suggestive of the broad role of diversity education on components of critical consciousness, and similar effects may be present for students enrolled in Ethnic Studies education. Additional quantitative research on Ethnic Studies—which explicitly focuses on ethnically and racially minoritized groups and commits to critical consciousness, social justice, and culturally- and community-responsive pedagogy relative to other forms of diversity education—may strengthen the empirical base of Ethnic Studies research and respond to the current sociopolitical moment’s fight for (or against) the legitimacy of Ethnic Studies for positive youth development.

The Current Study (Study 1)

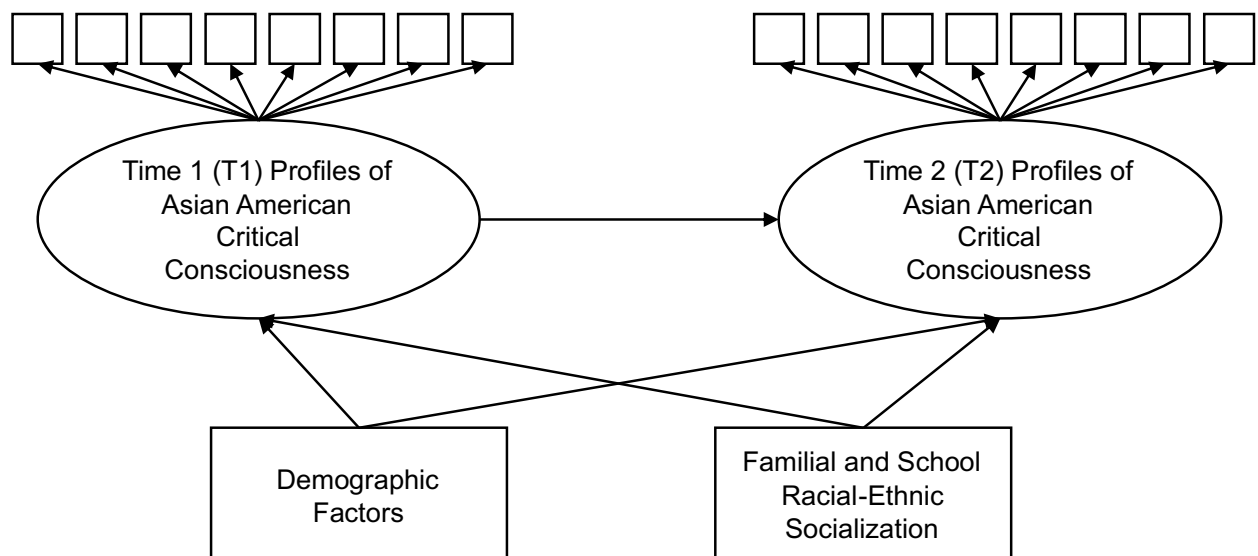
Study 1 addresses three research questions using latent transition analysis (Figure 1):

1. What profiles of Asian American critical consciousness emerge among Asian American college students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses?

2. How do demographic factors and familial and school racial-ethnic socialization predictors of profile membership at the beginning and end of an Ethnic Studies course?
3. How do students transition across profiles between the beginning and end of the course?

Figure 1.

Latent transition analysis model for Study 1



Note. Indicators of critical consciousness profiles at both times include critical social analysis, critical agency, three types of sociopolitical engagement (awareness and relational resistance, interpersonal confrontation, and participation in resistance activities and organizations), and Asian American racial identity ideological values (i.e., Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, and transnational critical consciousness).

Research Question 1: Latent Profiles of Asian American Critical Consciousness

Latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness were characterized by Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness (i.e., Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, and transnational critical consciousness) and general critical

consciousness indicators that are not race-specific (i.e., critical social analysis, critical agency, three types of sociopolitical engagement: awareness and relational resistance, interpersonal confrontation, and participation in resistance activities and organizations). Using a latent profile approach with both Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators helps account for the diverse experiences and histories of Asian Americans related to racism, racial justice, and sociopolitical development. Additionally, by examining student experiences through latent profiles, researchers can examine how indicators of critical consciousness pattern together at each time point (i.e., the beginning and end of the semester of an Ethnic Studies course), rather than using an overall mean score and rank-ordering to characterize general trends in critical consciousness indicators.

Regarding patterns of critical consciousness, I hypothesize that one profile may have low scores on all Asian American-specific and general indicators of critical consciousness, and one profile may have high scores on all indicators of critical consciousness. I anticipate that one or two additional profiles may emerge based on variations in general critical consciousness indicators and variations of Asian American-specific critical consciousness. For example, at the beginning of the semester, one of such profiles may have high measures of general critical consciousness indicators (critical social analysis, critical agency, and sociopolitical engagement), but low scores on Asian American-specific indicators (Asian American unity, transnational critical consciousness, and interracial solidarity). Another possible profile may be the inverse: relatively high scores on Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness and relatively low scores on general critical consciousness indicators. Between times, I also hypothesize that

critical consciousness profiles at post-test may have higher mean scores across indicators compared to profiles at pre-test. Additionally, given that participants are Asian American students—many of whom are enrolled in Asian American Studies, specifically—profiles at post-test may demonstrate higher mean scores on Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness compared to profiles at post-test. Lastly, particularly for post-test, I hypothesize that there may be a profile of students who score particularly low on critical consciousness indicators relative to the other profiles, which may represent a profile of students who experience high levels of discomfort, unresolved dissonance, or rejection of Ethnic Studies course material (Halagao, 2004; Takeda, 2001; Trieu, 2008).

Using latent profiles to understand Asian Americans' critical consciousness experiences in Ethnic Studies courses accounts for nuances in how Asian Americans may understand their racial positioning and how their racial positioning informs their analysis and commitments to remedying injustice. Additionally, given the racial specificity of the Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness, this study contributes insight into how race-specific and general indicators of critical consciousness distinguish students' critical consciousness patterns, allowing research to question how these patterns may differentially relate to antecedents of critical consciousness and developmental trajectories across an Ethnic Studies course.

Research Question 2: Predictors of Latent Profile Membership

Demographic factors (i.e., gender, sexual orientation, region, age, nativity, and Ethnic Studies course history) and prior racial-ethnic socialization (i.e., familial and school-based) experiences may also influence students' critical consciousness

experiences in Ethnic Studies courses, and assessing these predictors offers insight into the relevance of social identity and various developmental contexts (e.g., region, family, and school experiences) for sociopolitical development. Based on prior literature suggesting demographic differences in Asian Americans' critical consciousness (e.g., Yoo et al., 2021), I anticipate that students who identify as a woman or non-binary person or who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer (LGBQ)—may have higher odds of membership in profiles with higher scores on critical consciousness indicators relative to other profiles with lower scores on critical consciousness indicators. Additionally, based on research on differences in racialized experiences across Asian American ethnic subgroups, I hypothesize that participants with South and Southeast Asian heritage (relative to East Asian heritage) may also have higher odds of membership in profiles with higher scores on critical consciousness indicators than profiles with lower scores on critical consciousness indicators. Regarding the region in which a student's university is located, I hypothesize that there may be group differences between students attending school in the West compared to other regions. Since the current study is among the first that examines Asian Americans enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses across geographic regions, I do not specifically hypothesize about the odds of profile membership across regions; rather, the predictive influence of region remains an exploratory question. Finally, regarding demographic predictors, I anticipate that students who are enrolled in upper-division Ethnic Studies courses (as opposed to introductory or lower-division courses) and students who have taken multiple Ethnic Studies courses (compared to

fewer courses) may have high odds of membership in profiles characterized by high scores critical consciousness indicators.

In terms of racial-ethnic socialization, I hypothesize that participants who report more frequent forms of socialization that acknowledge the prevalence of racism (e.g., familial race-conscious socialization, school critical consciousness socialization) may have high odds of membership in profiles characterized by high scores on critical consciousness, whereas participants who report more frequent forms of socialization that avoid race-related discussions or minimize racism (e.g., colorblind socialization, familial silent socialization) may have high odds of membership in profiles characterized by low scores on critical consciousness. Lastly, though traditional education generally has low levels of cultural and critical consciousness socialization, I anticipate that higher frequencies of these types of socialization may be associated with membership in profiles with higher critical consciousness indicators than other profiles. More specifically, I anticipate that school cultural socialization may be related to membership in profiles with high Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness.

Studying antecedents of critical consciousness profiles is important for our increased understanding about how social identities and intersectionality, Asian American history and panethnic racial dynamics, family and school contexts, and other contextual experiences inform the sociopolitical development process. Additionally, by representing critical consciousness through the use of latent profiles, research on predictors of profiles can help clarify the relevant strengths, knowledges, and prior

experiences students rely on as they undergo sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses.

Research Question 3: Transitions Across Latent Profiles

In terms of the third research question, examinations of latent transition probabilities and measurement invariance over time offer vital information about how students transition between critical consciousness profiles from the beginning to the end of an Ethnic Studies course. Examining these transitions helps to further assess the overall effect of Ethnic Studies education as an intervention for growing students' sociopolitical development (in the cases that students demonstrate progression into classes characterized by high critical consciousness). Determining transition probabilities also offers information about the specific pathways of change that are possible in a single Ethnic Studies course, e.g., whether most students transition from a profile with extremely low scores on indicators of critical consciousness to a profile with extremely high scores on indicators within one semester, whether most students transition from a profile with extremely low scores to a profile with moderate scores, or whether a subset of students transitions from a profile with moderate to high scores on critical consciousness indicators to low scores on critical consciousness indicators. Examining students based on pattern-centered variations has practical implications for educators seeking to understand different "types" of students that enroll in Ethnic Studies courses, the multitude of ways students' critical consciousness may change by the end of the course, and how they can adapt their teaching strategies to respond to the most likely ways students' critical consciousness changes.

When considering measurement invariance in profiles between the beginning and end of the semester, I hypothesize that there is *not* full invariance over time. Research suggests that students may grow in both their general critical consciousness and views about Asian American identity via Ethnic Studies courses, and thus, indicator means and overall patterns of critical consciousness at the end of the semester may significantly vary compared to those found at the beginning of the semester (Saavedra et al., in preparation).

Relatedly, since Ethnic Studies education may be an intervention for sociopolitical development, I hypothesize that most students will demonstrate growth, or increases in mean scores, in their critical consciousness. Such growth can look like transitioning out of “less critical” profiles (e.g., lower scores on critical consciousness indicators) and into “more critical” profiles (i.e., higher scores on critical consciousness indicators) over time. In the case that there are qualitatively similar profiles, but measurement invariance is *not* established, a participant may demonstrate growth in their critical consciousness if they are in qualitatively similar profiles at both time points, and the post-test profile has high mean scores on critical consciousness indicators compared to the pre-test profile. In both hypothesized scenarios, growth in critical consciousness is defined as membership in a post-test profile with higher mean scores on indicators compared to the pre-test profile they began in. Based on counterexamples presented in the literature (e.g., Halagao, 2004; Takeda, 2001; Trieu, 2008), I also anticipate that a small proportion of students may *not* demonstrate growth in their critical consciousness. This may mean that participants remain in “less critical” profiles (i.e., profiles with lower

scores on critical consciousness indicators relative to other profiles at the same time) by the end of the semester or they transition into a post-test profile with lower mean scores on critical consciousness indicators compared to their pre-test profile.

Overall, examining students' transitions across profiles over time may shed light on whether sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses progresses in an upwards, linear fashion and the relative proportion of students whose critical consciousness grows in the expected manner. Examining transitions across profiles may also offer information about cases when students are likely to reject critically conscious course material and move into profiles characterized by lower scores on critical consciousness indicators. These possibilities help to clarify new directions for the sociopolitical development literature to empirically define the typical progression of this developmental process and understand in which scenarios Ethnic Studies courses are effective interventions for strengthening these developmental assets among Asian American students.

Study 1 Methods

Data for this study come from a broader data set examining undergraduate college students' experiences in introductory Ethnic Studies courses and lower and upper division Asian American Studies courses (including courses that are cross-listed in Asian American Studies and other departments). Given the time-oriented research questions in this dissertation, the proposed analysis examines data on Asian American participants who responded to both the pre-test and post-test surveys. Participants who did not self-

identify as Asian American or having at least one ethnic heritage from Asia were excluded from the analysis.

Participants

Participants were 254 students enrolled in an introductory Ethnic Studies or Asian American Studies class. All participants self-identified as Asian American (including multiracial Asian Americans). Participant ethnic heritages spanned East Asia (52%; 89 Chinese, 26 Korean, 15 Japanese, 11 Taiwanese, 2 Okinawan, 1 Hong Kong), Southeast Asia (42%; 56 Filipina/x/o, 40 Vietnamese, 4 Cambodian, 4 Malaysian, 4 Thai, 2 Burmese, 2 Hmong, 1 Indonesian, 1 Lao, 1 Singaporean) and South Asia (15%; 35 Indian, 3 Pakistani, 1 Bengali). Twenty-seven (11%) participants identified as multiethnic, and 40 (16%) identified as multiracial. Participants ranged in age from 18-45 ($M = 20.28$, $SD = 2.84$). Participants' genders included female ($n = 144$; 57%), male ($n = 98$; 39%), and nonbinary or genderfluid ($n = 7$; 2.8%). About 20% of the sample identified as lesbian, gay, asexual, pansexual, or queer ($n = 51$), whereas 74% identified as heterosexual ($n = 189$) and about 5% were unsure or questioning ($n = 13$). Participants' socioeconomic statuses included poor or working class ($n = 16$; 6.3%), lower middle class ($n = 43$; 17%), middle class ($n = 108$; 42.5%), upper middle class ($n = 84$; 33%), and affluent ($n = 3$; 1.2%). Regarding nativity, 79.5% of participants were born in the United States. By the beginning of data collection, 38% of participants previously completed an Ethnic Studies course. Participants attended college in various regions of the United States, including the West Coast (42%) Midwest (29.5%), Northeast and Mid-Atlantic (16.5%), and South and Southwest (12%). About 62% of participants were

surveyed as part of their enrollment in introductory-level and lower-division Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies courses, whereas 38% were surveyed as part of an upper division course.

Procedures

Human Subjects IRB approval was obtained by the first author's (my) university prior to data collection. Data collection occurred during the Spring 2022 semester (January to June) and the Fall 2022 semester (August to December). Ethnic Studies courses included in the study fulfilled at least one of the following criteria: a) classes listed in an Asian American Studies or Asian Pacific American Studies department, b) classes listed in an Asian Studies department that centered the experiences of Asian Americans, particularly for universities that did not have a formal Asian American Studies department, c) classes in a general Ethnic Studies department whose course titles or descriptions indicated a focus on the Asian American experiences, or d) introductory Ethnic Studies courses that included a broad focus on racially minoritized communities in the United States, including Asian Americans. Both lower division and upper division classes were included to examine the experiences of general university students, whether they chose to take courses for general education, electives, or major requirements.

Prior to the beginning of each semester, the first author (me) contacted university instructors scheduled to teach Ethnic Studies courses. Universities were identified based on the Association for Asian American Studies directory of universities with Asian American Studies and general Ethnic Studies programs. Additional universities were searched by the first author to increase representation of a variety of U.S. regions (i.e.,

California, Midwest, Northeast, Pacific Northwest, Southwest, and South U.S.) in the study. Thirty-four Ethnic Studies instructors across 13 universities agreed to administer the survey to their Ethnic Studies students at the beginning (i.e., first two weeks) and the end (i.e., last two weeks) of the semester. University-designated academic term lengths ranged from six weeks long to sixteen weeks long. Instructors were given the choice of whether to administer the survey for a small amount of course credit at each time point or for a small amount of extra credit at each time point. Professors who offered the survey as an extra credit opportunity also offered students additional opportunities to obtain extra credit. Regardless of the form of course credit or extra credit, participants were given the choice to opt into the study (i.e., consent to the inclusion of their data in research analyses). Data from all participants who declined to volunteer their data for the research study were deleted and not included in the present analysis, and they were still eligible to obtain credit for their participation.

Survey Measures

Indicators of Critical Racial Consciousness

Critical consciousness of racism was measured using eight indicators: critical reflection on racism, critical agency, three types of sociopolitical engagement (i.e., awareness and relational resistance, interpersonal confrontation, and participation in resistance activities and organizations), and three racial identity ideological values specific to Asian Americans (i.e., Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, and transnational critical consciousness). Asian American racial ideological values were assessed alongside general indicators of critical consciousness because Asian Americans'

beliefs about their racialization within the U.S. shapes how sociopolitical development occurs for their group (Mathews et al., 2020).

Critical Reflection on Racism. The five-item Racism subscale of the *Contemporary Critical Consciousness Scale* (Shin et al., 2016) assessed participants' level of critical reflection on historical and contemporary manifestations of racism in the United States (e.g., "All Whites receive unearned privileges in U.S. society."). Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement on a Likert scale where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 7 = Strongly Agree. The original measure was validated for use among racially diverse college students, including Asian Americans. The measure also demonstrated acceptable internal consistency with the current sample at both times ($\alpha = .70$ and $.68$, respectively).

Critical Agency. The seven-item Critical Agency subscale of the *Measure of Adolescent Critical Consciousness* (McWhirter & McWhirter, 2016) examined participants' motivation, commitment, and ability to contribute to positive social change (e.g., "I am motivated to try to end racism and discrimination."). Participants indicated their level of agreement with each statement on a 4-point Likert scale, with 1 = Strongly Disagree and 4 = Strongly Agree. The original measure was validated for use with Latina/o adolescents and has demonstrated acceptable reliability in racially diverse samples including Asian Americans (Byrd & Ahn, 2020). Higher scores indicated greater critical agency. Within this sample, the measure demonstrated acceptable internal consistency at both time points ($\alpha = .91$ and $.94$, respectively).

Sociopolitical Engagement. Sociopolitical engagement was measured using three subscales from the *Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism* scale (Suyemoto et al., 2022). The sixteen-item Awareness and Relational Resistance subscale measures a person’s motivations and actions taken to foster personal and interpersonal awareness about racism (e.g., “I educate myself about race and racial discrimination.”). The three-item Participation in Resistance Activities and Organizations subscale measures participants’ engagement with activities or organizations dedicated to social justice causes (e.g., “I participate in activities or organizations that aim to reduce or resist racial discrimination.”). The three-item Interpersonal Confrontation subscale measures the frequency in which participants confront others when they perpetuate interpersonal racism (e.g., “I confront my acquaintances when they do or say something that racially stereotypes or discriminates.”). Participants rated the frequency of their engagement in each action using a five-point Likert scale, in which 1 = Rarely and 5 = Almost Always. The measure was originally validated for use with Asian, Black, Latinx, Native, and Multiracial Americans and other self-identified people of color in the United States. Each subscale at both times demonstrated acceptable internal consistency among this sample ($\alpha = .92-.96$).

Asian American Racial Identity Ideological Values. The 13-item *Asian American Racial Identity Ideological Values Measure* (Yoo et al., 2021) examined the importance that Asian Americans place on three racial ideologies—Asian American Unity, Interracial Solidarity, and Transnational Critical Consciousness—within their conceptualization of their racial identity. Asian American unity refers to the importance

of uniting with other Asian Americans, including acknowledging the diversity within and expansiveness of the Asian American racial group and believing in Asian Americans' right to self-determine the meaning of this racial identity (e.g., "It is important to support all Asian Americans who feel exclusion or rejection because of their intersecting identities (e.g., race, class, gender)"). Interracial solidarity refers to a commitment to racial justice for non-Asian racial groups (e.g., "Asian Americans should fight for issues that target non-Asian racial groups"). Transnational critical consciousness refers to a connection to and concern about Asians' experiences in Asia (e.g., "The presence of the U.S. government and military in Asia is harmful to those countries"). Participants indicate their level of agreement with each statement on a Likert scale between 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). This measure demonstrated adequate reliability and validity among Asian American college students (Yoo et al., 2021). The measure also demonstrated acceptable internal consistency with the present sample at both time points ($\alpha = .67-.91$).

Predictors of Profile Membership and Transitions (Study 1)

Demographic Information. Demographic information was included as predictors of profile membership and transitions. At each time point, participants self-reported their age, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, the Ethnic Studies course they were enrolled in, and the previous Ethnic Studies courses they had taken. Additional demographic variables were created for each participant based on the region of their Asian ethnic heritage (i.e., East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian), U.S. region of their university (i.e., West, Midwest, Southwest, South, Northeast, and Mid-Atlantic),

number of previous Ethnic Studies courses taken, and whether the participant's current Ethnic Studies course was lower or upper division.

Previous Racial-Ethnic Socialization. Participants' perceptions of the frequency of familial (i.e., parent or caregiver) racial-ethnic socialization was measured using subscales from the *Multiracial Youth Socialization Scale* (MY-Soc; Atkin et al., 2021). Participant responses on the MY-SOC subscales at the beginning of the Ethnic Studies course were included as predictors of profile membership and transitions. The race-conscious socialization subscale measured whether their parent or caregiver relayed messages about racial oppression and privilege (e.g., "Taught me about unfair laws and policies in the United States that target racial-ethnic minorities"). The colorblind socialization subscale assessed whether caregivers adopted a "colorblind" approach to racism, wherein they don't acknowledge racial disparities or differences (e.g., "Says that racism is no longer an issue in the United States"). The diversity appreciation subscale measured caregivers' messages about appreciation and acceptance of diverse cultures in the United States (e.g., "Taught me to be accepting of people from all racial-ethnic backgrounds"). Finally, the silent socialization subscale assessed how frequently their caregiver avoided or expressed discomfort talking about race (e.g., "When I try to discuss race, my (caregiver) changes the subject"). Responses indicated participants' agreement with each statement about their caregiver's socialization practices, with 1 = strongly disagree and 6 = strongly agree. The three subscales demonstrated acceptable reliability within the current sample at both times ($\alpha = .74-94$). Participants reported racial-ethnic socialization messages for up to two caregivers, with most reporting racial-ethnic

socialization from a mother figure (i.e., a biological mother, stepmother, grandmother, aunt) or father figure (i.e., biological father, stepfather, grandfather, uncle). Socialization messages for mother and father figures were assessed separately.

Perceptions of school racial-ethnic socialization were assessed at pre-test using three subscales of the *School Climate for Diversity Scale* (Byrd, 2019). The Cultural Socialization subscale assessed whether participants receive messages about their cultural, ethnic, or racial group at their university (e.g., “At your university, you have the opportunity to participate in activities that teach you more about your cultural background.”). The Critical Consciousness Socialization subscale assessed whether participants receive messages about power, privilege, and oppression at their university (e.g., “The faculty teach about inequality in the United States based on race and culture.”). Third, the colorblind socialization subscale measured whether participants received messages that race is unimportant or that racism is not existent at their university (e.g., “People here think it’s better to not pay attention to race.”). Participants indicated their level of agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 = not at all true and 5 = completely true. The original scale demonstrated reliability and criterion validity among a sample of racially diverse college students (Byrd, 2019). The three subscales also demonstrated acceptable reliability with the current sample at both times ($\alpha = .73-.86$).

Analytic Plan

Preliminary analyses of missing data and descriptive statistics were conducted using SPSS version 29. Latent transition analyses were conducted on Mplus version 8.2

to address the study's central research questions. The first step in conducting latent transition analyses is to use latent profile analyses to identify the ideal number of profiles at each time point (Collins & Lanza, 2010; Nylund-Gibson et al., 2023). The ideal latent profile solution was determined using information criteria, indicators of measurement certainty (specific and global average posterior probabilities, entropies, and profile sizes), and ratio tests (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2012; Nylund, 2007; Nylund et al., 2007). The information criteria evaluated included log likelihood values, sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion (SABIC) values and changes between subsequent profiles, and Akaike information criterion (AIC). Higher log likelihood values and lower BIC and AIC values are indicative of better model fit. Regarding measurement certainty, values above .80 for entropy and average posterior probabilities were considered acceptable, and values above .90 were considered ideal to ensure well-separated classes given the small sample size. Additionally, profile sizes were evaluated such that no profile was smaller than 1% of the total sample size (i.e., 3 participants or less). Lastly, ratio tests examined included the Lo-Mendell-Rubin (LMR) test and the bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (BLRT), in which a significant *p*-value indicates that the current model (*k*) fits the data better than the previous model (*k*-1).

After establishing the number of profiles at each time point, predictors were added to the pre-test and post-test latent profile analyses using the automated R3STEP method (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2013) to assess whether demographic characteristics and previous racialized experiences predict profile membership at each time point. Demographic predictors include gender (1 = Male), sexual orientation (1 = LGBTQ),

nativity status (1 = born in the United States), region of Asian ethnic heritage, lower- or upper-division classification of the Ethnic Studies course, and region of the U.S. that the university is located. Racial-ethnic socialization predictors included familial (i.e., mothers' and fathers') race-conscious socialization, familial diversity appreciation socialization, familial colorblind socialization, familial silent socialization, school critical consciousness socialization, school cultural socialization, and school colorblind socialization. At each time point, separate models were run for demographic predictors and racial-ethnic socialization predictors.

Once the ideal profile solutions at each time point are identified, the next step in latent transition analysis is to examine the latent transition probabilities between profiles at the beginning and end of the course (Muthén & Asparouhov, 2011). Using the profile structures identified by the latent profile analyses at each time point, measurement invariance of profiles across time was assessed by comparing a model with all profile indicators freely estimated to alternative models with full or partial constraints on profile indicators. Freed and constrained models were compared using log-likelihood ratio tests (using the Yuan-Bentler T_2 test statistic) and comparing SABIC values, wherein lower SABIC values indicate better model fit. If the fully or partially constrained models demonstrate better model fit (or are not statistically different than the freely estimated model), then measurement invariance exists across profiles over time. Examining the extent of measurement invariance in profiles over time allows researchers to assess stability in profiles over time, which informs the extent to which profiles at each time point can be directly compared to each other over time. After determining the final

measurement model, I examined the latent transition probabilities between profiles, including determining which transition logits were significant and the proportion of students that move from each class at pre-test to each class at post-test.

Researcher Positionality

I identify as a second-generation Filipina American doctoral student, who also identifies as cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied, and from an upper-middle class socioeconomic background. My experiences in formal and community-based Ethnic Studies education spaces and as a student and community organizer with Asian American and other racially minoritized communities motivate her interests in Asian Americans' critical consciousness and racial-ethnic socialization. The second through fifth authors are professors and experts in developmental science, the psychology of racism, and Ethnic Studies education, and they occupy varied social locations by race, gender, and sexual orientation. Two authors are also professors in Ethnic Studies departments. Researcher positionalities shape the research process from idea generation to manuscript writing, and disclosing these positionalities is imperative a transparent, critical quantitative science (Garcia et al., 2018; Suzuki et al., 2021).

Furthermore, by acknowledging positionality, researchers can take intentional steps to mitigate imbalances of power that are common in traditional academic practice. Through the process of data collection in the broader project, I began building relationships with professors and students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses, with whom I built commitments to sharing the information from this study in ways digestible for practitioners and community members. In pursuit of this aim, I have begun working with

undergraduate research assistants—whom I strive to mentor in culturally responsive ways that acknowledge the role of identity, positionality, and critical consciousness in career development—to create social media infographics to share preliminary descriptive statistics with non-academic audiences. I also corroborate my interpretations of research findings through relationships built with Asian American community organizers in Arizona and California, whose knowledge about social justice, solidarity movements, and critical education spaces has guided and sharpened my interpretations of Asian American critical consciousness throughout the research design, data collection, and analysis process. As this broader research project progresses, I intend to continuously consider dynamics of academic extractivism (versus adequate compensation and collaboration) and sharing authority with “non-academic” experts by continuing to share research findings beyond exclusive academic spaces; shaping my interpretations of research based on direct perspectives from students, practitioners, and community organizers; and sharing and applying lessons from my research with practitioners, community organizers, and students.

Study 1 Results

Preliminary Analyses

Data were screened for missingness and normality using SPSS version 29. Means, standard deviations, and correlations between latent profile indicators and predictors of latent profiles are listed in Tables 1-3. Little’s MCAR test was significant, suggesting that data were not missing completely at random ($\chi^2(298) = 474.40, p < .001$). Missingness across variables ranged from 0% to 9.1%, and 87% of participants had less than 5%

missing data. Evaluation of missing data patterns suggest that missingness may be attributed to the order of questions presented on the survey and survey response fatigue. The highest proportions of missing data were collected in the latter half of the survey. Additionally, when examining missing data patterns among participants with the highest proportions of missing data, data were missing on the latter half of survey (as opposed to the initial half of the survey). Thus, since missingness may be predicted by survey response fatigue—rather than construct-specific predictions about would-be values on missing variables—the data were concluded to be missing at random (Enders, 2013; Newman, 2014).

Univariate and multivariate normality were also assessed among the data. Skewness values were within acceptable range. Kurtosis values exceeded an absolute value of 2 on Asian American unity and interracial solidarity at pre-test. Additionally, observations of standard residual/predicted score scatterplots suggested slight heteroscedasticity across variables. Thus, the main analyses utilized maximum likelihood robust (MLR) estimation to account for both missing data, non-normality, and heteroscedasticity of variables.

Outliers whose z -score was an absolute value greater than 3.29 were identified for Asian American unity at both times, interracial solidarity at both times, transnational critical consciousness at both times, cultural socialization at both times, and critical agency at post-test. Outliers were retained because all values were within plausible ranges for the variables and were close in value to the next non-outlier within the variables.

Correlations between study variables and means and standard deviations are listed in Tables 1-3. Across all time points, indicators of Asian Americans' critical consciousness were significantly related to each other and across both times. Familial and school racial-ethnic socialization were also differentially related to indicators of Asian American critical consciousness of racism. In terms of overarching trends, male gender, enrollment in an introductory-level Ethnic Studies course, and mothers', fathers', and school colorblind socialization were negatively correlated with several indicators of Asian American critical consciousness at pre-test. Additionally, being born in the U.S., number of Ethnic Studies classes previously taken, and school critical consciousness socialization was positively correlated with several Asian American critical consciousness indicators at pre-test.

Table 1.*Correlations between Profile Indicators*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Critical social analysis, pre-test	--															
2. Critical social analysis, post-test	.608***	--														
3. Agency, pre-test	.503***	.377***	--													
4. Agency, post-test	.448***	.497***	.657***	--												
5. Awareness and relational resistance, pre-test	.575***	.413***	.705***	.567***	--											
6. Awareness and relational resistance, post-test	.534***	.469***	.598***	.638***	.791***	--										
7. Participation in resistance activities and organizations, pre-test	.349***	.243***	.471***	.416***	.683***	.496***	--									
8. Participation in resistance activities and organizations, post-test	.357***	.294***	.380***	.452***	.535***	.620***	.617***	--								
9. Interpersonal confrontation, pre-test	.434***	.266***	.546***	.383***	.695**	.623***	.437***	.340***	--							
10. Interpersonal confrontation, post-test	.367***	.369***	.429***	.461***	.576***	.732***	.305***	.439***	.673***	--						
11. Asian American unity, pre-test	.351***	.315***	.474***	.454***	.424***	.387***	.211***	.199**	.289***	.300***	--					
12. Asian American unity,	.362***	.397***	.463***	.468***	.378***	.412***	.178**	.164*	.236***	.286***	.503***	--				

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
post-test																
13. Interracial solidarity, pre-test	.429***	.375***	.545***	.570***	.523***	.507***	.277***	.285***	.313***	.327***	.691***	.510***	--			
14. Interracial solidarity, post-test	.393***	.388***	.487***	.542***	.488***	.538***	.274***	.276***	.260***	.351***	.549***	.753***	.735***	--		
15. Transnational critical consciousness, pre-test	.477***	.405***	.471***	.441***	.466***	.368***	.303***	.235***	.274***	.204**	.545***	.409***	.631***	.521***	--	
16. Transnational critical consciousness, post-test	.412***	.472***	.536***	.528***	.495***	.539***	.288***	.339***	.311***	.347***	.492***	.668***	.515***	.685***	.541***	--
<i>M</i>	4.72	4.66	3.28	3.25	3.44	3.47	2.43	2.50	3.33	3.41	6.16	6.09	5.93	.597	5.26	5.46
<i>SD</i>	.08	.08	.04	.04	.06	.06	.09	.09	.08	.07	.05	.06	.07	.07	.07	.07

Note. *** Correlation is significant at the $p < .001$ level (2-tailed). ** Correlation is significant at the $p = .01$ level (2-tailed).

Table 2.*Correlations between Profile Indicators at Pre-Test and Racial-Ethnic Socialization Predictors*

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Critical social analysis	.064	.055	-.076	-.072	-.178**	-.199**	.117	.127	.021	.133*	-.079
2. Critical agency	.116	.093	.046	.015	-.201**	-.249***	.038	.003	.072	.217***	-.134*
3. Awareness and relational resistance	.174**	.169*	-.003	-.001	-.226***	-.251***	-.018	-.029	.130*	.269***	-.068
4. Participation in resistance organizations and activities	.142*	.160*	-.064	-.043	-.124	-.129	.048	.059	.054	.167**	.021
5. Interpersonal confrontation	.098	.065	-.048	-.048	-.131*	-.114*	-.007	.021	-.010	.103	-.148*
6. Asian American unity	.073	.100	.051	.063	-.123	-.161*	.034	.026	.062	.150*	-.177**
7. Interracial solidarity	.090	.125	-.005	.002	-.193**	-.184**	.067	.056	.051	.164*	-.194**
8. Transnational critical consciousness	.064	.092	-.104	-.081	-.219***	-.204**	.006	.071	-.033	.055	-.129*
9. Mothers' race-conscious socialization	--										
10. Father's race-conscious socialization	.857***	--									
11. Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	.544***	.473***	--								
12. Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	.484***	.546***	.872***	--							
13. Mothers' colorblind socialization	-.102	-.054	-.027	-.016	--						
14. Fathers' colorblind socialization	-.114	-.123	-.039	-.074	.876***	--					
15. Mothers' silent socialization	-.330***	-.247***	-.298***	-.324***	.411***	.374***	--				
16. Fathers' silent socialization	-.294***	-.396***	-.297***	-.425***	.282***	.367***	.800***	--			
17. School cultural socialization	.044	.037	.07	.049	-.001	.001	.031	-.007	--		
18. School critical consciousness socialization	.048	.089	.124	.093	.075	.042	.004	-.045	.640**	--	
19. School colorblind socialization	.075	.039	-.107	-.097	.174**	.140*	.118	.140*	-.011	-.137*	--
<i>M</i>	3.16	3.14	4.30	4.33	2.89	2.82	2.82	2.85	3.92	3.86	1.96

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<i>SD</i>	.08	.07	.08	.08	.06	.06	.08	.08	.06	.06	.07

Note. All variables above were assessed at pre-test. ***. Correlation is significant at the $p < .001$ level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the $p = .01$ level (2-tailed). *. Correlation is significant at the $p = .05$ level (2-tailed).

Table 3.*Correlations between Profile Indicators at Pre-Test, Racial-Ethnic Socialization Predictors, and Demographic Predictors*

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1. Critical social analysis	-.169**	.143*	.036	-.346	.075	.096	-.044	.223***	-.143*
2. Critical agency	-.101	-.005	.135*	-.350***	-.028	.196**	-.025	.199**	.216**
3. Awareness and relational resistance	-.070	-.020	.150*	-.364***	-.012	.142*	-.006	.147*	-.151*
4. Participation in resistance organizations and activities	-.056	-.033	.101	-.213	.072	.071	-.047	.172**	-.118
5. Interpersonal confrontation	-.062	.013	.122	-.218***	-.003	.049	-.077	.049	-.053
6. Asian American unity	.005	.040	.031	-.249***	.001	.128*	-.038	.150*	-.153*
7. Interracial solidarity	-.059	-.037	.128*	-.270***	.032	.259***	-.122	.173**	-.230**
8. Transnational critical consciousness	-.102	-.015	.134*	-.307***	.054	.245***	-.071	.269***	-.281***
9. Mothers' race-conscious socialization	-.131*	-.008	.145*	.014	.008	.025	.093	.051	.005
10. Father's race-conscious socialization	-.123	-.047	.184**	.044	.073	-.009	.070	-.031	.051
11. Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	-.045	-.055	.087	.051	-.067	-.043	.027	.038	.007
12. Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	-.069	-.027	.065	.067	-.009	-.083	.017	-.023	.048
13. Mothers' colorblind socialization	.036	-.016	-.072	.178**	-.088	-.137*	.086	-.105	.067
14. Fathers' colorblind socialization	.014	-.032	-.027	.216**	-.147*	-.090	.032	-.097	.082
15. Mothers' silent socialization	.022	.059	-.020	.018	-.013	-.107	.010	-.054	-.065
16. Fathers' silent socialization	-.064	.124	.003	.001	-.073	-.004	-.061	.020	-.106
17. School cultural socialization	.037	.052	-.131*	.071	-.025	.126	.026	.047	.007
18. School critical consciousness socialization	-.005	-.011	-.022	.018	.001	.154*	.058	.093	-.046
19. School colorblind socialization	.070	-.040	-.067	.104	-.060	-.149*	.144*	-.061	.039
20. East Asian heritage	--								
21. Southeast Asian heritage	-.463***	--							
22. South Asian heritage	-.440***	-.358***	--						
23. Gender (1 = Male)	-.003	.006	.006	--					
24. Sexual orientation (1 = LGBTQ)	.161*	-.101	-.053	-.191**	--				

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
25. Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	-.036	.061	-.013	-.146*	.078	--			
26. Age	-.054	.029	.051	.038	-.044	-.083	--		
27. Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken	-.058	.09	-.064	-.027	.046	.126*	-.02	--	
28. Ethnic Studies class level (1 = lower division)	.021	.007	-.015	.065	-.061	-.079	.043	-.319***	--

Note. All variables above were assessed at pre-test. *** Correlation is significant at the $p < .001$ level (2-tailed). ** Correlation is significant at the $p = .01$ level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the $p = .05$ level (2-tailed).

Latent Profile Analyses at Pre-Test (Time 1)

Table 2 displays the information criteria, measurement certainty, and ratio tests used to determine the ideal profile solution at pre-test. Log-likelihood, SABIC, and AIC values suggested that, overall, a higher number of profiles fit the data better. The rate of decrease in SABIC values tapered off after the fourth profile. Posterior probabilities and entropy values were all within acceptable range, with posterior probabilities suggesting a 2- or 3-profile solution and entropies suggesting a 3- or 5-profile solution. The LMR ratio test was only significant at the 2-profile solution, and the BLRTs were significant for all solutions except the 5-profile solution. When examining the qualitative nature of profiles in 2-, 3-, and 4-profile solutions, two profiles in the 4-profile solution appeared to have highly similar patterns (and only variations in means) in seven out of eight indicators. Thus, the 3-profile solution was chosen as the ideal solution at pre-test due to the qualitative distinctiveness of its profiles and relevance to the literature (Figures 2-3).

Table 4.

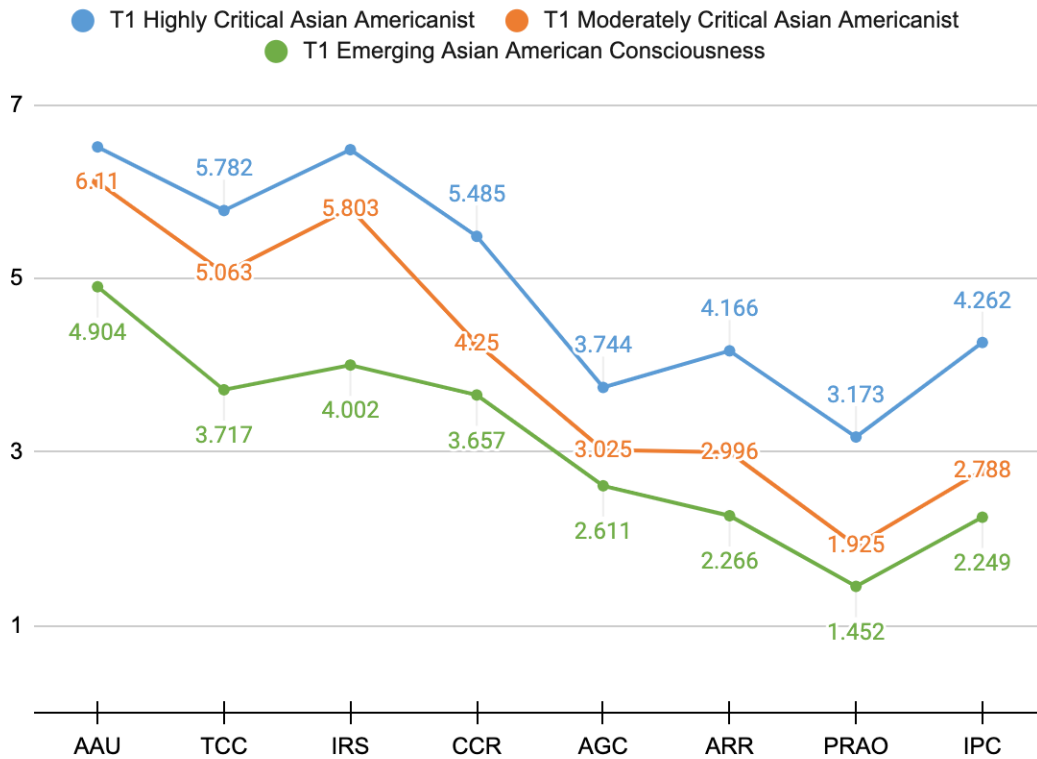
Pre-Test Profile and Model Fit Criteria

Profiles	Information Criteria				Measurement Certainty						Ratio Tests				
	LL	SABIC	Δ SABIC	AIC	Entropy	Average Posterior Probabilities		Profile size						LMR	BLRT
						Specific	Global	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1	-2680.258	5398.390	--	5392.516	1.000	1.000		254						--	--
2	-2370/849	4800.876	597.514	4791.697	0.888	.968, .972		136 118						.000	<.001
3	-2266.337	4613.157	187.719	4600.674	0.900	.942, .949, .969		25 122 107						.181	<.001
4	-2244.056	4589.899	23.258	4574.133	0.821	.925, .931, .847, .879		23 112 61 58						.505	<.001
5	-2224.198	4571.487	18.412	4552.397	0.933	.950, .962, .949, .953, 1		25 119 7 102 1						.417	1.00
6	-2163.893	4472.180	99.307	4449.786	0.880	.952, .907, .916, .924, .894, .978		19 76 58 58 36 7						.433	<.001

Note. LL = Log-likelihood. SABIC = Sample size-adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion. Δ SABIC = Change in the sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion between the k and k-1 class. AIC = Akaike information criterion. LMR = Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted ratio test. BLRT = Bootstrapped likelihood ratio test. Ratio test values listed are *p* values.

Figure 2.

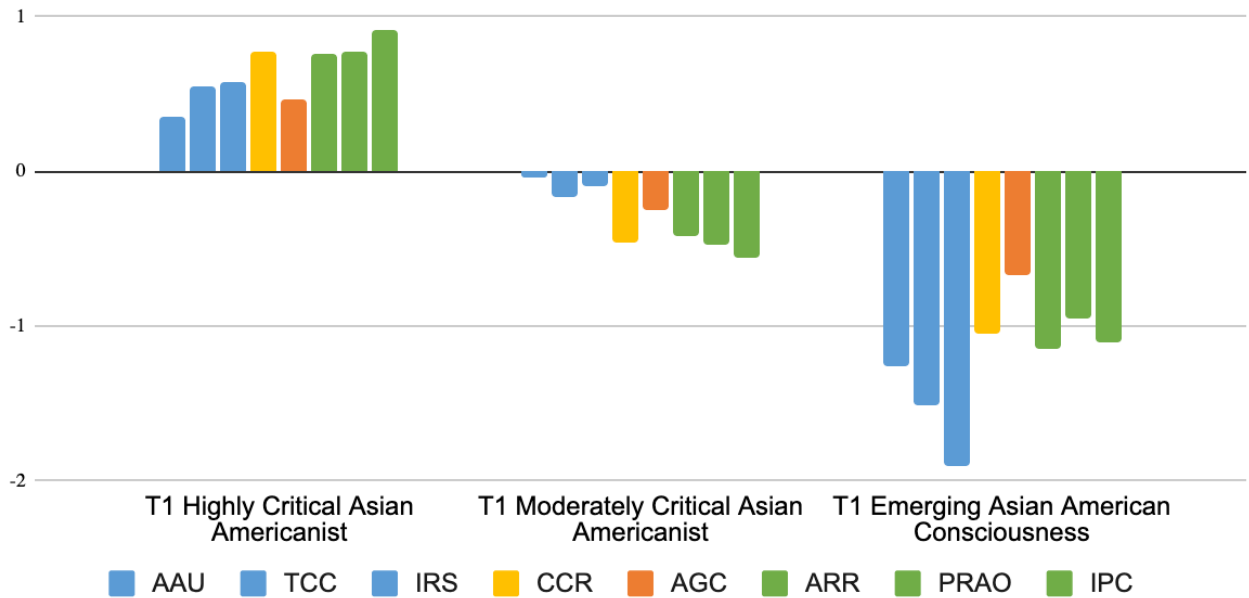
Pre-Test Profile Solution



Note. T1 = Time 1, referring to pre-test. AAU = Asian American unity. TCC = Transnational critical consciousness. IRS = Interracial solidarity. CCR = Critical consciousness of racism (i.e., critical social analysis). AGC = Critical agency. ARR = Awareness and relational resistance. PRAO = Participation in resistance activities and organizations. IPC = Interpersonal confrontation.

Figure 3.

Pre-Test Profile Solution, Mean-Centered



Note. T1 = Time 1, referring to pre-test. AAU = Asian American unity. TCC = Transnational critical consciousness. IRS = Interracial solidarity. CCR = Critical consciousness of racism (i.e., critical social analysis). AGC = Critical agency. ARR = Awareness and relational resistance. PRAO = Participation in resistance activities and organizations. IPC = Interpersonal confrontation.

The *Time 1* (T1; referring to pre-test) *Emerging Asian American Consciousness* profile ($n = 25$; 10%) has moderate to low scores on Asian American-specific indicators (i.e., Asian American unity, transnational critical consciousness, interracial solidarity) and low scores on general critical consciousness indicators (i.e., critical reflection, critical agency, and sociopolitical engagement). Their scores across Asian-American specific and general critical consciousness indicators are the lowest relative to the rest of the sample, suggesting that their consciousness of what it means to be Asian American amidst systems of oppression is still emerging relative to other profiles.

The *T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist* profile ($n = 107$; 42%) includes participants with the highest scores across all indicators of Asian American-specific indicators and general critical consciousness indicators relative to the rest of the sample. Their scores suggest that participants in this profile report high levels of certainty in their analysis of oppression and commitments to challenging oppression from their racial positioning as Asian Americans, which aligns with an Asian Americanist perspective (Tseng & Lee, 2021).

The *T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist* profile ($n = 122$; 48%) is characterized by the second-highest scores across Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators compared to the other two profiles at pre-test. When examining this profile's patterns of Asian American-specific indicators, mean scores were high and numerically closer to that of the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile; this feature distinguished this profile from the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. When examining this profile's patterns of general critical

consciousness indicators, mean scores were moderate to low and numerically closer to those of the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. This profile had slightly higher mean scores on the general critical consciousness indicators compared to the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile, hence the use of the phrase “Moderately Critical” in the name; however, it is important to note that mean scores between the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile and T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile were close numerically. These scores suggest that participants in this profile report high levels of certainty about their racial positioning as Asian Americans—in alignment with an Asian Americanist perspective (Tseng & Lee, 2021)—and are developing their critical consciousness of racism more generally, similar to the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile.

Predictors of Pre-Test (Time 1) Profiles

Regarding demographic predictors of latent profile membership (Table 5), identifying as South Asian (as opposed to East Asian) (OR = .12, $p < .001$), being born in the United States (OR = .14, $p < .001$), being older in age (OR = .79, $p = .01$), and attending university in the East United States (as opposed to the West) (OR = .29, $p = .03$) was associated with lower odds of membership in the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Identifying as South Asian (OR = .38, $p = .001$), identifying as LGBQ (OR = .32, $p < .001$), and being born in the United States (OR = .42, $p = .01$) was associated with lower odds of membership in the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile relative to the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Additionally, the odds of membership

in the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile compared to the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile was over four times higher for male participants compared to female and nonbinary participants (OR = 4.74, $p = .04$). Lastly, identifying as South Asian (OR = .31, $p = .02$), being born in the United States (OR = .34, $p = .002$), and attending a university in the Midwest U.S. (OR = .35, $p = .01$) was associated with significantly lower odds of membership in the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile compared to the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile.

Table 5.*Relations Between Demographic Predictors and Pre-Test Latent Profile Membership*

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
Reference Profile = T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist				
T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Southeast Asian	.838	.520	.755
	South Asian	.120	.116	.000
	Male (1 = Male)	13.602	9.678	.193
	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	.599	.494	.416
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.144	.099	.000
	Age	.785	.087	.013
	Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken	.731	.222	.225
	Introductory-level Ethnic Studies course	1.949	1.827	.603
	Midwest	.476	.374	.161
	East	.286	.327	.029
	South and Southwest	.435	.545	.300
T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	Southeast Asian	.783	.337	.520
	South Asian	.382	.191	.001
	Male (1 = Male)	4.740	1.822	.040
	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	.324	.152	.000
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.418	.218	.008
	Age	.917	.054	.122
	Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken	.913	.115	.446
	Introductory-level Ethnic Studies course	1.304	.514	.554
	Midwest	1.363	.648	.575
	East	.698	.375	.421
	South and Southwest	.921	.535	.882
Reference profile = T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist				
T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Southeast Asian	1.070	.608	.908
	South Asian	.314	.296	.021
	Male (1 = Male)	2.870	1.971	.343
	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	1.847	1.550	.585
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.344	.215	.002
	Age	.856	.091	.116
	Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken	.801	.242	.411

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
	Introductory-level Ethnic Studies course	1.495	1.424	.728
	Midwest	.349	.244	.008
	East	.410	.450	.190
	South and Southwest	.473	.611	.388

Note. T1 = Time 1, referring to pre-test. East Asian heritage was excluded as a predictor to serve as a reference group for Asian ethnic heritage region. West was excluded as a predictor to serve as a reference group for geographic region.

In sum, identifying as South Asian, being born in the United States, being older, identifying as LGBQ, and identifying as female or non-binary (versus male) were associated with lower odds of membership in “less critical” profiles (i.e., profiles with lower mean scores across critical consciousness indicators) at pre-test, with most consistent trends observed for South Asian Americans and those both in the United States. Additional group differences in profile membership were found based on geographic region.

Regarding racial-ethnic socialization predictors (Table 6), mothers’ race-conscious socialization (OR = .28, $p = .02$) and school critical consciousness socialization (OR = .36, $p < .001$) were associated with significantly lower odds of membership in the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile compared to the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Mothers’ race-conscious socialization (OR = .49, $p < .02$) and school critical consciousness socialization (OR = .48, $p < .001$) were also related to lower odds of membership in the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile relative to the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Taken together, mothers’ race-conscious socialization and school critical consciousness socialization were predictive of lower odds of membership in “less critical” profiles compared to the T1 Highly Critical

Asian Americanist profile. Lastly, the odds of membership in the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile were not significantly different based on any racial-ethnic socialization predictors.

Table 6.

Relations Between Racial-Ethnic Socialization Predictors and Pre-Test Latent Profile

Membership

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
	Reference profile = T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist			
T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	.276	.210	.001
	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	1.396	.646	.754
	Mothers' colorblind socialization	.704	.290	.564
	Fathers' colorblind socialization	2.692	1.990	.443
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.715	.305	.403
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	.829	.349	.657
	Mothers' silent socialization	.764	.326	.535
	Fathers' silent socialization	.893	.245	.777
	School critical consciousness socialization	.356	.140	.001
	School cultural socialization	1.448	.452	.491
T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	School colorblind socialization	1.808	.215	.238
	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	.487	.210	.015
	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	1.437	.646	.498
	Mothers' colorblind socialization	.647	.290	.223
	Fathers' colorblind socialization	4.195	1.990	.108
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.006	.305	.983
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.112	.349	.749
	Mothers' silent socialization	.860	.326	.666
	Fathers' silent socialization	.663	.245	.168
	School critical consciousness socialization	.478	.140	.000
School cultural socialization	1.773	.452	.088	
School colorblind socialization	1.089	.215	.678	

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
Reference Profile = T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist				
T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	.566	.491	.377
	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	.971	.925	.975
	Mothers' colorblind socialization	1.088	.732	.905
	Fathers' colorblind socialization	.642	.495	.469
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.704	.848	.406
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	.746	.343	.458
	Mothers' silent socialization	.889	.488	.820
	Fathers' silent socialization	1.347	.655	.596
	School critical consciousness socialization	.744	.379	.500
	School cultural socialization	.817	.375	.625
	School colorblind socialization	1.659	.613	.282

Note. T1 = Time 1, referring to pre-test.

Latent Profile Analyses at Post-Test (Time 2)

Table 7 displays the information criteria, measurement certainty indicators, and ratio tests used to determine the ideal profile solution at post-test. Information criteria suggest that more classes are better, with the change in SABIC tapering off at the 5-profile solution. Posterior probabilities were all above .80, and the global average was highest for the 4-profile solution. Entropies were also above .80 and suggested the 5-profile to be the best fit, followed by the 4-profile solution. The LMR ratio test was significant only at the 2-profile solution. BLRTs were significant across all solutions. When examining class sizes across profile solutions, small class sizes emerged in the 4-profile, 5-profile, and 6-profile solutions. However, the 4-profile solution had average posterior probabilities above .92—with an average posterior probability greater than .99 on the smallest class—indicating that profiles were well-separated despite the small

profile size. Thus, the 4-profile solution was chosen as the ideal solution for the post-test data based on fit indices and relevance to theory and prior research (Figures 4-5).

Table 7.

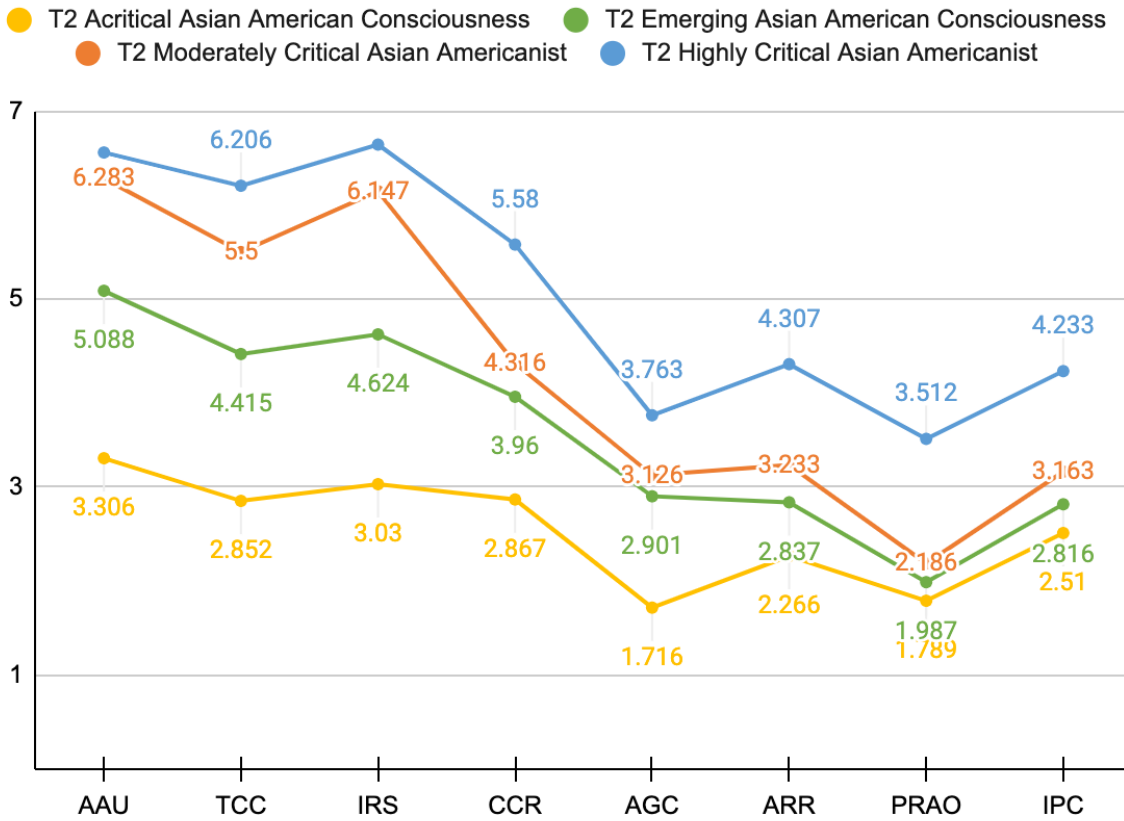
Post-Test Profile and Model Fit Criteria

Profiles	Information Criteria				Measurement Certainty						Ratio Tests			
	LL	SABIC	Δ SABIC	AIC	Entropy	Average Posterior Probabilities			Profile size			LMR	BLRT	
						Specific			Global					
1	-2658.924	5355.722	--	5349.848	1.000	1.000			1.000			254	--	--
2	-2398.731	4856.640	499.082	4847.462	0.826	.948, .949			0.949			105 149	.032	<.001
3	-2269.177	4618.857	237.783	4606.375	0.849	.951, .917, .945			0.938			33 133 88	.476	<.001
4	-2197.670	4497.125	121.732	4481.339	0.886	.998, .926, .949, .942			0.954			7 46 121 80	.107	<.001
5	-2151.338	4425.765	71.360	4406.675	0.890	.986, .892, .953, .930, .924			0.937			10 37 16 76 115	.260	<.001
6	-2123.159	4390.713	35.052	4368.319	0.858	.995, .893, .942, .882, .939, .876			0.921			8 27 17 90 59 53	.567	<.001

Note. LL = Log-likelihood. SABIC = Sample size-adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion. Δ SABIC = Change in the sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion between the k and k-1 class. AIC = Akaike information criterion. LMR = Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted ratio test. BLRT = Bootstrapped likelihood ratio test. Ratio test values listed are *p* values.

Figure 4.

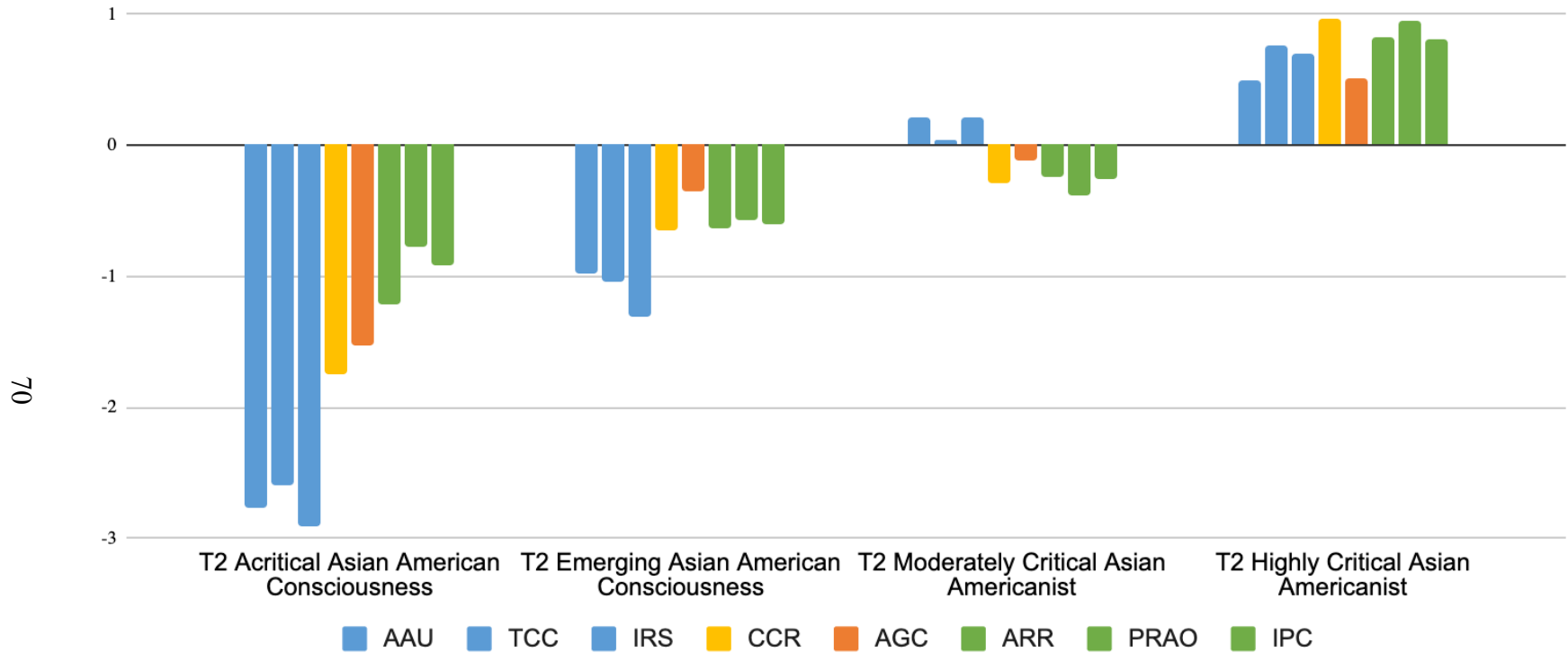
Post-Test Profile Solution



Note. T2 = Time 2, referring to post-test. AAU = Asian American unity. TCC = Transnational critical consciousness. IRS = Interracial solidarity. CCR = Critical consciousness of racism (i.e., critical social analysis). AGC = Critical agency. ARR = Awareness and relational resistance. PRAO = Participation in resistance activities and organizations. IPC = Interpersonal confrontation.

Figure 5.

Post-Test Profile Solution, Mean-Centered



Note. T2 = Time 2, referring to post-test. AAU = Asian American unity. TCC = Transnational critical consciousness. IRS = Interracial solidarity. CCR = Critical consciousness of racism (i.e., critical social analysis). AGC = Critical agency. ARR = Awareness and relational resistance. PRAO = Participation in resistance activities and organizations. IPC = Interpersonal confrontation.

Three post-test profiles bore qualitatively similar indicator patterns to the profiles at pre-test. The *Time 2* (T2; referring to post-test) *Emerging Asian American Consciousness*, *T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist*, and *T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist* profiles had qualitatively similar patterns to the pre-test profiles of the same names, though with higher indicator means (except for interpersonal confrontation in the T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile compared to post-test). The quantitative differences in means may contribute to measurement non-invariance in profiles that seem qualitatively similar.

Similarly to pre-test, the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile ($n = 46$; 18%) had below-average scores across Asian American-specific (i.e., Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, transnational critical consciousness) and general critical consciousness indicators (i.e., critical social analysis, critical agency, sociopolitical engagement), though these scores were higher than the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. Notably, this profile's scores on the general critical consciousness indicators were numerically close to that of the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile.

The T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile ($n = 80$; 31%) had the highest mean scores across Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators relative to the other profiles at post-test, with particularly higher scores on the sociopolitical engagement indicators (i.e., awareness and relational resistance, participation in resistance activities and organizations, and interpersonal confrontation) compared to the other post-test profiles.

The T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile ($n = 121$; 48%) had the second-highest mean scores across Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators. This profile's scores on the Asian American-specific indicators were above the mean and numerically closer to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile compared to the other profiles. The profile's mean scores on critical social analysis and critical agency were below the mean, and close to those of the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. Mean scores on the sociopolitical engagement indicators were also below the mean, moderate to low, and were numerically closer to the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness and T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profiles than the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. This profile retained a similar name to the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile due to similar overall patterns of mean scores on indicators; however, it is important to note that scores on the general critical consciousness indicators in this profile were marginally higher, though numerically close in value, compared to those of the T2 Emerging and Acritical Asian American Consciousness profiles.

The fourth, qualitatively different profile (*T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness*; $n = 7$; 3%) has lower means on both Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators compared to all other post-test profiles. The T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile also has lower means on Asian American-specific indicators, critical social analysis, and critical agency compared to the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. Mean scores on awareness and relational resistance were similar between the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile

and the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile, and mean scores on interpersonal confrontation and participation in resistance activities and organizations were higher among the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile compared to the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. Means and standard deviations of profile indicators across classes and times are listed in Table 8.

Table 8.*Means of Latent Profile Indicators Across Profiles and Times*

Profile Indicators	Pre-Test Latent Profiles			Post-Test Latent Profiles			
	T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness	T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist
Asian American unity	4.90	6.11	6.52	3.31	5.09	6.28	6.56
Transnational critical consciousness	3.72	5.06	5.78	2.85	4.42	5.50	6.21
Interracial solidarity	4.00	5.80	6.48	3.03	4.62	6.15	6.64
Critical social analysis	3.66	4.25	5.49	2.87	3.96	4.32	5.58
Critical agency	2.61	3.03	3.74	1.72	2.90	3.13	3.76
Awareness and relational resistance	2.27	3.00	4.17	2.27	2.84	3.23	4.31
Participation in resistance activities and organizations	1.45	1.93	3.17	1.79	1.99	2.19	3.51
Interpersonal confrontation	2.25	2.79	4.26	2.51	2.82	3.16	4.23

Predictors of Post-Test (Time 2) Profiles

In terms of demographic predictors (Table 9), being born in the United States (OR = .09, $p < .001$), being older in age (OR = .27, $p < .001$), and attending a university in the Midwest U.S. (OR = .23, $p = .003$) was associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Identifying as LGBQ (OR = .21, $p < .001$), being born in the United States (OR = .22, $p < .001$), being older in age (OR = .64, $p < .001$), and attending a university in the East (OR = .17, $p < .001$) or South or Southwest (OR = .27, $p = .006$) were associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile compared to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Identifying as LGBQ (OR = .39, $p = .002$), being older (OR = .86, $p = .03$), and attending a university in the South or Southwest (OR = .40, $p = .04$) were also associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile relative to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile.

Being born in the United States (OR = .10, $p < .001$) and being older (OR = .32, $p < .001$) was associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile compared to the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile. Identifying as South Asian (OR = .31, $p = .02$), being born in the United States (OR = .26, $p < .001$), being older (OR = .74, $p = .01$), and attending a university in the East U.S. (OR = .29, $p = .01$) were associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile compared to the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile. Lastly, being older (OR = .43, $p = .02$)

was associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile.

Overall, being born in the United States, being older, identifying as LGBTQ, and identifying as South Asian American were associated with lower odds of membership in “less critical” profiles (i.e., profiles with lower mean scores across critical consciousness indicators) at pre-test, with most consistent trends observed for those both in the United States. Group differences in post-test profile membership were also found based on geographic region.

Table 9.

Relations Between Demographic Predictors and Post-Test Latent Profile Membership

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value	
	Reference Profile = T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist				
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness	Southeast Asian	.468	.447	.234	
	South Asian	1.245	2.482	.921	
	Male (1 = Male)	209.047	370.461	.574	
	LGBTQ (1 = LGBTQ)	.567	.757	.568	
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.088	.093	.000	
	Age	.273	.152	.000	
	Midwest	.227	.259	.003	
	South and Southwest	1.594	2.517	.814	
	T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Southeast Asian	.741	.420	.537
		South Asian	.522	.587	.416
Male (1 = Male)		21.516	13.745	.136	
LGBTQ (1 = LGBTQ)		.207	.174	.000	
Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)		.220	.154	.000	
Age		.642	.087	.000	
Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken		.702	.191	.119	
Introductory-level Ethnic Studies course		1.048	.703	.945	

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value	
T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	Midwest	.462	.296	.069	
	East	.171	.169	.000	
	South and Southwest	.273	.266	.006	
	Southeast Asian	1.124	.546	.820	
	South Asian	1.673	1.087	.536	
	Male (1 = Male)	5.627	2.903	.111	
	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	.385	.194	.002	
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.865	.545	.805	
	Age	.864	.061	.026	
	Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken	.890	.087	.210	
	Introductory-level Ethnic Studies course	1.824	.793	.298	
	Midwest	.585	.337	.218	
	East	.592	.357	.253	
	South and Southwest	.404	.284	.036	
Reference profile = T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist					
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness	Southeast Asian	.416	.369	.113	
	South Asian	.744	1.399	.855	
	Male (1 = Male)	37.151	63.905	.572	
	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	1.475	1.911	.804	
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.101	.096	.000	
	Age	.316	.175	.000	
	Midwest	.388	.407	.133	
	South and Southwest	3.944	5.502	.593	
	Southeast Asian	.659	.316	.281	
	South Asian	.312	.302	.023	
T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Male (1 = Male)	3.824	2.026	.163	
	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	.537	.455	.309	
	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.255	.151	.000	
	Age	.743	.095	.007	
	Number of Ethnic Studies classes taken	.788	.212	.318	
	Introductory-level Ethnic Studies course	.575	.380	.263	
	Midwest	.790	.402	.601	
	East	.288	.268	.008	
	South and Southwest	.676	.624	.603	
	Reference profile = T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness				
	Southeast Asian	.632	.571	.519	

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
T2 Acritical	South Asian	2.383	4.861	.776
Asian	Male (1 = Male)	9.716	16.814	.604
American	LGBQ (1 = LGBQ)	2.747	4.016	.664
Consciousness	Nativity (1 = Born in the United States)	.398	.355	.090
	Age	.425	.239	.016
	Midwest	.491	.525	.332
	South and Southwest	5.836	10.027	.360

Note. T2 = Time 2, referring to post-test. East Asian heritage was excluded as a predictor to serve as a reference group for Asian ethnic heritage region. West was excluded as a predictor to serve as a reference group for geographic region. Results for number of Ethnic Studies classes taken, introductory Ethnic Studies, and East region in relation to the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile were not listed due to odds ratio values being too large and inability to compute *p*-values.

Regarding racial-ethnic socialization (Table 10), fathers' race-conscious socialization (OR = .07, $p < .001$), fathers' colorblind socialization (OR = .32, $p = .04$), fathers' silent socialization (OR = .31, $p = .01$), and school cultural socialization (OR = .23, $p < .001$) were associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization (OR = .34, $p = .004$) and school critical consciousness socialization (OR = .14, $p < .001$) were associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization (OR = .31, $p = .004$) and school critical consciousness socialization (OR = .24, $p < .001$) were also associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile relative to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile.

Fathers' race-conscious socialization (OR = .15, $p < .001$), fathers' colorblind socialization (OR = .10, $p < .001$), fathers' diversity appreciation socialization (OR = .29, $p = .01$), and school cultural socialization (OR = .08, $p < .001$) were associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile. The odds of membership in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness and the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile did not significantly differ based on any of the racial-ethnic socialization predictors. Lastly, fathers' race-conscious socialization (OR = .12, $p < .001$), fathers' colorblind socialization (OR = .06, $p < .001$), fathers' diversity appreciation socialization (OR = .32, $p = .01$), and school cultural socialization (OR = .10, $p < .001$) were associated with lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile relative to the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile.

Overall, school cultural and critical consciousness socialization was associated with lower odds of membership in "less critical" profiles compared to the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Disparate trends were found across familial racial-ethnic socialization predictors, with findings suggesting only partial support for the hypotheses.

Table 10.

Relations Between Racial-Ethnic Socialization Predictors and Post-Test Latent Profile Membership

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
Reference profile = T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist				
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	2.504	2.408	.532
	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	.073	.069	.000
	Mothers' colorblind socialization	16.907	21.802	.466
	Fathers' colorblind socialization	.322	.333	.042
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.658	1.365	.630
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.420	.995	.673
	Mothers' silent socialization	.856	.772	.852
	Fathers' silent socialization	.306	.264	.008
	School critical consciousness socialization	1.134	1.102	.903
	School cultural socialization	.225	.130	.000
	School colorblind socialization	1.269	1.065	.801
T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	.765	.514	.648
	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	.594	.397	.306
	Mothers' colorblind socialization	.704	.438	.499
	Fathers' colorblind socialization	5.666	4.299	.278
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	.341	.232	.004
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	4.477	3.308	.293
	Mothers' silent socialization	1.018	.589	.975
	Fathers' silent socialization	.554	.288	.121
	School critical consciousness socialization	.144	.093	.000
	School cultural socialization	2.246	1.193	.296
	School colorblind socialization	1.953	.564	.091
T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	.991	.682	.989
	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	.491	.305	.096
	Mothers' colorblind socialization	.723	.469	.554
	Fathers' colorblind socialization	3.128	2.132	.318
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	.314	.238	.004
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	4.873	3.966	.329
	Mothers' silent socialization	1.264	.786	.737
	Fathers' silent socialization	.505	.285	.082
	School critical consciousness socialization	.235	.133	.000
	School cultural socialization	2.902	1.398	.174
	School colorblind socialization	1.406	.331	.220

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
	Reference Profile = T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist			
T2 Acritical	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	2.528	2.357	.517
Asian	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	.149	.128	.000
American	Mothers' colorblind socialization	23.391	26.440	.397
Consciousness	Fathers' colorblind socialization	.103	.089	.000
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	5.287	4.749	.367
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	.291	.253	.005
	Mothers' silent socialization	.677	.645	.617
	Fathers' silent socialization	.605	.563	.484
	School critical consciousness socialization	4.836	4.957	.439
	School cultural socialization	.077	.054	.000
	School colorblind socialization	.903	.750	.897
T2 Emerging	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	.772	.419	.587
Asian	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	1.208	.690	.763
American	Mothers' colorblind socialization	.975	.425	.952
Consciousness	Fathers' colorblind socialization	1.811	.913	.374
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	1.088	.501	.860
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	.919	.451	.857
	Mothers' silent socialization	.806	.349	.578
	Fathers' silent socialization	1.097	.463	.834
	School critical consciousness socialization	.615	.221	.082
	School cultural socialization	.774	.264	.392
	School colorblind socialization	1.390	.332	.241
	Reference profile = T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness			
T2 Acritical	Mothers' race-conscious socialization	3.273	3.045	.455
Asian	Fathers' race-conscious socialization	.124	.106	.000
American	Mothers' colorblind socialization	24.001	26.641	.388
Consciousness	Fathers' colorblind socialization	.057	.050	.000
	Mothers' diversity appreciation socialization	4.858	4.052	.341
	Fathers' diversity appreciation socialization	.317	.251	.006
	Mothers' silent socialization	.841	.777	.838
	Fathers' silent socialization	.552	.512	.381
	School critical consciousness socialization	7.859	8.115	.398
	School cultural socialization	.100	.074	.000

Latent Profile	Predictor	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value
	School colorblind socialization	.650	.551	.525

Note. T2 = Time 2, referring to post-test.

Tests for Measurement Invariance

Because the number of profiles in the ideal solution at pre-test differed compared to post-test, full measurement invariance was not established. I attempted to test for partial measurement invariance given that some profiles were similar in qualitative nature. When comparing a fully measurement invariant model (where the indicator means of qualitatively similar profiles were constrained to be equal over time) to a model with all parameters freed, log-likelihood ratio difference tests did not support measurement invariance. When comparing SABIC values between the freed and constrained models, measurement invariance was also not supported. Partial measurement invariance was also tested by constraining profiles that were similar in nature (i.e., T1 and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness, T1 and T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist, and T1 and T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist) one at a time and in combination, and comparing constrained models to the freed model. Conditions for partial measurement invariance were also not met based on significant log-likelihood ratio difference testing and evaluating differences in SABIC values. Thus, full non-invariance was.

Latent Transition Analysis

Latent transition probabilities were examined to assess movement between profiles from the beginning to the end of the semester (Table 11). Among those in T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile, about 80% were in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile. Among those in the T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist

profile, about 80% were in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile. Third, among those in the T1 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile, about 72% were in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. These findings suggest support for the hypothesis that students will demonstrate growth in critical consciousness between the beginning and end of the course. More specifically, participants who are in “more critical” profiles at pre-test (i.e., profiles with higher mean scores on critical consciousness indicators relative to other pre-test profiles) are also in “more critical” profiles at post-test (relative to other post-test profiles). Additional support for this hypothesis is demonstrated by how participants in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist, T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist, and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profiles have higher average scores on critical consciousness indicators compared to qualitatively similar profiles at pre-test.

Table 11.

Latent transition probabilities

Pre-Test Profiles	Post-Test Profiles			
	T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness
T1 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	.796	.166	.028	.009
T1 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	.031	.802	.154	.013
T2 Emerging Asian American	.000	.137	.725	.139

Consciousness

Note. Values represent the proportion of participants that transitioned from one latent profile at pre-test (rows) to another latent profile at post-test (columns). Proportions in rows sum to equal 1.

Other transition probabilities in Table 11 suggest that between 14-20% of participants may be moving from a “more critical” profile at pre-test to a “less critical” profile at post-test. This observation also holds for transitions into the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile, though notably, a very small proportion (i.e., less than 2%) of participants in the T1 Highly and Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles are likely to transition into the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile. These trends suggest the possibility that, although the majority of students demonstrate upward growth in critical consciousness, this direction of sociopolitical development may not happen uniformly for all students.

Although latent transition analysis can test for how predictors (e.g., demographics, prior racial socialization experiences) predict transitions between profiles over time, the model examining the effect of predictors on transition probabilities did not replicate the best log-likelihood value. Thus, no conclusions can be made regarding the role of demographic and racial-ethnic socialization predictors on latent transition probabilities.

Discussion

Study 1 assessed latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness, predictors of latent profile membership, and transitions across latent profiles over time among Asian American college students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses. Overall, the

findings offered support for the effectiveness of Ethnic Studies education as an intervention for sociopolitical development among Asian Americans. This study is also the first of its kind to quantitatively examine Asian Americans' sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses, which fills a crucial gap in the research on Ethnic Studies education and contributes to timely and growing scholarship on Asian Americans' critical consciousness and education for anti-racist youth development.

Latent Profiles of Asian American Critical Consciousness

Three pre-test profiles and four post-test profiles were identified among Asian American students in Ethnic Studies courses, and these profiles were distinguished by levels of Asian American-specific indicators and general critical consciousness indicators. As hypothesized, latent profile analyses identified profiles that scored high on both Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators (the T1 and T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profiles) and profiles that scored relatively lower on both Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators (the T1 and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profiles). Prior latent profile analyses similarly identified the existence of profiles distinguished by “relatively high” and “relatively low” scores on critical consciousness indicators (Briggs et al., 2022; Faloughi & Herman, 2020; Schwarzenhal et al., 2024), suggesting how, to an extent, some critical consciousness indicators pattern together in similar ways.

The use of pattern-centered techniques also reveals cases where critical consciousness indicators pattern together in different ways, as suggested by the high scores on Asian American-specific indicators and moderate to low scores on general

critical consciousness indicators (and, particularly, the post-test sociopolitical engagement indicators) in the T1 and T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles. Unlike prior studies that found that profiles were distinguished by differing patterns of *general* critical consciousness indicators (e.g., critical agency, sociopolitical engagement; Godfrey et al., 2019; Suzuki et al., 2022; Vierra et al., 2023), the main distinction between profiles in the current study was based on Asian American-specific versus general critical consciousness indicators. It is possible that, among Asian American students in Ethnic Studies courses, perspectives on Asian American racialization are distinctly salient, distinguishing features of critical consciousness, and the general critical consciousness indicators might pattern together more consistently in this group when simultaneously accounting for perspectives on Asian American racial positioning. These profiles further highlight the benefits of racial specificity—and an Asian Americanist perspective in studies on Asian Americans (Tseng & Lee, 2021)—and pattern-centered analyses in conceptualizations of critical consciousness.

This study contributes a specific lens of Asian Americans' racialization as a key informant of constellations of critical consciousness among Asian Americans, as observed with the identification of the T1 and T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles. One of the draws and benefits of Ethnic Studies courses (and Asian American Studies, more specifically) is the structured opportunity for Asian Americans to learn more about their ethnic-racial identities and histories (Nguyen et al., 2018; Saavedra et al., in preparation). Students enrolling in these courses may have already begun considering what Asian American identity means to them prior to enrollment, which may

explain high scores on Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness among these profiles. This orientation to Asian American identity might not always align with Asian Americans' general critical consciousness, which includes attitudes, motivations, and actions related to systemic attributions of racism and challenging oppression more broadly. For example, Asian American students may have been drawn to Asian American Studies courses and may have begun reflecting on Asian American racial positioning in the aftermath of anti-Asian racism related to the COVID-19 pandemic and the fatal shooting of massage parlor employees (many of whom were Asian women) in Atlanta. It is possible that, while these students were reflective upon *anti-Asian* racial discrimination at the interpersonal level, some students might not have been as aware about the historical and systemic underpinnings of such discrimination in the broader context and history of U.S. racial power dynamics. It is also possible that condemning anti-Asian racism does not necessarily mean feeling agentic about social change overall or actually engaging in social change behaviors (Suzuki et al., 2022). This distinction between Asian American-specific beliefs and more generalized components of critical consciousness may be fueled by how Asian Americans often report feeling ignored or dismissed in conversations about racial justice (Wang & Santos, 2022b; Wong & Halgin, 2006), which may limit their engagement in generalized reflection and sociopolitical engagement surrounding anti-racism. Future research on Asian Americans' sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses can ask how instructors can utilize the Asian American vantage point to nurture broader commitments to critical social analysis and anti-racist sociopolitical engagement. Overall, when considering the overall

character of these profiles within the context of Ethnic Studies education as a sociopolitical development intervention, the increased indicator scores in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile suggest that Ethnic Studies education may still be an effective intervention among this group.

The T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness Profile

Although most students reported moderate to high levels of Asian American critical consciousness at post-test, it remains possible that Ethnic Studies courses do not resonate with all students in the intended manner or in the short-term. At post-test, a small proportion of students were in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile, characterized by lower means on indicators of critical consciousness compared to all profiles at pre- and post-test. This is consistent with previous qualitative research that showed that a subset of students felt uncomfortable with Ethnic Studies courses' focus on racial and ethnic pride and on considering oneself as a victim of racial oppression (Takeda, 2001; Trieu, 2008). Future research, especially with larger sample sizes, should examine possible predictors of T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile membership, such as social dominance orientation, just-world beliefs, and other facets of ethnic-racial identity (i.e., public regard, centrality).

One explanation for individuals' skepticism and rejection of Ethnic Studies courses may be the cognitive and emotional dissonance that accompanies the critical social analysis occurring in Ethnic Studies courses. For many students, Ethnic Studies education is the first time they are learning about how Asian Americans are racialized and discriminated against in the United States (Trieu, 2008; Vang, 2021), and processing

this new information may require much of students' cognitive and emotional resources. The cognitive and emotional load may be heightened for students who received contrary racial-ethnic socialization messages from other sources (Halagao, 2004). Critically analyzing oppression—including one's complicity and victimization in oppression—can be an anxiety-provoking process that threatens a person's sense of self-worth. For Asian Americans, this may look like discomfort when learning about Asian Americans' histories of racist and nativist victimization (e.g., learning about how the model minority stereotype is harmful to Asian Americans) or learning about Asian Americans' complicity in oppression (e.g., support for Asian American police officer Peter Liang, who killed Akai Gurley, a Black man; opposition to affirmative action from right-wing Chinese Americans). In these scenarios, Asian Americans must reckon with the social status and privileges that come with, or are stripped away because of, their racial positioning. Specifically, Asian Americans may need to reckon with how their relative social success is not solely a product of their own hard work and adaptability, but rather can be framed through a lens of racial power dynamics. In doing so, they may confront deep-seated just-world beliefs about how people are rewarded and punished because they deserve it, not because of racial inequities (J. Yi & Todd, 2023). This relinquishing of power and status, as Pitner and Sakamoto (2005) describe, may activate cognitive and affective roadblocks for Asian Americans, where they hold more tightly onto their worldviews (rather than adapt their worldviews) to minimize cognitive load and anxiety.

Overall, the identification of the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile offers a glimpse into the diversity of sociopolitical development experiences

people can have when learning about racism and systems of oppression. The existence of this profile invites scholars to reconsider for whom and under what conditions Ethnic Studies education is most effective for sociopolitical development, and what steps are needed to reach a broader student body in anti-racist youth development. Future research and interventions should consider how to better understand and respond to students who express resistance to Ethnic Studies courses. In terms of future research, studies with qualitative or intensive longitudinal data can explore the interplay between cognitive load, emotions, and anxiety about Asian Americans' racial positioning among students in Ethnic Studies courses. Longitudinal research is also well-suited to determine whether an initial Ethnic Studies course simply "plants the seed" for sociopolitical development, which for some students, may develop over a longer period after the course and as they accumulate life experiences related to identity, power, privilege, and oppression (Watts & Halkovic, 2023).

Summary and Intervention Implications

In terms of educational interventions, multilayered systems of support across socioecological contexts can promote sociopolitical development within and beyond the Ethnic Studies course context. Students' capacities to meaningfully engage in Ethnic Studies courses can be supported through a combination of a) racial-ethnic socialization and critical consciousness socialization by parents in the child's early upbringing (Saavedra et al., 2023), b) training and supporting teachers and community leaders to productively engage with Ethnic Studies (Y. Kim & An, 2023; Sacramento, 2019), and c) school and governmental systems that are supportive of critically conscious multicultural

education. More specifically at the microsystem level, Ethnic Studies instructors play a direct role in supporting Ethnic Studies students who express resistance to course material (San Pedro, 2018). Thus, supporting instructors—who also undergo their own continuous critical consciousness development when teaching Ethnic Studies courses (Sacramento, 2019)—via investing in their professional development, support networks, and incentives and conditions that promote instructor retention may ultimately promote Ethnic Studies courses’ effectiveness (Fernández, 2019). More specifically at the exosystem level, support from the state, county, and school district levels can range from adequately resourcing schools and universities, instituting policies that promote and protect Ethnic Studies education, and expanding access to high-quality teaching and parenting support for teaching students about race and racism. Like many efforts towards positive youth development, broader multisystem interventions that support racial-ethnic socialization may offer well-rounded support for Asian Americans’ sociopolitical development.

Predictors of Latent Profile Membership

The current study identified several demographic predictors of latent profile membership at the beginning and end of the semester in an Ethnic Studies course. Consistent with my hypotheses and prior research, Asian Americans who identify as LGBTQ, women and nonbinary Asian Americans, and South Asian Americans may have differing sociopolitical development experiences relative to people who identify as heterosexual, men, and East Asian American. It is possible that interfacing with multiple systems of oppression, such as cisheterosexism and relative marginalization within Asian

America, may increase these students' awareness of and commitments to challenging oppression relative to their peers (D. F. Chang et al., 2023; Crenshaw, 1991; Hanna, 2019; Pha, 2019). Thus, results underscore the importance of continued research on the role of intersectionality on sociopolitical development (Crenshaw, 1991; Godfrey & Burson, 2018). Additionally, results suggested that age and geographic region may be associated with critical consciousness profiles. Such findings invite continued research on sociopolitical development across early and middle adulthood and research on sociopolitical development across regional contexts. Lastly, contrary to my hypothesis, although the number of previously completed Ethnic Studies courses and the level (i.e., lower or upper-division distinction) of the student's current Ethnic Studies course were positively correlated with critical consciousness indicators, these predictors were not predictive of latent profile membership. This may suggest that Ethnic Studies courses enroll students with largely diverse sociopolitical development experiences, regardless of whether a course is lower or upper division, and instructors should be mindful about responding to such diverse perspectives at all educational levels. Additionally, in contrast to Bowman's (2010) findings that BIPOC students reap significantly more diversity-related benefits when they complete three diversity courses (as opposed to one), these findings warrant further investigation of whether a "dosage effect" is relevant for Ethnic Studies education.

Predictors of profile membership show how previous racial-ethnic socialization experiences may inform students' levels of sociopolitical development prior to their entry into Ethnic Studies class, further highlighting the importance of multiple sources of

racial-ethnic socialization (i.e., families, schools more broadly, and Ethnic Studies courses more specifically) for sociopolitical development overall. Consistent with my hypothesis, prior school critical consciousness socialization was predictive of membership in “more critical” profiles at both time points. Other analyses revealed some contradicting results. For example, mothers’ race-conscious socialization and fathers’ race-conscious socialization predicted different types of profile membership, pointing to the possible differential impact of mothers versus fathers in sociopolitical development. Additionally, seemingly contradictory racial-ethnic socialization messages from fathers (i.e., colorblind socialization and race-conscious socialization) both predicted lower odds of membership in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile. It is possible that these contradicting results may emerge due to the small sample size found in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile. Thus, future replication studies with larger sample sizes can further deduce the strength of these associations across samples, and future studies examining latent transition probabilities should assess whether and how racial-ethnic socialization can predict transitions into prepare students for Ethnic Studies courses and enhance their sociopolitical development trajectories in these courses. Nevertheless, despite the limitations of these contrasting findings, this study demonstrates the interconnectedness of racial-ethnic socialization experiences across contexts and over time (Hughes et al., 2016). Additionally, this remains the first study (to my knowledge) that documents the quantitative associations between racial-ethnic socialization and Asian Americans’ sociopolitical development experiences in Ethnic

Studies courses, which can serve as a springboard for continued research on this timely topic.

Transitions in Latent Profile Membership Over Time

When examining differences in pre-test and post-test profiles and transitions between profiles over time, all profiles but the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile had higher means on critical consciousness indicators relative to qualitatively similar profiles at pre-test. Additionally, students tended to transition into a qualitatively similar profile with high means on critical consciousness indicators (e.g., transitioning from the T1 Highly and Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles to the T2 Highly and Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles, which had higher means than the pre-test profiles). Consistent with my hypothesis, these results suggest that most students tended to progress in their sociopolitical development by the end of their Ethnic Studies course. These results align with the qualitative research that suggests that, overwhelmingly, Ethnic Studies students become more critically conscious of systems of oppression and more willing to challenge oppression through sociopolitical engagement (Halagao, 2010; Osajima, 2007; Saavedra et al., in preparation; Trieu & Lee, 2018). These findings also suggest that an individual's actual *patterns* (rather than mean levels) of critical consciousness indicators might not change in drastic ways, such as emphasizing Asian American racial positioning at one time and de-emphasizing racial positioning in favor of a more generalized critical social analysis at another time. Instead, people's *patterns* of critical consciousness indicators—and which aspects of critical consciousness are most salient for a person—may remain similar across an Ethnic Studies

course and simply just increase in mean levels. This further demonstrates how, for Asian Americans in these courses, considerations of their racial positioning are inextricably linked to general critical consciousness and may remain important anchors in students' sociopolitical development over time.

Taken together, these findings offer quantitative support for the notion that Ethnic Studies courses facilitate growth in students' sociopolitical development. This study's findings also emphasize the utility and importance of Ethnic Studies courses for anti-racist development among Asian Americans, which is especially imperative for challenging a sociopolitical climate that oppresses BIPOC and uses Asian Americans as a racial wedge to continue such oppression.

A smaller proportion of participants transitioned from “more critical” to “less critical” profiles over time. Future research can investigate whether similar transition patterns persist in other samples of Ethnic Studies students or in samples of Asian Americans more broadly (i.e., enrolled or not enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses). Based on transition probabilities between “more critical” to “less critical” profiles, a question of interest for future research may be whether any transitions between profiles with higher mean scores on critical consciousness indicators to profiles with lower mean scores on critical consciousness indicators are statistically significant or qualitatively apparent. Such cases would offer insight into whether indicators of critical consciousness—and the ways they pattern together—are stable or not over time. For example, if another study identifies critical agency or sociopolitical engagement as indicators that strongly distinguish between latent profiles, then latent transition analyses can reveal whether

agency or sociopolitical engagement fluctuates over time (and thus facilitates transitions across profiles). From an applied standpoint, such research would signal to educators that a focus on these indicators of critical consciousness in an Ethnic Studies course are important for nurturing students' sociopolitical development. Additionally, in such a scenario, the current sociopolitical moment (e.g., hope in the political system, the perceived safety of certain forms of sociopolitical engagement) and features of key Ethnic Studies course lessons (e.g., progressing to a part in the semester that focuses on activism and empowerment, instead of discrimination histories) can be analyzed as time-varying predictors that inform the likelihood of transitions across profiles. These possibilities remain as research directions for future scholarship on Ethnic Studies education.

Implications for Sociopolitical Development Across Developmental Periods

The current study, conducted among Asian American students in late adolescence and adulthood, invites continued research on the role of Ethnic Studies education on sociopolitical development across the lifespan. Although certain cognitive and emotional regulation capabilities common in late adolescence and adulthood surely facilitate sociopolitical development in these courses, this does not preclude the possibility that Ethnic Studies education can effectively promote sociopolitical development in earlier developmental periods. Indeed, prior research demonstrates that elementary school (Falkner, 2023; Kimura et al., 2022; Valdez, 2020), middle school (Nojan, 2020), and high school students (de los Ríos et al., 2016; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2016) engaged in Ethnic Studies and other forms of anti-bias, anti-racist education can critically reflect on

racism and fairness, understand the social implications of their ethnic-racial identities and social group membership, and develop agency and commitments to challenge injustice. Optimism for the effectiveness of Ethnic Studies education across the lifespan is further supported by racial-ethnic socialization research showing young Asian American children are capable of learning about race and considering ideas of fairness and justice related to racism (J. Kim, 2023; Saavedra et al., 2023; Zhang et al., 2022). The continued expansion of research on Ethnic Studies education and school racial-ethnic socialization across the lifespan remains critical to quell fearmongering around diversity education's impact on children and to promote research-supported interventions, like Ethnic Studies education, that utilize education in pursuit of a just society.

Limitations

Although this study generates a detailed, first look into Asian Americans' critical consciousness experiences in Ethnic Studies courses from a quantitative perspective, this study is not without its limitations. One limitation is the study's relatively small sample size, which may limit the identification of small but theoretically significant profiles. Continued research on Ethnic Studies education should consider participation incentives that improve participant recruitment and retention, such as financial incentives. Another limitation of the sample overall is self-selection bias. At the time of data collection, Ethnic Studies course requirements were not yet enacted in universities, and students who enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses may have done so out of personal interest. As universities begin requiring Ethnic Studies as a graduation requirement, thus compelling student enrollment in Ethnic Studies regardless of their interest in the topic, future

research may be able to account for a broader range of sociopolitical development experiences and prior racial-ethnic socialization experiences among students.

Conclusion

Using pattern-centered statistical approaches, the current study identifies variations in Asian American students' critical consciousness and how students transition between profiles of critical consciousness over time in an Ethnic Studies course. Our findings underscore the importance and utility of an Asian Americanist perspective—and more broadly, incorporating a racially-specific lens—in expanding theoretical conceptualizations and empirical knowledge about Asian American critical consciousness. Furthermore, this study contributes a quantitative perspective that corroborates claims from Ethnic Studies teachers, students, and qualitative research about the benefits of Ethnic Studies education for anti-racist youth development, which can be utilized amidst diversity-related educational policy and public debate concerning the merits of Ethnic Studies education.

STUDY 2

Can Education Heal? Asian Americans' Critical Consciousness Profiles and Mental Health in Ethnic Studies Courses

Research demonstrates an established link between racism and negative mental health outcomes among racially minoritized communities, including Asian Americans (Benner et al., 2018; Okazaki et al., 2017). Anti-Asian racism also spiked in the early 2020's amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, exacerbating mental health outcomes among Asian Americans (Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022). While one strategy to improve mental health outcomes among Asian Americans is to address individual-level symptomatology, scholars also advocate for interventions that address the root cause of psychological distress—in this case, racism, a system of oppression based on a racial hierarchy that, in the United States, asserts White people's dominance over other racial groups (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2015; Juang et al., 2017; Watts et al., 2011). Ethnic Studies education, or courses centered on the first-person histories and narratives of racially minoritized groups, is a promising school-based intervention for anti-racist youth development and radical healing (Saavedra et al., in preparation; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020). That is, Ethnic Studies education aims to develop students' critical consciousness and humanize racially minoritized communities, which equips students with new perspectives and resources through which to cope with and resist racism (Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2019).

The current study examines the relations between critical consciousness and mental health among Asian Americans enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses, offering a

glimpse into Ethnic Studies education's potential as a catalyst for radical healing (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2015). Ethnic Studies education may provide students with increases in critical consciousness, coping resources, social belonging, and pride in one's ethnic-racial identity, which are necessary for the radical healing process and may buffer the negative mental health impacts of racism among Asian Americans. Research on the role of critical consciousness in healing from racism is especially important for Asian Americans, who may experience distinct mental health outcomes when learning about, and renegotiating, their racial positioning in an anti-Black, white supremacist society (Saavedra et al., 2023). Furthermore, ongoing research on Ethnic Studies education is imperative for informing educational policy, especially given the vilification of diversity-related education as harmful to students' mental health and development (López & Sleeter, 2023), despite student and researcher accounts of the contrary (Sleeter & Zavala, 2020).

What is Ethnic Studies Education?

Ethnic Studies education—including sub-disciplines such as Asian American Studies, African American Studies, and more—refers to education that centers the first-person narratives, histories, and perspectives of racially minoritized communities in the United States. Since its formal institution amidst the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, Ethnic Studies education seeks to confront White hegemony in education by explicitly teaching themes related to systemic power and oppression (i.e., coloniality, indigeneity, hegemony, and social and ecological justice) and teaching using culturally and community responsive pedagogies (Cuauhtin, 2019; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2019).

The goals of Ethnic Studies education are two-fold and interdependent. First, these courses prioritize the holistic humanization of racially minoritized groups, or emphasizing the humanity, value, and multifaceted nature of minoritized groups in direct contrast to how traditional education paints these groups as deficient and invaluable for academic discourse (Cuauhtin, 2019). Second, these courses aim to foster students' *critical consciousness*, or their ability to a) analyze the structural nature and manifestations of systems of oppression (i.e., critical reflection), b) develop efficacy to challenge these systems (i.e., critical agency), and c) take actions to redress the harms of oppression and transform oppressive institutions (i.e., sociopolitical engagement, also known as critical action) (Cuauhtin, 2019; Freire, 1970/2000; Watts et al., 2011). The enactment of critical consciousness via sociopolitical engagement can take many forms, such as educating oneself and others, confronting others about discriminatory behaviors, or participating in organizations and activities that aim to resist and redress the harms of oppression (Suyemoto et al., 2022). As a form of education that sends humanizing and critically conscious messages to students, Ethnic Studies has the potential to impact student outcomes related to mental health (Saleem & Byrd, 2021; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020). Continued research on Ethnic Studies education can further clarify pathways, mechanisms, and pattern-centered differences in how these courses contribute to these outcomes among students.

This study focuses on Asian American students in college-level Ethnic Studies courses for two interrelated reasons. First, Asian Americans are vastly underrepresented in K-12 education standards in the United States (An, 2022), so college-level Ethnic

Studies education is often students' first in-depth, critical exposure to Asian American identity, history, and racialization (Museus, 2021; Trieu & Lee, 2018). In the same vein, the general public's unawareness of Asian American identity, history, and racialization may contribute to exclusion and violence against Asian Americans (An, 2020). Second, I acknowledge that the dearth of Asian American representation in traditional K-12 curricula is not a passive, harmless omission. Rather, such omission is a form of "curricular violence" that serves the political purpose of upholding a white supremacist, anti-Black status quo (An, 2020; Bang & Vossoughi, 2016), wherein Asian Americans are often used to uphold systems that privilege White people and whiteness and thwart racial justice advances spearheaded by Black communities (C. J. Kim, 1999). Taken together, these omissions are not only harmful to Asian Americans' well-being, but they also have severe consequences for the wellbeing of other racially minoritized groups (An, 2020). At a time when Asian Americans are experiencing heightened racial violence and when their interests are manipulated by conservative strategists to maintain an oppressive racial hierarchy, it is important to investigate educational interventions that expose Asian Americans to their histories and racialization and prepare Asian Americans to respond to oppression. Such interventions may be increasingly common and effective at the college level, when Asian Americans are exposed to a broader array of social and political history and perspectives than in earlier schooling and as their cognitive and prosocial development reaches increasing complexity in late adolescence (Tyler et al., 2020).

Ethnic Studies Education and Mental Health Outcomes through a Healing Justice

Lens

Ginwright's (2015) concept of healing justice offers a framework to explain how Ethnic Studies education may impact mental health outcomes. Ginwright's (2015) healing justice framework identifies racism as a barrier to wellness for racially minoritized communities, since racism provokes institutional and interpersonal dehumanization and violence (French et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2019). Thus, the attainment of well-being is not solely an individual, psychological phenomenon – instead, Ginwright (2015) proposes two conditions for a healed, just society: 1) the transformation of systems of oppression into equitable systems that no longer harm communities, and 2) cultivation of *collective* well-being and hope (as opposed to solely individual-level wellbeing). Ginwright (2015) further articulates the concept of *radical healing* as the process within the healing justice framework through which people build the capacity to promote well-being. French and colleagues (2020) further articulate a psychological framework for radical healing anchored by five characteristics. The first element is *critical consciousness*, which Ginwright (2015) and French et al. (2020) posit is foundational to the other components of radical healing. The second element is *radical hope*, wherein individuals draw from faith, agency, and collective memory to maintain hope for liberation from oppression (Mosley et al., 2020). Such hope is maintained by *strength and resistance*, through which communities maintain resilient commitments to humanizing themselves and working towards social justice amidst racial oppression (French et al., 2020). The fourth element of radical healing is *cultural authenticity and*

self-knowledge, defined as “resist[ance to] colonized knowledge and practices” and reclamation of the validity of cultural and ancestral knowledge (French et al., 2020, p. 27). Lastly, *collectivism* undergirds the radical healing process, in which healing does not occur in isolation and instead is fostered through social support and belonging (French et al., 2020).

Ethnic Studies education may be a vehicle for improving mental health and wellbeing among racially minoritized communities because its emphasis on critical consciousness and humanization work towards both conditions of a healed, just society (Ginwright, 2015). More specifically, Ethnic Studies education may induce the radical healing process by providing critical knowledge, skills, and social connections necessary for equitable social transformation and collective healing. The following sections describe how Ethnic Studies education promotes each component of the healing justice framework. First, I discuss how Ethnic Studies curricula and pedagogy help build students’ critical consciousness, which prepares students to enact equitable social transformation. Second, I discuss how building critical consciousness within the humanizing context of Ethnic Studies courses activates the radical healing process, which may change individuals’ sense of belonging, positive regard for their ethnic-racial identity, and strategies to cope with racial discrimination. In total, these changes may be conducive to psychological well-being and mental health among racially minoritized groups.

Enacting Social Transformation via Sociopolitical Development

Sociopolitical development is a process portrayed as an “antidote to oppression” through which individuals develop and enact critical consciousness to transform inequitable social institutions (Watts et al., 1999). Beyond the three general components of critical consciousness—critical reflection, critical agency, and sociopolitical engagement—critical consciousness of *racism* also involves racial identity ideological values specific to each individual’s identity, positionality, and group-level racialization (Mathews et al., 2020; Saavedra & Yoo, 2023). For Asian Americans, this includes beliefs about Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, and transnational critical consciousness (Yoo et al., 2021). *Asian American unity* refers to beliefs about embracing the diversity of Asian Americans and asserting Asian Americans’ rights to self-determination (E. Lee, 2015). *Interracial solidarity* encompasses beliefs about the importance of uniting with other racially minoritized groups in shared struggles for liberation (E. Lee, 2015). *Transnational critical consciousness* involves a critical awareness of social and political dynamics in Asia and their relevance for Asians in the United States (E. Lee, 2015). Together, the three general components of critical consciousness and identity-specific beliefs encompass the nature of sociopolitical development among Asian Americans.

Research suggests that Ethnic Studies courses may be effective for building Asian Americans’ critical consciousness. Ethnic Studies courses fill in Asian American students’ knowledge about racism that they are not obtaining in traditional schooling (An, 2022; H. Lee et al., 2022). This exposure to Asian American histories and racialization

may stimulate students' critical reflection on racism and Asian Americans' racial positioning, which may further compel them towards sociopolitical engagement (Halagao, 2010; Museus, 2021; Osajima, 2007; Saavedra & Yoo, 2023; Trieu & Lee, 2018). This developmental process is especially suited to flourish in the college setting and among late adolescents and adults who, despite having limited access to culturally relevant schooling prior to college, may have the cognitive flexibility, emotional regulation, and expanded social networks to develop more certainty about their sociopolitical views (Andersson, 2018; Tyler et al., 2020; Wrzus et al., 2013).

However, research also suggests that sociopolitical development might not occur linearly across all students. Some students may have received messages about race and racism that starkly contrast the messages taught in Ethnic Studies courses, which may cause confusion, dissonance, discomfort, or even outright disengagement with Ethnic Studies course material (Halagao, 2004; K. M. Lewis et al., 2012; Takeda, 2001; Trieu, 2008). Other students may feel anger, disdain, or fatigue towards histories of racism, which may motivate them to either take action to challenge racism or disengage from Ethnic Studies and racial politics altogether (Quinney, 2019; Saavedra et al., in preparation; Simons, 2015). Since students may react differently to Ethnic Studies courses, statistical techniques that can capture these variations (e.g., latent profile analysis) may be useful for clarifying different patterns of sociopolitical development among students.

Because the radical healing process entails sociopolitical development as a core prerequisite to broader societal healing (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2015), the present

study examines latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness—characterized by both Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators—as predictors of mental health among Asian American students. Using a pattern-centered analytic technique to conceptualize critical consciousness may reveal how different combinations of critical consciousness components can contribute to individual-level wellbeing resources and mental health outcomes.

Collective Healing via Sociopolitical Development in Ethnic Studies Courses

The second condition for a healed, just society is collective healing. Although the present study does not directly examine healing at the collective level, this study provides an initial look into how Ethnic Studies courses provide support for the radical healing process, generating three psychological assets that may be conducive to both collective and individual wellbeing: increased positive regard for ethnic-racial identity, sense of belonging, and strategies to cope with racism. In this section, I focus on how sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses spurs the radical healing process in ways that cultivate these psychological assets. First, I discuss the potential direct relations between sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses and mental health and the need to examine mediating factors that may clarify these relations. Second, I revisit sociopolitical development's propensity to change the way Ethnic Studies students cope with racism. Third, I discuss the *collective* nature of radical healing and how collective sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses may foster belonging and new coping strategies to respond to racial discrimination. Lastly, I discuss how the focus on humanization in Ethnic Studies courses can engender radical healing's strength and

resistance and cultural authenticity and self-knowledge components, which may be conducive to higher private regard for one's ethnic-racial identity. Together, this analysis aims to examine how sociopolitical development *in the Ethnic Studies context* equips students with perspectives and resources conducive to radical healing, creating conditions for positive mental health and well-being.

Direct Relations Between Critical Consciousness and Mental Health

Critical consciousness is core to the process of radical healing, and building critical consciousness in Ethnic Studies courses may be associated with changes in mental health outcomes, such as psychological distress (e.g., depression, anxiety, stress) (Suyemoto & Liu, 2018). Suyemoto and Liu (2018) found, among Asian American college students who enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses, sociohistorical race-related stress was significantly related to anxiety symptoms at the beginning of the semester. Although sociohistorical race-related stress was significantly higher by the end of the semester, the relationship between sociohistorical race-related stress and anxiety was rendered non-significant. These findings imply that, despite increases in race-related stress that may come with learning about racism, the Ethnic Studies course context may shield students from mental health detriments associated with race-related stress.

Given that there is limited quantitative research on the relations between Ethnic Studies course-taking and mental health outcomes beyond Suyemoto's and Liu's (2018) study, additional insights about Ethnic Studies education's direct relation to mental health and radical healing can be derived from prior research on critical consciousness and mental health outcomes. Previous research shows mixed findings on the direct relations

between critical consciousness and mental health outcomes. Maker-Castro et al.'s (2022) systematic review suggests that components of critical consciousness are differentially associated with mental health and well-being. Specifically, critical agency was most consistently associated with psychological well-being, whereas sociopolitical engagement was related to both positive and negative mental health outcomes across the reviewed studies. Moreover, components of critical consciousness may be associated with different measures of mental health and psychological well-being. For example, among Asian Americans, increased critical reflection was related to increased depression symptoms, but not related to self-esteem (Ni et al., 2022). Given these disparate trends, pattern-centered methodological approaches may illuminate the range of possible associations between profiles of critical consciousness and facets of mental health and psychological well-being. Furthermore, examining possible mediating factors related to radical healing (i.e., strategies to cope with racism, belonging, and private regard for ethnic-racial identity) may help clarify the mechanisms that connect critical consciousness to mental health outcomes.

Sociopolitical Development and Strategies to Cope with Racism

One mechanism that may explain Suyemoto's and Liu's (2018) findings on Ethnic Studies courses and changes in mental health outcomes is the adoption of different coping strategies to cope with racial discrimination. Building critical consciousness in these courses may prompt students to respond to (i.e., cope with) racism in new ways. For instance, students who critically reflect on the structural nature of injustice may feel prepared to educate others and engage in racial justice advocacy in response to racial

discrimination. Others may feel more agentic in directly confronting perpetrators of racial injustice. Examples of these coping strategies are seen among participants in Pinoy Teach, an academic-community partnership where college students taught Filipino American Studies to high school students, wherein college students reported a sense of empowerment from sharing their knowledge about the Filipino revolutionary history with others and increased confidence in confronting conflict (Halagao, 2004). Taking active steps to cope with racism directly, as opposed to avoidance via substance use or social and emotional detachment, may be conducive less psychological distress among Asian Americans (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Wei et al., 2010a).

The Collective Nature of Sociopolitical Development

Both sociopolitical development and radical healing are processes rooted in collectivism, wherein both processes are framed through understanding an individual's social standing relative to others and a responsibility to work towards collective well-being (French et al., 2020; Malorni et al., 2023; Sacramento, 2019; Sánchez Carmen et al., 2015). These relational processes are facilitated through dialogue with others (Malorni et al., 2023). Beyond definitions of dialogue as simply a conversation, an underlying feature of Freire's (1970/2000) notion of dialogue is the attention to power dynamics and collaborative relationships between people in the conversation. Freire posits that dialogue occurs when people are regarded as equally authoritative contributors to the shared analysis. For example, dialogue in the classroom can occur when teachers and students are teaching and learning from each other, rather than teachers depositing knowledge into students through a one-way transaction. In essence, dialogue is not

limited to simply talking in groups, and instead encompasses the collective's epistemological assumption that knowledge is co-created through dialogue between equals. This baseline for interaction allows people to build upon each other's knowledge to better understand and interact with the world with collective liberation in mind (Freire, 1970/2000).

By nature of a shared classroom space, the sociopolitical development that occurs in Ethnic Studies classrooms is also a collective process. Ethnic Studies pedagogy relies largely on dialogue, honoring students' cultural and community experiences as sources of knowledge, and fostering positive relationships between students and teachers (Saavedra et al., in preparation; Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021). The collective nature of sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses may produce several benefits for students. For instance, students may develop a greater sense of belonging, wherein they feel connection, acceptance, and the ability to be their authentic selves in the classroom (B. A. Lee et al., 2023; Museus et al., 2016; Nguyen et al., 2018). Such belonging may change how students cope with class lessons about racism, wherein students process their thoughts and experiences in community with others (e.g., not in isolation or through detachment) (B. Chang, 2013; B. A. Lee et al., 2023; López et al., 2022; Museus et al., 2017; Osajima, 2007). Thus, collectivism may promote belonging and new social supports through which to cope with racism, which may be conducive to well-being among racially minoritized groups (Hill, 2022).

Sociopolitical Development and Humanization

The focus on humanization of minoritized groups in Ethnic Studies education facilitates the radical healing process by developing strength and resistance against racism and promoting cultural authenticity and self-knowledge. Ethnic Studies humanizes minoritized groups by countering the power dynamics of traditional education that typically portrays these groups as one-dimensional victims of oppression (An, 2022). Contrary to traditional education, Ethnic Studies education centers the perspectives of minoritized groups as valued sources of knowledge and portrays minoritized groups as multifaceted, empowered people with cultural strengths and who actively resist oppression (Cuahtin, 2019). Such humanization and focus on culturally situated knowledge and histories of typically invisibilized groups may facilitate the radical healing process by changing the way a person views themselves and their ethnic-racial group. (Camangian & Cariaga, 2021; Halagao, 2004; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020). This possibility aligns with previous research, wherein Ethnic Studies students reported that Ethnic Studies education helped them see themselves and their ethnic-racial group in a different light, which they associated with increased positive feelings about their ethnic-racial identity (i.e., private regard) and belonging to their ethnic-racial group (Chapman-Hilliard & Beasley, 2018; Saavedra et al., in preparation; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020; Suyemoto et al., 2015). Over time, these changes in ethnic-racial identity and belonging may generate positive mental health outcomes (A. Y. Choi et al., 2017; Y. Choi et al., 2020; David et al., 2019; Xie et al., 2021).

In summary, Ethnic Studies education may be a promising intervention in the pursuit of a healed, just society. Ethnic Studies education works towards social

transformation via sociopolitical development, which, within collectivistic and humanizing class environments, may incite the radical healing process for Asian Americans. The proposed study explores this possibility by examining how different patterns of critical consciousness among Asian American students relate to psychological assets associated with radical healing (sense of belonging, private regard, and strategies to cope with racism).

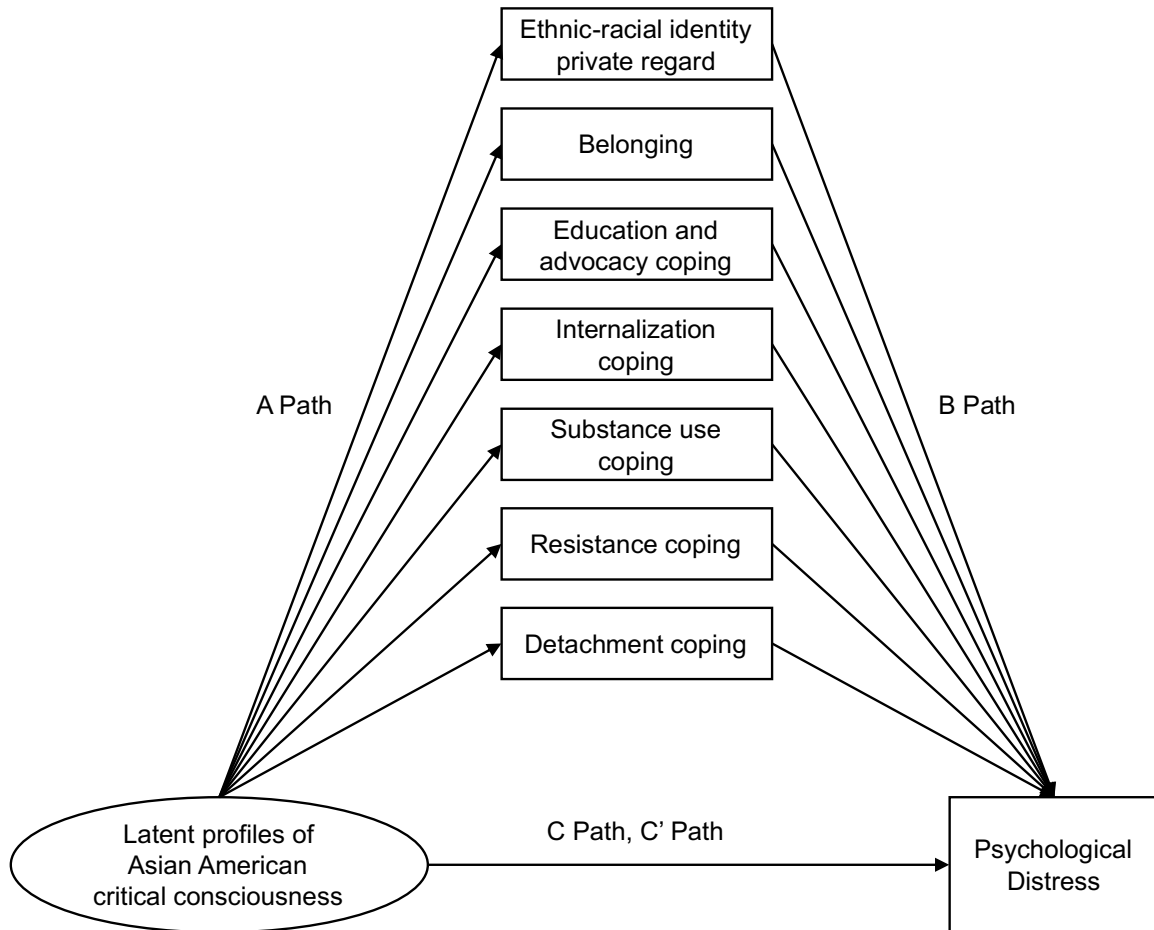
The Current Study (Study 2)

Can Ethnic Studies education facilitate the radical healing process among Asian American college students? Study 2 of this dissertation offers an initial investigation into this question by examining the relations between critical consciousness (an initial prerequisite to the radical healing process), psychological assets related to radical healing, and psychological distress among Asian American college students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses. Specifically, this study draws upon the latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness established in Study 1 to account for how different patterns of Asian American critical consciousness (constituted by Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators) differentially relate to psychological distress and radical healing. Here, I examine whether there are significant differences in psychological distress between latent profiles of critical consciousness and whether these differences are mediated by correlates of radical healing (i.e., ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and strategies to cope with racial discrimination) (Figure 6). Not only can this study contribute insight about if and how certain patterns of critical consciousness promote mental health, but the findings of this study may help

corroborate radical healing as an essential process for mental health and well-being among oppressed groups.

Figure 6.

Study 2 Model



Note. All variables in the figure are measured at the end of the semester (i.e., post-test). Covariates include each of the mediators and psychological distress measured at the beginning of the semester (i.e., pre-test).

Study 1 yielded four Asian American critical consciousness profiles at post-test: T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist, T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist, T2

Emerging Asian American Consciousness, and T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness. The former two profiles had the highest mean scores on Asian American-specific (i.e., Asian American unity, interracial solidarity, transnational critical consciousness) and general critical consciousness indicators (i.e., critical reflection, critical agency, sociopolitical engagement), while the latter two profiles had the lowest mean scores on both types of indicators.

The analysis in this study examines three paths traditionally included in a mediation analysis: the “C path” (the relative total effect between predictors and the outcome), the “A path” (the relative relation between predictors and mediators), and the “C’ path” (the relative direct effect between predictors and the outcome, accounting for the influence of the mediators on the outcome). This approach draws upon the causal steps approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986) to include latent profiles as predictors in a mediation analysis, which currently has no established statistical procedure. Since the use of latent profiles as an endogenous variable does not produce a traditional regression coefficient, this analysis does not include an examination of specific indirect effects.

Regarding the relations between latent profile membership in psychological distress, or the “relative total effect” in mediation analysis with multicategorical indicators (Hayes & Preacher, 2014), several hypotheses are possible based on mixed findings in prior research on critical consciousness and mental health. One possibility is that participants in two “more critical” profiles (i.e., T2 Highly and Moderately Critical Asian Americanist), relative to participants in the two “less critical” profiles (i.e., T2 Emerging and Acritical Asian American Consciousness), report significantly less

psychological distress. Consistent with theorizations about critical consciousness as an “antidote to oppression,” high levels of critical consciousness may be protective against psychological distress and promotive of well-being. Another possibility is the inverse: members of “less critical” profiles, rather than “more critical” profiles, may report less psychological distress. In this scenario, limited awareness and engagement with the realities of oppression may be protective against psychological distress, aligned with the English idiom that “ignorance is bliss.” A third possibility is that participants in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist and the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profiles—the profiles with the highest and lowest mean scores across critical consciousness indicators, relative to the profiles with more moderate indicator scores—report more psychological distress. In this scenario, being highly aware *or* highly unaware of Asian American racialization and oppression and being highly engaged *or* highly unengaged with challenging oppression may be highly distressing experiences; and being moderately aware and engaged may be most protective against psychological distress. The use of latent profiles as predictors within a mediation framework allows for these differential relations between critical consciousness patterns and mental health to be explored, which can elucidate for whom sociopolitical development is most stressful.

Regarding the relation between latent profile membership and psychological assets related to radical healing, I hypothesize that membership in the two “more critical” profiles, compared to membership in the two “less critical” profiles, is related to significantly higher ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and use of education and advocacy and resistance strategies to cope with racism. I also hypothesize that

membership in “more critical” profiles is related to less frequent use of internalization, detachment, and substance use strategies relative to membership in “less critical” profiles. In these cases, Ethnic Studies students in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist and T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles may have higher knowledge about the systemic nature of oppression, a more developed sense of the political underpinnings of their racial identity, and access to support systems via sociopolitical engagement. This may demonstrate how sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses may activate the radical healing process, and whether, within a radical healing framework, a profile that emphasizes Asian American-specific indicators of critical consciousness is similar to a profile with high scores on both Asian American-specific and general critical consciousness indicators.

Based on the assets of radical healing that promote thriving amidst awareness of racial oppression (French et al., 2020), I also anticipate that ethnic-racial identity pride, regard, belonging, and education and advocacy and resistance coping strategies are negatively related to psychological distress, whereas internalization, detachment, and substance use strategies are positively related to psychological distress.

Differences between latent profiles of critical consciousness on psychological distress may be fully or partially explained by the differences between latent profiles on psychological assets related to radical healing (i.e., the mediators), and the relations between the mediators and psychological distress. Taken together, these hypotheses may offer initial evidence that sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies is promotive of

psychological assets related to radical healing, and the radical healing among Ethnic Studies students may be protective for students' mental health.

Study 2 Methods

Research Design, Participants, and Procedure

The research design and data for Study 2 come from the same broader dataset as that of Study 1. The same subsample of 254 Asian American college students enrolled in an Asian American Studies or Ethnic Studies course during 2022 was examined. Human Subjects IRB approval was obtained for the broader data from my university.

Study Measures

Outcome: Psychological Distress

Psychological Distress was measured by the 21-item *Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale-21* (Henry & Crawford, 2005). Participants used a 4-point Likert scale to indicate the extent to which each statement about depression (e.g., "I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all"), anxiety (e.g., "I felt I was close to panic"), or stress (e.g., "I found it hard to wind down") was representative of their experiences in the past week. Subscale scores were summed to create a composite variable for psychological distress, and higher mean scores indicated higher levels of psychological distress within the past week. The measure demonstrated acceptable reliability and validity in previous studies (Henry & Crawford, 2005), including in studies with Asian Americans (Huang & Tsai, 2023; Norton, 2007), and demonstrated acceptable reliability with the current sample at both time points ($\alpha = .95$ and $.96$, respectively).

Mediators: Psychological Assets Related to Radical Healing

Three types of psychological assets related to radical healing were assessed in relation to profile membership and transitions: ethnic-racial identity private regard, sense of belonging at school, and strategies to cope with racial discrimination.

Private regard for ethnic-racial identity was measured using the Private Regard subscale of the *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity* (Sellers et al., 1997). Participants used a 7-point Likert scale to indicate their level of agreement with statements about their positive feelings towards their ethnic-racial identity (e.g., “I feel good about people of my race/ethnicity”), with higher scores indicating more positive feelings towards their identity. The scale represented acceptable reliability and validity in Asian American samples (Xie et al., 2021) and acceptable reliability in the current sample at both times ($\alpha = .87-.91$).

Sense of belonging at school (belonging, hereafter) was measured using the 3-item *Sense of Belonging Scale* (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990). Participants used a 7-point Likert scale to indicate their level of agreement with each statement regarding their sense of belonging to the university (e.g., “I feel that I am a member of the university community”). Scores on each item were averaged to create a composite score for belonging, wherein higher scores represented a higher sense of belonging. The scale demonstrated acceptable reliability and validity in previous studies (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990), including studies with Asian American participants (S. Choi et al., 2021; J. A. Lewis et al., 2021). The measure demonstrated acceptable reliability with the current sample ($\alpha = .96$ at both times).

Strategies to cope with racial discrimination were assessed using the *Coping with Discrimination Scale* (Wei et al., 2010). The measure contained 5-item subscales for five types of coping strategies: education and advocacy (e.g., “I educate others about the negative impact of discrimination”), resistance (e.g., “I directly challenge the person who offended me”), substance use (e.g., “I use drugs or alcohol to take my mind off things.”), internalization (e.g., “I wonder if I did something to provoke this incident.”), and detachment (e.g., “It’s hard for me to seek emotional support from other people.”). Participants indicated the frequency in which they used each coping strategy to cope with racial discrimination on a 6-point Likert scale, in which 1 = never like me and 6 = always like me. The measure demonstrated acceptable reliability and validity in previous studies that included Asian American subsamples (Wei et al., 2010) and demonstrated acceptable reliability with the current sample at both time points ($\alpha = .76-.94$).

Analytical Plan

Preliminary analyses of missing data and descriptive statistics were conducted using SPSS version 29. Main analyses were conducted using Mplus version 8.2. Since no formal method of using latent profiles as predictor within a mediation model exists, I examined four separate models that, together, construct the essential paths within a mediation analysis (Figure 6) (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Hayes & Preacher, 2014). First, I examined the “C path,” akin to the relative total effect in a traditional mediation analysis, which assesses the differences in psychological distress between latent profiles. More specifically, I used the manual BCH method and model constraints in Mplus to calculate mean differences in psychological distress between each pair of latent profiles

(Asparouhov & Muthén, 2021). If a mean difference is statistically significant, this suggests that scores on psychological distress are significantly different between profiles, and membership in one latent profile versus another is linked to psychological distress. If a mean difference is not statistically significant, then scores on psychological distress do not significantly differ between profiles, and membership in one latent profile versus another is not linked to psychological distress.

Second, I examined the “A path,” which assesses the differences between latent profiles on each of the mediators (i.e., psychological assets related to radical healing: ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and strategies to cope with racial discrimination). I used the manual BCH method and model constraints command in Mplus to examine whether membership in one latent profile versus another profile is associated with a significant difference in each of the mediators. Again, if the difference in a mediator’s mean between two profiles is significant, then scores on the mediator significantly differ between the two groups, and membership in one latent profile versus the other is associated with scores on the mediator.

Third, I examined the “B path” using multiple regression to assess the relation between each mediator and psychological distress. This analysis was included to explore the potential direct relations between the mediators and psychological distress (though, theoretically, a lack of statistical significance here does not preclude the possibility of relevant specific indirect effects).

Finally, I examined the “C’ path” using the manual BCH and model constraints command in Mplus. The C’ path, akin to the direct effect in traditional mediation analysis

with multicategorical indicators (Hayes & Preacher, 2014), examines the relation between latent profile membership and psychological distress after accounting for the influence of the mediators. If mean differences between each pair of profiles were significant in the C path model but are not statistically significant in the C' path model, this indicates that the relation between latent profile membership and psychological distress is rendered non-significant when accounting for the mediators. This scenario suggests that the mediators fully mediate the relation between latent profile membership and psychological distress.

Due to the constraints of the causal steps approach to mediation with latent profiles as endogeneous variables, I cannot calculate the specific indirect effects of each mediator on the relation between each latent profile membership and psychological distress (Hayes, 2009). Thus, it is possible that, even in the absence of a significant relative total effect (C path), a mediation relationship may still theoretically exist as indicated by a non-significant C' path.

Researcher Positionality

Reflection on researchers' positionalities is an essential prerequisite to a critical quantitative social science, since researchers' identities and positionalities inform their decision-making throughout the research process (Garcia et al., 2018; Suzuki et al., 2021). I am a second-generation Filipina American graduate student studying Human Development and Family Studies, who has a graduate degree in Clinical Psychology. My past experiences as a psychotherapist counseling women, children, and families of color in East Los Angeles and as a community organizer in a community-based mentorship and

Ethnic Studies education program informed my connections to the research questions and frameworks used in the current study. Specifically, my orientation towards the healing justice framework stems from my clinical work, in which I saw that the capacity for individual wellbeing is limited by oppressive social systems and hyper-individualism, and my community involvement, in which I witnessed the role of Ethnic Studies education as a tool for positive youth development and well-being. I also identify as cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied, and from an upper-middle class upbringing, which may inform my views on the accessibility and utility of education for positive youth development. The second through fifth authors include professors who advised the first author in conducting this study. Collectively, their training in psychology, education, and Ethnic Studies shaped the conceptual and analytic decisions within the study.

In the context of the broader research study, I interviewed Asian American college students enrolled in Ethnic Studies education on their perspectives related to sociopolitical development and radical healing. Their narratives, though not published formally in the present study, were a key source of expert knowledge through which I triangulated my interpretations of the statistical analyses described below.

Study 2 Results

Preliminary Analyses

Missing data and descriptive statistics were screened using SPSS version 29. Missing data across variables ranged from 0% to 9.1%. Ninety-two percent of participants had less than 1% missing data. Little's MCAR test was significant, indicating that the data were not missing completely at random ($\chi^2(454) = 629.60, p < .001$). An

examination of missing data patterns and separate variance *t*-tests suggested that the highest proportions of missing data were on questions that were asked in the latter half of the survey as opposed to the first half. Additionally, when examining the participants with the highest proportion of missing data, the respondents' missing data were also from question in the latter half of the survey, suggesting that missingness may be attributed to survey response fatigue. Thus, data were determined to be missing at random (Enders, 2013; Newman, 2014).

Skewness, kurtosis, heteroscedasticity, and outliers were also assessed. Skewness for all variables was within an acceptable range. The kurtosis value for ethnic-racial identity private regard exceeded an absolute value of 2. Patterns on standard residual/predicted score scatterplots suggested the presence of heteroscedasticity. Outliers whose *z*-score exceeded an absolute value of 3.29 were found for Asian American unity at post-test, ethnic-racial identity private regard at post-test, belonging at pre-test, substance use coping strategies at pre-test, and psychological distress at pre-test. Outliers were retained because they fell within the plausible range for each variable. Thus, maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors (MLR) was used to account for missing and non-normal data.

Correlations between variables are listed in Table 12. All indicators of Asian American critical consciousness were significantly correlated with each other. Ethnic-racial identity private regard, coping with discrimination through education and advocacy strategies, positively correlated with most Asian American critical consciousness

indicators. Finally, psychological distress was correlated with all coping strategies except resistance coping strategies.

Table 12.*Correlations between Study 2 Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Critical social analysis	--															
2. Critical agency	.497***	--														
3. Awareness and relational resistance	.469***	.638***	--													
4. Participation in resistance activities and organizations	.294***	.452***	.620***	--												
5. Interpersonal confrontation	.369***	.461***	.732***	.439***	--											
6. Asian American unity	.397***	.468***	.412***	.164*	.286***	--										
7. Interracial solidarity	.388***	.542***	.538***	.276***	.351***	.753***	--									
8. Transnational critical consciousness	.472***	.528***	.539***	.339***	.347***	.668***	.685***	--								
9. Ethnic-racial identity private regard	.243***	.205**	.185**	0.122	.127*	.472***	.310***	.344***	--							
10. Belonging	-0.017	0.06	0.066	.137*	0.06	0.122	0.037	0.089	.131*	--						

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
11. Coping with discrimination - Education and advocacy	.282***	.467***	.732***	.575***	.649***	.336***	.417***	.425***	.187**	.146*	--					
12. Coping with discrimination - Internalization	0.049	.240***	.268***	0.085	.176**	.224***	.211***	.201**	0.035	0.057	.310***	--				
13. Coping with discrimination - Substance use	-0.052	0.069	.131*	.195**	0.094	-0.079	0.017	0.076	0.046	-0.006	0.117	-0.035	--			
14. Coping with discrimination - Resistance	-0.015	0.084	.261***	.198**	.305***	-0.025	-0.033	0.064	0.031	-0.043	.376***	-0.032	.280***	--		
15. Coping with discrimination - Detachment	-0.075	-0.023	-0.122	-.179**	-.134*	-0.056	-0.032	-0.052	-0.095	-.283***	-0.114	0.094	.136*	-0.014	--	
16. Psychological distress	0.014	0.062	0.12	-0.005	0.095	0.022	0.067	0.044	-0.078	-.251***	.152*	.168***	.238**	0.091	.452***	--
<i>M</i>	4.66	3.25	3.47	2.50	3.41	6.09	5.97	5.46	5.85	5.28	3.55	3.71	1.83	3.02	2.56	1.73
<i>SD</i>	.08	.04	.06	.09	.07	.06	.07	.07	.07	.09	.09	.07	.08	.08	.08	.63

Note. All variables above were assessed at post-test. ***. Correlation is significant at the $p < .001$ level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the $p = .01$ level (2-tailed). *. Correlation is significant at the $p = .05$ level (2-tailed).

Total Effect of Latent Profile Membership on Psychological Distress

The total effect of latent profiles on psychological distress was examined using the BCH method and model constraints (Table 13). The mean differences in psychological distress between participants in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile and the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile were statistically significant (though relatively small in effect size) ($M_{\text{difference}} = -.343$, $SE_{\text{difference}} = .135$, $p = .01$). Specifically, participants in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 1.991$, $SD = .791$) reported significantly more psychological distress than participants in the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile ($M = 1.648$, $SD = .586$). This offers partial support for one of the hypotheses proposed, in which students in profiles characterized by high mean scores on critical consciousness indicators experience more psychological distress than students in profiles characterized by moderate to low scores on critical consciousness indicators.

Although mean differences between other profiles were not statistically significant, the latent profile whose participants reported the highest level of psychological distress was the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 1.991$, $SD = .79$), followed by the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile ($M = 1.986$, $SD = .74$), the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 1.85$, $SD = .69$), and the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile ($M = 1.65$, $SD = .59$). These descriptive statistics align with the hypothesis that membership in profiles with the highest and lowest mean scores on critical consciousness indicators would be associated

with greater psychological distress than membership in profiles with more moderate scores on critical consciousness indicators.

Table 13.

Mean Differences in Psychological Distress Between Latent Profiles

Profiles compared	Mean Difference (Total Effect)	Mean Difference, accounting for mediators (Direct Effect)
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness – T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	.339	.436
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness – T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	.137	.236
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness – T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	-.005	.161
T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness – T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	-.202	-.200
T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness – T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	-.343*	-.275
T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist – T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	-.141	-.075

Note. T2 = Time 2, referring to post-test. Total effect refers to the relation between latent profiles and psychological distress. Direct effect refers to the relation between latent profiles and psychological distress, after accounting for the influence of the mediators on psychological distress. Mean differences represent the first profile listed minus the second profile listed. Significance at the $p < .05$ level mean that the mean difference in psychological distress between profiles is significantly different than zero. * $p < .05$.

Relations Between Latent Profiles and Mediators

Relations between the latent profiles and mediators (i.e., the A path) were assessed using the manual BCH method and model constraints in Mplus. Significant mean differences in ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and strategies to cope with discrimination were found between latent profiles (Table 14). Regarding ethnic-racial identity private regard, participants in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness ($M = 4.62, SD = 1.45$) and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness ($M = 5.22, SD = .95$) profiles scored significantly lower than participants in both the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 5.94, SD = .79$) and T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 6.14, SD = .95$) profiles. Participants in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profiles did not significantly differ on ethnic-racial identity private regard. These findings offer support for the hypothesis that membership in profiles with higher scores on critical consciousness indicators is associated with higher levels of ethnic-racial identity private regard, relative to membership in other profiles.

In terms of school belonging, participants in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile ($M = 4.57, SD = 1.05$) reported significantly lower belonging than those in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 5.40, SD = 1.19$). No additional significant differences in belonging were found between profiles. Together, these findings offer partial support for the hypothesis that membership in profiles with higher mean scores on critical consciousness indicators is related to higher belonging compared to membership in other profiles.

Table 14.*Mean Differences in Mediators Between Latent Profiles*

Profiles compared	Ethnic-racial identity private regard	Belonging	Education and advocacy coping	Internalization coping	Substance use coping	Resistance coping	Detachment coping
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness – T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness	-.596	-.588	.107	-.034	-.287	-.229	-.770**
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness – T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	-1.316*	-.829*	-.307	-.327	-.307	.239	-.847***
T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness – T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	-1.518**	-.563	-1.983***	-.658*	-.340	-.434	-.502*
T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness – T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist	-.720***	-.241	-.415*	-.293	-.020	.468*	-.077
T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness – T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	-.922***	.025	-2.091***	-.624**	-.053	-.206	.268
T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist – T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist	-.202	.266	-1.676***	-.331	-.033	-.673***	.345

Note. Mean differences represent the first profile listed minus the second profile listed. Significance at the $p < .05$ level mean that the mean difference between profiles is significantly different than zero. *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Regarding education and advocacy coping strategies, participants in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 4.81, SD = .95$) scored significantly higher than the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness ($M = 2.83, SD = 1.33$), T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness ($M = 2.72, SD = .92$), and T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 3.14, SD = .81$) profiles. Additionally, the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile reported significantly more education and advocacy coping strategies than the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile. No significant different differences were found between the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profiles and the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness and T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles. These findings suggest that, overall, membership in a profile with higher mean scores on critical consciousness indicators is associated with more frequent use of education and advocacy strategies to cope with racial discrimination (relative to membership in other profiles).

Regarding internalization coping strategies, participants in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 4.03, SD = 1.27$) reported significantly higher internalization coping strategies than those in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness ($M = 3.37, SD = .70$) and T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness ($M = 3.41, SD = .92$) profiles. No significant differences in internalization coping strategies were observed between the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 3.70, SD = .92$) profile and the other profiles. Thus, contrary to the hypothesis, membership in the profile with the highest mean scores on critical consciousness

indicators was associated with more frequent use of internalization strategies to cope with racism compared to other profiles.

Regarding resistance coping strategies, participants in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile ($M = 2.76, SD = 1.01$) reported significantly lower resistance coping strategies compared to the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness ($M = 3.23, SD = 1.47$) and T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 3.43, SD = 1.10$) profiles. The T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile did not significantly differ from the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile ($M = 3.00, SD = 1.47$) on resistance coping strategies. This pattern was contrary to the hypothesis that membership in the T2 Highly and Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles would be associated with more frequent use of resistance coping strategies compared to the other profiles.

In terms of detachment coping strategies, participants in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness ($M = 1.91, SD = .49$) reported significantly less detachment coping strategies compared to the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness ($M = 2.68, SD = .49$), T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 2.76, SD = 1.11$), and T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist ($M = 2.42, SD = 1.28$) profiles. These findings were also contrary to the hypotheses that membership in the T2 Acritical and Emerging Asian American Consciousness profiles would be associated with higher use of detachment coping strategies to cope with racial discrimination compared to other profiles. Finally, contrary to the hypothesis, no differences in substance use coping strategies were found across latent profiles.

Relations Between Mediators and Psychological Distress

Relations between the mediators and psychological distress were assessed using regression analyses (Table 15). This analysis provides preliminary information exploring the direct relations between correlates of radical healing (i.e., the mediators) and psychological distress (i.e., the outcome, representing the B path in a traditional regression). About 31% of the variance in psychological distress was explained by the mediators. Psychological distress ($M = 1.88$, $SD = .72$) was significantly associated with education and advocacy coping strategies ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 1.23$), substance use coping strategies ($M = 1.88$, $SD = 1.12$), and detachment coping strategies ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.15$). A one-unit increase in education and advocacy coping strategies was associated with a .11-unit increase in psychological distress ($p < .01$). A one-unit increase in substance use coping strategies was associated with a .13-unit increase in psychological distress ($p = .001$). A one-unit increase in detachment coping strategies was associated with a .24-unit increase in psychological distress ($p < .001$). Lastly, the relations between psychological distress and ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, internalization coping strategies, and resistance coping strategies were not significant ($p > .05$). Overall, the relations between mediators and psychological distress yielded mixed support for the hypotheses. As expected, increased use of substance use and detachment coping strategies were associated with greater psychological distress. Contrary to the hypotheses, increased use of education and advocacy coping strategies was associated with greater psychological distress, and the remaining mediators were not significantly related to psychological distress.

Table 15.

Relations Between Mediators and Psychological Distress

Mediators predicting psychological distress	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i> -value
Ethnic-racial identity private regard	-.066	.047	.159
Belonging	-.074	.038	.052
Education and advocacy coping	.105	.036	.004
Internalization coping	.092	.049	.060
Resistance coping	-.018	.043	.672
Substance use coping	.125	.039	.001
Detachment coping	.251	.043	.000

Note. B = unstandardized regression coefficient.

Direct effect of latent profile membership on psychological distress

The direct effect of latent profiles on psychological distress, accounting for the influence of the mediators on psychological distress, was examined using the manual BCH method and model constraints (Table 13). All mean differences in psychological distress across profiles decreased to a level of statistical non-significance ($p > .05$), suggesting that the mediators fully mediate the relation between latent profile membership and psychological distress. In other words, the relation between membership in a given critical consciousness profile and psychological distress flows through their relations with psychological assets related to radical healing.

Discussion

The current study applied a causal steps approach to examine the mediating role of psychological assets related to radical healing on the relation between latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness and psychological distress. Various patterns of sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses are related to psychological distress via psychological assets related to radical healing (C' path), suggesting that these assets are integral to understanding sociopolitical development and mental health among Asian

American students in Ethnic Studies courses. Additional significant paths between latent profile membership and assets related to radical healing (A path) and between assets related to radical healing and mental health (B path) also have implications for students' radical healing from oppression in the context of Ethnic Studies courses. Together, the findings of this study open doors for continued research on the role and responsibility of Ethnic Studies education in facilitating radical healing from oppression among Asian American students. Using research to better understand and adapt Ethnic Studies education as a tool for radical healing is especially needed as people continue to suffer from racial oppression and as conservative strategists question the developmental appropriateness of Ethnic Studies education and limit its implementation (López & Sleeter, 2023; Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022).

Relative Total Effects Between Latent Profile Membership and Psychological Distress

Our findings on the relative total effect were consistent with the hypothesis that members of the profile with the highest scores on critical consciousness indicators (the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist Profile) would report higher psychological distress than other, “less critical” profiles (in this case, the T2 Emerging Asian American Consciousness profile). These findings may not come as a surprise to Ethnic Studies students, teachers, and community activists operating from an Ethnic Studies framework: learning about racism can feel stressful and distressing (Osajima, 2007; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2016). Indeed, research on the relation between critical consciousness and mental health yields mixed findings, and some studies suggest that, in some contexts and

in certain collective patterns of critical consciousness indicators, critical consciousness is psychologically distressing (Ahn et al., 2022; Maker Castro et al., 2022; Ni et al., 2022). This distress may be especially relevant to Asian Americans in Ethnic Studies courses, who are regularly contending with the realities of racism impacting their ethnic-racial group (Ni et al., 2022; Saavedra et al., in preparation).

Descriptive statistics suggested that participants in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile reported the second highest levels of psychological distress, though mean differences in psychological distress between this profile and others were not significant. This introduces the possibility that critical consciousness might not relate to sociopolitical development in a linear fashion. The use of latent profiles to identify different constellations of critical consciousness indicators may continue to be useful in future studies examining the relation between sociopolitical development and mental health.

Despite these results, protecting individuals' mental health does not mean that we must halt sociopolitical development via education. For as long as national and global systems of oppression persist, sociopolitical development remains an essential developmental process for people with minoritized identities to understand, navigate, and transform their sociopolitical realities (Gonzalez et al., 2020; Hope et al., 2023). Instead, psychological distress associated with sociopolitical development can be likened to “growing pains” – difficulties that accompany necessary developmental processes that will ultimately support minoritized people in surviving and challenging oppression (Ahn et al., 2022; Gonzalez et al., 2020). Through this framing, this research invites the

question of how Ethnic Studies education, other socioecological contexts, and individual factors cultivated in those contexts (e.g., ethnic-racial identity, belonging, coping strategies) can support sociopolitical development while simultaneously promoting well-being across developmental periods. Relations between latent profile membership and correlates of radical healing, discussed in the next section, offers insight into such factors.

Relations Between Latent Profile Membership and Radical Healing Assets

From a healing justice framework perspective, individual-level distress might always exist so long as systems of oppression exist; yet this distress can simultaneously co-exist with collective-oriented assets that foster a sense of fulfillment and continued commitments to creating a more equitable society (Ginwright, 2015). Although the results of this study depict the mental health risks associated with critical consciousness among Asian Americans, the current study aligns with prior research identifying psychological correlates of sociopolitical development that may relate to radical healing (i.e., ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and strategies to cope with racism). These benefits can be understood through a radical healing framework as assets that help an individual thrive and work towards collective healing from oppression, separate from working towards the alleviation of traditionally defined pathological mental health symptoms (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2015).

The current study found that ethnic-racial identity private regard, education and advocacy coping strategies, and resistance coping strategies significantly differed between the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile and other profiles. Additionally, membership in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile was

associated with higher belonging and higher use of education and advocacy strategies than the T2 Emerging and Acritical Asian American Consciousness Profiles. Both the T2 Highly and Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profiles were associated with significantly less detachment coping strategies compared to those in the T2 Acritical Asian American Consciousness profile. These findings align with prior research suggesting that sociopolitical development, particularly in the context of Ethnic Studies education, is associated with ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and strategies that actively cope with racial discrimination (Saavedra et al., in preparation). Together, this study provides support for the notion that Ethnic Studies education prepares students with key psychological assets associated with radical healing, which may enrich students' overall development in a society characterized by systems of oppression. Such strides towards anti-racist development among Asian Americans are especially needed as the threat of racial oppression on mental health outcomes persists in today's increasingly polarized sociopolitical climate (Wilf et al., 2023) and as conservative strategists use Asian Americans as a racial wedge to stifle contemporary racial justice advances (C. J. Kim, 2022).

Unexpectedly, membership in the T2 Highly Critical Asian Americanist profile was also positively associated with internalization coping strategies relative to membership in the T2 Emerging and Acritical Asian American Consciousness profiles. This suggests that people in these profiles may internalize the blame or responsibility for the racial discrimination they experience, which runs contrary to the hypothesis that students in "more critical" profiles would externalize the blame for racism to systems

rather than themselves. One possible explanation for this finding is that participants who are aware of, and who work to challenge racism, may also be using their knowledge and actions to avoid the ramifications of racial discrimination; and so, when they do experience discrimination, they may more frequently blame themselves for not “knowing better” or not taking actions to avoid discrimination. Another explanation for this finding could be that, despite the ability to understand the role of racist systems in discrimination, these participants might just be reflecting on racism more often than other participants. Such reflection can include considering if they were to blame for unfortunate events, even if self-blame is not the final conclusion participants make. Nevertheless, the use of the Coping with Discrimination measure (Wei et al., 2010) in this study highlights the relevance of coping strategies to understand the relation between critical consciousness and mental health. Future work can also examine whether Ethnic Studies students engage in other coping strategies not captured by this measure. For example, the humanizing and collective-oriented nature of Ethnic Studies courses may engage students in coping strategies conducive to radical healing, particularly collective coping processes that rely on interpersonal connection, mutual aid, and orientations to collective well-being.

The current study, and future research on strategies to cope with racial discrimination, can reveal intervention targets for Ethnic Studies instructors and practitioners dedicated to anti-racist education, youth development, and healing from oppression. Exploration of coping strategies as an area of intervention may assist educators and community leaders in sustaining Asian Americans’ agency and engagement in the broader struggle for racial justice.

Radical Healing Assets and Psychological Distress

This study's analysis of the relations between radical healing correlates and psychological distress offers a first look into how assets related to radical healing predict mental health outcomes among students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses, contexts that share a similar focus on critical consciousness and humanization as the healing justice framework's conditions for a just, healed society (Ginwright, 2015). Results suggested that education and advocacy, substance use, and detachment coping strategies were significantly and positively related to psychological distress. Whereas the findings involving substance use and detachment coping strategies aligned with the initial hypotheses, the positive relation between education and advocacy strategies (and the nonsignificant relations involving other mediators) was unexpected.

One explanation for the positive relation between education and advocacy coping strategies and psychological distress may be gleaned from looking beyond the coping actions themselves and, instead, considering the time-variant adaptive functions of each type of coping strategy. In other words, instead of looking at *what* coping strategy is most adaptive, researchers, practitioners, and individuals can consider *when* a strategy is adaptive. While education and advocacy are helpful for sharing information and promoting others' critical consciousness, these actions might not be adaptive in every situation when considering factors like frequency and diversity of coping strategies used, interpersonal context, and the individuals' current psychological well-being (Liang et al., 2007; Lowe et al., 2012).

Consider a case where an Asian American student responds to a high volume of racial discrimination experiences in a given week, perpetrated by highly bigoted students at their university, at a university where racial discrimination is ignored or minimized. If the student responds to these experiences only through education and advocacy, they may experience psychological toll due to a) struggling with effective advocacy in an unsupportive environment, b) constantly thinking about or discussing the gravity of racism with others, or c) constantly engaging with the stressful situation if they are already experiencing high levels of depression, anxiety, and stress at baseline. In these potential scenarios, constant engagement with the situation might exacerbate distress, and thus might not be adaptive in the short-term (even though, theoretically, this strategy is adaptive in the long-term). Indeed, certain activist behaviors—but not all types of political engagement—can be associated with negative mental health outcomes among Asian American college students (Ballard et al., 2020), suggesting the importance of diversifying strategies to respond to racism. Thus, although education and advocacy coping strategies are essential for promoting others' critical consciousness, this practice might not be sustainable if this is the only strategy being used, if the use of this strategy is not balanced with other strategies that restore a person's spirit to fight oppression, or if the use of this strategy has mixed effectiveness when considering factors like the individual's mental health status and the sociopolitical climate in the microsystem. Future research and Ethnic Studies instructors working with students should encourage critical inquiry into the individual and contextual factors that help determine which types of coping strategies offer the most adaptive function in a given scenario.

The non-significant paths from the mediators to psychological distress suggest that radical healing correlates (including critical consciousness) may differ in their direct relations with mental health. Although this contrasts with the initial hypotheses and literature suggesting that ethnic-racial identity private regard is protective for mental health (A. Y. Choi et al., 2017; Y. Choi et al., 2020; David et al., 2019; Xie et al., 2021), these findings invite continued research considering in which circumstances these mediating variables are protective factors against psychological distress among Ethnic Studies students.

The Mediating Role of Radical Healing on the Relation Between Sociopolitical Development and Mental Health

Findings of the C' path suggest that correlates of radical healing may fully mediate the relation between latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness and psychological distress among students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses. That is, since the mean differences between latent profiles on psychological distress was reduced to a non-significant difference when accounting for the influence of the mediators on psychological distress, this implies that psychological assets related to radical healing are sizable contributors to the relations between latent profile membership and psychological distress. Although specific indirect effects cannot be estimated with this analysis, these results are consistent with theory and offer preliminary evidence that radical healing is a relevant mediating process in the relationship between sociopolitical development and psychological distress. This empirical evidence supports the use of a healing justice and radical healing framework to conceptualize and study mental health and wellness among

racially minoritized communities, including Asian Americans. In these frameworks, the radical healing process (and their correlates) is seen as a necessary process for the attainment of sustained individual and collective well-being (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2015). This study also supports the notion that radical healing and mental health are relevant processes in the context of Ethnic Studies education, where students are learning about and processing the realities of racism (i.e., sociopolitical development), which facilitates the growth of other assets (e.g., ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, adaptive strategies to cope with racism) conducive to social transformation and collective well-being. Future research can apply these theoretical contributions to holistically study radical healing and mental health among racially minoritized groups, which re-centers our science on oppression (as opposed to individual psychopathology) as a core source of mental health risk.

Alternative Models for Future Research

The results of this study not only offer support for the theoretical connectedness between sociopolitical development and radical healing, but they also invite continued research on how radical healing contributes to individual-level mental health outcomes across latent profiles of Asian American critical consciousness. Although the theory-driven model hypothesized in this study suggested the use of a mediation analysis establishing critical consciousness as a galvanizing force in the radical healing process, which then influences individual-level mental health, other models may also be suited to empirically define the connections between critical consciousness, radical healing, and mental health. Given the significant differential relations between latent profiles of Asian

American critical consciousness and psychological distress, it may also be the case that radical healing indicators have differing relations with psychological distress across latent profiles, which warrants different statistical techniques other than mediation (Hayes & Preacher, 2014).

One alternative way to test the relations between correlates of radical healing and mental health is through testing an interaction between latent profile membership and correlates of radical healing. This interaction (i.e., latent class moderation; Bray et al., 2023) can assess whether the relation between radical healing assets and psychological distress varies as a function of relative latent profile membership. Future research testing this model, along with others, can help empirically unpack the impact of sociopolitical development and Ethnic Studies education on radical healing and mental health overall.

Another alternative model may involve examining latent profiles as mediators in the relation between radical healing assets and mental health. In these models, the A path would examine whether ethnic-racial identity private regard, belonging, and strategies to cope with racism would predict certain odds of membership in different latent profiles of critical consciousness; and the B path would examine whether latent profiles differed on psychological distress (similarly to the C path in this analysis). Such a model would offer important information about the interplay between sociopolitical development and radical healing (i.e., whether assets related to radical healing may reciprocally influence critical consciousness), which may help refine theories about the multitude of possible pathways to heal from racism.

Implications for Education Interventions

The results of the current study have implications for interventions or and educational support programs serving Asian American college students. Ethnic Studies education, and other educational interventions supporting Asian American college students, must strategize to promote both sociopolitical development and mental health (and not promoting one at the cost of the other). One strategy to do so is to support Ethnic Studies professors with adapting their teaching style to respond to students' emotional experiences in their classes, especially during class lessons that provoke strong emotional reactions. In line with broader goals for Ethnic Studies education, instructors can focus on humanization during lessons that are emotionally provoking (Camangian & Cariaga, 2021). For example, lessons can focus on depicting Asian Americans as not solely victims of oppression, but as agentic people who often challenge oppression successfully, and instructors can connect Asian Americans' historical successes of anti-racist and decolonial resistance with possibilities for present-day social change. Instructors can also rely on experiential activities, such as critical performance pedagogy (Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2016), to incite students' critical thinking about how they can be agentic amidst oppression and how they can effectively cope with and challenge racism through a variety of strategies in the context of historical examples or contemporary scenarios relevant to Asian Americans.

Focusing on humanization by depicting Asian Americans as both oppressed and successful agents of change has potential benefits across developmental periods. First, this strategy can promote dialectical thinking consistent with radical healing: although

interlocking systems of oppression exist, minoritized groups have opportunities to resist oppression and envision a liberatory future (French et al., 2020). The ability for such dialectical thinking may be easiest for late adolescents and adults who have developed the cognitive flexibility and emotional regulation to effectively hold two truths as coexisting (Tyler et al., 2020; Veraksa & Basseches, 2022; Zimmermann & Iwanski, 2014). However, research suggests that children in Ethnic Studies programs can also understand the dualities of oppression and agentic resistance, and the Ethnic Studies context can also be healing for them (Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2016). Taken together, this framing, and the dialectical thinking that foregrounds it, may be important discussion points and teachable skills that Ethnic Studies educators (across grade levels) and community leaders can implement in their classrooms and organizations.

Another benefit of humanizing framings in Ethnic Studies education is that it offers “positive” characteristics that youth can anchor to when developing their distress tolerance when learning about racism. As suggested by the findings of the study, awareness about racism and engagement with anti-racism may be distressing, and the broader literature suggests that tolerating the distress that comes with critical consciousness may require both social and mental health supports (Brewster et al., 2024). The Ethnic Studies course environment may be inherently suited to offer some of these benefits via culturally- and community-responsive curricula, and instructors, especially instructors of younger students who are building their arsenal of distress tolerance strategies, can consider additional ways to bolster students’ resources for tolerating and coping with racism.

While Ethnic Studies instructors are not required to act as mental health professionals, nor are they the only source of social and emotional support that can support students as they learn about Ethnic Studies courses, instructors can use their classrooms as a springboard for collective healing processes within and beyond the classroom. For example, instructors can use their class structure and pedagogy to encourage positive relations and social support networks among students. Encouraging community-building with classmates who are processing similar information in Ethnic Studies courses may help to counter the use of detachment as a strategy to cope with discrimination. Additionally, instructors can also be mindful to share campus wellness resources (e.g., information about counseling services) and affinity groups (e.g., student and community groups focused on Asian American and social justice issues) with students, which can expand students' awareness of other humanizing spaces where they can process what they've learned in Ethnic Studies courses (Vang, 2021).

Overall, the current study introduces several potential directions for interventions to support Asian American students enrolled in Ethnic Studies courses. Educators and community leaders should continue exploring strategies to bolster assets related to radical healing as a way to sustain both sociopolitical development and mental health among Asian American students, especially as the developmental and mental health risks of racism—and the imperative to challenge racism—heighten.

Limitations

Despite this study's contributions to theory and conceptualizations of radical healing via sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses, this study is not without

its limitations. The current analysis was cross-sectional, only examining students at the end of an Ethnic Studies course. Additional waves of data may support researchers in making broader conclusions about the contributions of Ethnic Studies education to well-being over time. Alternatively, quasi-experimental and longitudinal research designs may help further depict Ethnic Studies' psychological correlates over time. Another limitation of this study is that we did not assess variables related to all aspects of radical healing, such as radical hope, due to the available variables in the data set. Future studies with an explicit focus on radical healing should collect data that proxies all aspects of the framework to assess how these components operate together quantitatively. Relatedly, this study only examined psychological distress as an indicator of mental health, whereas future research can expand to include measures of wellness (e.g., psychological well-being, satisfaction with life, flourishing) as additional proxies for mental health. Indicators of positive and negative mental health may function differently from each other in the context of Ethnic Studies courses and other critically conscious, humanizing spaces (Ni et al., 2022).

A fourth consideration for future research is based on this study's use of a causal steps approach to mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986), which was taken due to the lack of an established statistical process to use latent profiles as predictors in a mediation model. Simulation studies on traditional mediation analyses suggest that the causal steps approach has lower power than modern methods, and so this approach might mask mediation effects that, in reality, exist (Hayes, 2009). Additionally, due to the use of latent profiles as predictors, we were not able to specifically estimate indirect effects that

help formally test mediation in the absence of a significant total effect (e.g., testing whether the use of resistance coping strategies mediates the relationship between membership in the T2 Moderately Critical Asian Americanist profile and psychological distress, despite the lack of a significant total effect between this profile and psychological distress). As new statistical techniques and programs develop to incorporate latent profiles into variable-centered analyses, such analyses may become possible and could illuminate otherwise hidden mediation effects. Despite the limitations of this analysis in terms of causality and offering a fuller picture of the radical healing process, this exploratory analysis offers an important initial investigation into the relationship between radical healing assets and mental health outcomes in the context of Ethnic Studies courses.

Conclusion

As a concluding note for this study, I consider criticisms of Ethnic Studies education as a divisive, harmful curriculum that promotes negative social and developmental outcomes among students (López & Sleeter, 2023). The current study, including its framing through a healing justice perspective, offers initial support to counter critical claims against the merits of Ethnic Studies education. Through a healing justice lens, the presence of mental health risks related to critical consciousness and Ethnic Studies education does not negate the importance, merit, and need for these courses (Ginwright, 2015). Rather, this study offers initial evidence that sociopolitical development in Ethnic Studies courses is a crucial intervention for the development of psychological assets conducive to radical healing, which equips students to navigate

psychological distress and ultimately abolish the systems of oppression that create mental health risk.

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVALS FOR THE CURRENT STUDIES



APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

[Hyung Yoo](#)
[CLAS-SS: Social Transformation, School of \(SST\)](#)

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yoo@asu.edu
Dear [Hyung Yoo](#):

On 11/18/2021 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	The Psychosocial Impacts of Diversity and Ethnic Studies Courses
Investigator:	Hyung Yoo
IRB ID:	STUDY00014897
Category of review:	
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• DivES IRB Modification Letter 2021-12-05.pdf, Category: Other;• DivES IRB Protocol 05-12-2021.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;• recruitment_methods_sampleinstructions_05-12-2021, Category: Recruitment Materials;• Survey Codebook, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB approved the protocol from 11/18/2021 to 11/17/2022 inclusive. Three weeks before 11/17/2022 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 11/17/2022 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the “Documents” tab in ERA-IRB.

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

REMINDER - All in-person interactions with human subjects require the completion of the ASU Daily Health Check by the ASU members prior to the interaction and the use of face coverings by researchers, research teams and research participants during the interaction. These requirements will minimize risk, protect health and support a safe research environment. These requirements apply both on- and off-campus.

The above change is effective as of July 29th 2021 until further notice and replaces all previously published guidance. Thank you for your continued commitment to ensuring a healthy and productive ASU community.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator cc: Jean
Abigail Saavedra



APPROVAL: MODIFICATION

[Hyung Yoo](#)
[CLAS-SS: Social Transformation, School of \(SST\)](#)

-
 yoo@asu.edu

Dear [Hyung Yoo](#):

On 1/11/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Modification / Update
Title:	The Psychosocial Impacts of Diversity and Ethnic Studies Courses
Investigator:	Hyung Yoo
IRB ID:	STUDY00014897
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DivES IRB Protocol 11-01-2022.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Qualtrics Survey - For Participant Names, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • recruitment_methods_consentform_11-01-2022, Category: Consent Form; • recruitment_methods_coursecreditsampleinstructions_0301-2021, Category: Recruitment Materials; • recruitment_methods_extracreditsampleinstructions_03-01-2021, Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB approved the modification.

When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the “Documents” tab in ERA-IRB.

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

REMINDER - All in-person interactions with human subjects require the completion of the ASU Daily Health Check by the ASU members prior to the interaction and the use of face coverings by researchers, research teams and research participants during the interaction. These requirements will minimize risk, protect health and support a safe research environment. These requirements apply both on- and off-campus.

The above change is effective as of July 29th 2021 until further notice and replaces all previously published guidance. Thank you for your continued commitment to ensuring a healthy and productive ASU community.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Jean Abigail Saavedra
Hyung Yoo
Jean Abigail Saavedra



APPROVAL: MODIFICATION

[Hyung Yoo](#)
[CLAS-SS: Social Transformation, School of \(SST\)](#)

-
 yoo@asu.edu

Dear [Hyung Yoo](#):

On 5/27/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Modification / Update
Title:	The Psychosocial Impacts of Diversity and Ethnic Studies Courses
Investigator:	Hyung Yoo
IRB ID:	STUDY00014897
Funding:	Name: Asian American Psychological Association (AAPA)
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Award Notification Email - AAPA Stephen C. Rose Scholarship.pdf, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • DivES Interview Guide Draft 2.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • DivES IRB Protocol 27-05-2022.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • JAbbySaavedraStephenCRose.pdf, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • recruitment_methods_consentform_26-05-2022, Category: Consent Form; • recruitment_methods_recruitmentemails_26-05-2022.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • recruitment_methods_screensurvey_26-05-2022.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB approved the modification.

When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the “Documents” tab in ERA-IRB.

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

REMINDER - - Effective January 12, 2022, in-person interactions with human subjects require adherence to all current policies for ASU faculty, staff, students and visitors. Up-to-date information regarding ASU’s COVID-19 Management Strategy can be found [here](#). IRB approval is related to the research activity involving human subjects, all other protocols related to COVID-19 management including face coverings, health checks, facility access, etc. are governed by current ASU policy.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator



APPROVAL:CONTINUATION

[Hyung Yoo](#)
[CLAS-SS: Social Transformation, School of \(SST\)](#)

-
 yoo@asu.edu

Dear [Hyung Yoo](#):

On 7/26/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Modification and Continuing Review
Title:	The Psychosocial Impacts of Diversity and Ethnic Studies Courses
Investigator:	Hyung Yoo
IRB ID:	STUDY00014897
Category of review:	7
Funding:	Name: Asian American Psychological Association (AAPA)
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fall 2022 Qualtrics Survey Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • recruitment_methods_fallcoursecreditsampleinstructions_24-07-2022, Category: Recruitment Materials; • recruitment_methods_fallextracreditsampleinstructions_24-07-2022, Category: Recruitment Materials; • recruitment_methods_springinterviewrecruitmentemails_24-07-2022, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Spring 2022 Qualtrics Survey Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB approved the protocol from 7/26/2022 to 7/25/2023 inclusive. Three weeks before 7/25/2023 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 7/25/2023 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

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

REMINDER - - Effective January 12, 2022, in-person interactions with human subjects require adherence to all current policies for ASU faculty, staff, students and visitors. Up-to-date information regarding ASU's COVID-19 Management Strategy can be found [here](#). IRB approval is related to the research activity involving human subjects, all other protocols related to COVID-19 management including face coverings, health checks, facility access, etc. are governed by current ASU policy.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator