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Intraracial and Intraethnic Microaggressions Experienced by Korean American Internationally and Transracially Adopted Persons

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Intraracial and Intraethnic Microaggressions Experienced by
Korean American Internationally and Transracially Adopted Persons

A Dissertation Presented

By

KARIN JONG-MEE GARBER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SEPTEMBER 2017

Clinical Psychology

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DEDICATION

To Korean Adoptees: Who both inspire and challenge me.

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Thank you to my adviser and mentor, Dr. Harold Grotevant, for encouraging and supporting my experiences, worldview, and passions- all of which have culminated in the creation and development of this project. I have appreciated how you challenge me to consider how I perceive the field, my research, and myself as a budding academician. Our relationship has been transformational in my life. Your steady confidence in me has allowed me to internalize critical parts of who I am and who I am becoming as a psychologist. I'd also like to extend deep gratitude to my committee: Dr. Lisa Harvey, Dr. Linda Tropp, and Dr. Patricia Ramsey. Lisa- you have modeled grace under fire for me and have allowed me to experience all-encompassing acceptance and compassion. Linda- I am ever learning from you lessons of how to hold strong in your values as you move through systems, politics, and even your own doubts and fatigue. Patty- your enduring vivacity, zest for your research, family, and colleagues, and your dedication to adoption work has been a guiding light for my own life. I am truly honored to have worked with you all.

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Lastly, to my parents, husband, family, and friends- I am everything because of you- and for that I am appreciative every day. The love and belief you have in me has been the most fortifying force in my life.

ABSTRACT

INTRARACIAL AND INTRAETHNIC MICROAGGRESSIONS EXPERIENCED BY

KOREAN AMERICAN INTERNATIONALLY AND TRANSRACIALLY

ADOPTED PERSONS

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This research examined the microaggressions that Korean American internationally and transracially adopted persons (ITAPs) reported based on intraracial/intraethnic interpersonal exchanges. This research tested a conceptual model that: 1) determined the themes of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions reported by Korean American ITAPs; 2) investigated how psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes were predicted from these microaggressions; and 3) tested specific moderators (i.e., age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians) that could change the relationship between these microaggressions and negative psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Two studies with different samples that share similar demographics were conducted using a mixed methods triangulation design. Study 1 used two tech-mediated focus groups to discern the typology of microaggressions. Participants in Study

1 included adult male (n =4) and female (n =4) Korean American ITAPs between the ages of 18-35 years old who were adopted by White parents before the age of 2. Participants resided in Western, Midwestern, and Eastern regions. Purposive sampling was used to obtain breadth and depth for a more comprehensive typology. Study 2 used the themes from Study 1 to develop the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC). Participants in Study 2 included 150 Korean American ITAPs (males n =35, females n =112, and nonbinary/agender n =3) representing all geographical regions. Participants were between the ages of 19-66 years old. Preliminary reliability and validity were demonstrated for the IMC and two subscales were identified and developed. The Internal subscale was based on the internal experience that ITAPs feel when receiving microaggressions, and the External subscale was related to assumptions externally imposed onto ITAPS regarding their adoptive experiences and identities. Results indicated that anxiety, stress symptoms, positive affect about adoption, and negative feelings related to adoption were predicted from internal microaggressions. General negative affect and positive affect about adoption were predicted from external microaggressions. Moderation analyses determined that under high conditions of disengagement coping, there was a positive relationship between internal microaggressions and stress symptoms, whereas under conditions of low and medium disengagement, this association was not significant.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

Much of the extant literatures on racism, racial discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice have traditionally focused on intergroup relations and interracial conflict, effects, and differences (Celious & Oyserman, 2001; Marira & Mitra, 2013; Sims, 2006). Although this body of work is necessary in understanding how White ethnocentric monoculturalism and systems of power and oppression influence the mental of health of all people of color, the psychological experiences *within* racial groups are equally as critical to study (Hall, 2005). Shifting the focus from interracial to intraracial will become more necessary with the “browning of the United States” (Baugh, 2014), as the U.S. population diversifies due to a variety of dynamics including immigration, fertility, domestic births, and mortality rates (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). In fact, by 2044, more than half of all Americans are projected to be people of color, and by 2060, about one in five Americans will have been born in another country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The influx of people from different countries and the steady increase in births of people of color domestically holds the possibility for a multitude of dynamically interacting worldviews, psychological experiences, and values. Although White people as a racial group generally have the power to impose standards of their heritage (e.g., language, history, values, traditions, etc.) on other racial/ethnic groups, and can also reify their significance in institutions (e.g., in companies, education, housing, etc.) (Sue, 2004), people of color can also hold prejudiced beliefs about other racial/ethnic groups as well as their own racial/ethnic group (Samuels, 2009; Samuels, 2010; Smith & Moore, 2000).

Research on colorism, phenotype, caste, identity, language, and intragroup socioeconomic differences are ways of stratifying individuals of the same race/ethnicity into divisive categories where power and privilege are unequal (Norwood, 2013). With colorism, for example, people of color with lighter skin tones, who are more visibly identified with European culture and therefore possess higher social status, hold privilege in having greater access to housing, jobs, and schooling compared to people of color with darker skin tones (Hunter, 2007). In contrast, those with darker skin tones are often considered to be more “ethnically authentic or legitimate” compared to those with lighter skin tones (Hunter, 2007, p. 237). While interracial hierarchies involve a more obvious delineation of privilege between the “oppressor” and “oppressed,” intraracial/intraethnic dynamics have a more complex and nuanced balance of privilege and power. These intraracial hierarchies can be transmitted and reinforced regularly through overt and covert interpersonal actions including microaggressions (Hunter, 2007). Because these intragroup differences can translate into marginalizing actions and behaviors, whether overt or subtle, it is necessary to understand their psychological and social implications.

Sue et al. (2007a, p. 271) described microaggressions as “Brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative...slights and insults towards people of color.” While the interracial microaggressions literature began with describing covert instances of discrimination experienced by people of color relayed by White individuals (Sue et al., 2007a), the literature is becoming increasingly complex and sophisticated in terms of who can commit and receive microaggressions (Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2014). In a review of the microaggressions literature, Wong et al. (2014, pp. 6)

highlighted a debate in the field regarding the need for “conceptual clarification” of “Who do racial microaggressions impact?” The authors highlight important points raised by microaggressions researchers regarding social hierarchies and group-level differences that can translate into interpersonal friction. Some of these examples could theoretically be studied between or within racial groups: differences between groups that can racially “pass” versus those who are visible racial and ethnic minorities (Nadal 2008, Nadal, 2011a; Nadal, 2011b; Watkins, LaBarrie, & Appio, 2010); people of color who have experienced diverse types of historical oppression; people of color who are undocumented versus documented (Huber, 2011); immigrant groups who have historically experienced colonialism versus those who have not (David, 2008); people of color who are native English speakers versus those who speak English as a second language (Huber, 2011); different generations with varying levels of acculturation or assimilation; and people of color with higher levels of internalized oppression versus those with lower levels (David, 2008).

Wong et al. (2014) further emphasized conceptual questions related to intraracial and intraethnic dynamics. They cited evidence from others in the field that have suggested that intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions are an unstudied but important area of research (Allen, 2010; Nadal, 2011a; Nadal, 2011b). The authors posited that intraracial and intraethnic themes could revolve around colorism (Nadal, 2008) and levels of ethnic identity (Barnes, 2011), and asserted the need for realizing important mediating and moderating variables related to intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms. This type of microaggressions research, which can add dimension and complexity to the overall microaggressions literature, allows the field to

increasingly investigate and comprehend the necessary question of: Who do microaggressions affect and why?

A review of the field thus identified a gap in the literature of which there is little to no knowledge (Wong et al., 2014): the intraracial and intraethnic microaggressive experiences catalyzed by same race/ethnicity interactions. The current research was aimed at providing foundational knowledge in this area by investigating how power and privilege are expressed via intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions through a specific lens. Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal, and Torino (2008a, p. 277) has discussed, in the context of microaggressions, how a group in power has the ability to “define and impose” their own reality and standards, while “negating and invalidating” the reality and experiences of the group with less power. In the case of this research, this definition was the theoretical and conceptual underpinning for identifying how intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions function with regards to a specific group.

One way among the myriad of ways that individuals of the same race and ethnicity can have varying experiences is related to socialization (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007). Socialization to White European American culture, customs, and values can be a complex issue affecting families with children of color (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Becoming socialized to American culture can be particularly evident in adoptive families where children of color are socialized into American and European White families and communities (Meier 1999; Samuels, 2009). It is not uncommon for internationally and transracially adopted persons in White families to relate to and connect more with White culture as opposed to the racial and ethnic group of their culture of origin (Friedlander 1999; Lee, 2003). As of 2014, about 261,728 international adoptions have been finalized

in the U.S. (U.S. Department of State, 2014). Currently, around 5,000-7,000 international adoptions occur each year, with top sending countries including, in order, China, Ethiopia, Russia, South Korea, and Ukraine. The foremost receiving states in the U.S. include, in order, Texas, California, New York, Florida, and Illinois (U.S. Department of State, 2012).

Korean American internationally and transracially adopted persons (ITAPs) have been a major group studied in racial and ethnic socialization research (e.g., Friedlander, 1999; Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013; Lee, 2003; Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, Gunnar, & The Minnesota International Adoption Project Team, 2006), as this group is among the older and more prominent of international adoptions. From 1999 to 2013, 19,370 adoptions have been completed from South Korea; South Korea is furthermore considered to be a country that completes significantly more adoptions compared to other countries worldwide (U.S. Department of State, 2014). The sociocultural experiences of Korean American ITAPs can especially pinpoint some of the complex issues that individuals of color face when interacting with people of their same race who have been socialized in different contexts; these interactions can result in microaggressions. In the case of Korean American ITAPs, while they may have more access to socioeconomic advantages via their adoptive parents, they also often have less Korean cultural “capital” and privilege due to being socialized in White families and communities. It is important to note that because power and privilege within racial and ethnic groups is complex, ITAPs may hold power and privilege of a different nature over others of their same race/ethnicity; however, the focus and purpose of this study was understanding intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions as they pertained to Korean American ITAP’s sociocultural experiences.

While adopted individuals in same race families have experienced slights more related to their adoptive identity (Garber & Grotevant, 2015), biracial transracially adopted individuals have expressed that along with receiving racial microaggressions initiated by White people, they receive discriminatory and prejudiced comments from others of their same race. These comments have resulted in feelings of alienation and confusion (Samuels, 2009). Most studies that mention intraracial microaggressive experiences highlight specific moments as opposed to focusing on intraracial relations as a distinct and complex phenomenon. The current research merged and extended the microaggressions and adoption literatures to systematically and empirically study the emerging intraracial and intraethnic dynamics with Korean American ITAPs.

The current research created new conceptual ground in building a literature for intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions by analyzing Korean American ITAPs' experiences of these slights from same race/ethnicity peers. This research tested a conceptual model (Figure 1), which first determined the subthemes and themes of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions that are experienced by Korean American ITAPs. The second part of this model involved: 1) developing an instrument (i.e., the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC)) to measure these microaggressions based on the foundational themes culled in Study 1; 2) determining if intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions predict negative psychological symptoms (i.e., depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms) and emotion outcomes (i.e., general negative affect, positive affect about adoption, and negative feelings about adoption); 3) analyze if moderators such as age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization and level of

interaction with other Asians change the relationship between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and negative psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes (Figure 2). In untangling some of these complex social relationships, researchers can more comprehensively understand the psychology of people of color and the dynamics of power and privilege in diversifying communities.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Interracial Microaggressions

The Origins of Racial Microaggressions

There have been many predecessors to the concept of microaggressions in the psychological literature. Terms and theories that describe subtler forms of racial discrimination are “modern racism,” “covert racism,” “symbolic racism,” and “aversive racism” to describe a more “abstract” and “moralistic” way of conveying racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Grant, 1990; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986). Although there are some differences in theoretical conceptualization, all these terms signify a morphing of racism from the overt to covert, where White people can support egalitarian values yet also hold prejudiced views of people of color.

Microaggression research is a newer framework in the psychological literature that describes the ways in which individuals in marginalized or nonnormative groups are subtly oppressed. Psychiatrist Chester Pierce first coined and defined the term “microaggression” as it pertained to instances of discrimination with African Americans, although Derald Wing Sue has brought this term into prominence for several racial groups (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue et al., 2007a).

Sue et al. (2007a) posited a framework of three different types of microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Sue et al. (2007a) described that *microassaults* are enacted with the intention to be harmful through using racial epithets, actively avoiding people of color, or using discriminatory behaviors. The authors illustrated a microassault as serving a White customer before a person of color, wearing an anti-

Semitic symbol such as a swastika, or calling someone by a pejorative term such as “Oriental” or “colored.” *Microinsults* are comments that disparage or convey ignorance about a person of color’s heritage (Sue et al., 2007a). While the initiator may not be aware that a negative message is being communicated to the recipient, the underlying assumption embedded within the comment has negative implications. A microinsult can be exemplified by a White individual stating to an Asian American person that, “All you people are good at math.” Although the White person may be trying to compliment the person of color, this message communicates the stereotype that all Asian Americans are a monolithic group with no individual variation. Lastly, *microinvalidations* invalidate or negate the experiences or identities of people of color. Colorblind ideology is a quintessential example of a microinvalidation where a White person claims to not perceive race. Colorblind ideology obfuscates the reality of racism and nullifies the lived experiences of people of color who may value their racial identity (Sue et al., 2007a). While microaggressions are often discussed in terms of verbal communication, they can also be expressed in behavioral and environmental forms. Behaviorally, microaggressions may be communicated if a White woman clutched her purse when a Black person entered an elevator, thus connoting that the Black person is a criminal to be mistrusted. Environmentally, physical surroundings can transmit denigrating messages to people of color including omitting the histories of people of color in classroom textbooks (Sue, 2010b). With microaggressive comments and behaviors, it is important to note that whether these slights are conscious or not, it is the *impact*, not the intent, that has been the major focus of the microaggressions literature (Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008c). Because microaggressions can be quite subtle, they are often dismissed and minimized; however, the literature has asserted and evidenced that the

cumulative nature of these slights amounts to psychological and emotional harm. The focus of this study, thus, aligns with prior microaggressions literature that explores and determines how these slights affect the recipient regardless of intention.

Themes in Interracial Microaggressions

Recognizing and distinguishing themes of microaggressions that occur to people of color have provided more concrete definitions that allow people to identify microaggressions. Sue's (2010a; 2010b) work has elaborated on specific themes of racial microaggressions that occur to the major recognized racial political groups in the U.S. including African/Black Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Latino Americans. Sue (2010b) hypothesized that each racial group experiences certain themes of microaggressions specific to that group's historical narrative and ensuing stereotypes in the U.S. For example, American Indians experience microaggressive experiences more centered on "Advocating sociopolitical dominance" and "Expressing adoration" (Clark, Spanierman, Reed, Soble, & Cabana 2011). However, there are also convergences in themes. African/Black and Latino Americans often contend more with "Assumptions of criminality," where others communicate prejudiced views that African/Black Americans are dangerous and suspicious. Latino and Asian Americans may experience more microaggressions related to the theme "Alien in One's Own Land" where Asians and Latinos are often viewed as foreigners instead of "real" Americans.

More recently, studies have explored microaggressive themes for multiracial individuals. Researchers discovered that multiracial individuals may have some common experiences of covert racial discrimination similar to their monoracial counterparts, although they also have unique experiences related to their multiracial heritage such as

feeling excluded or isolated from both of the racial groups in which they are members (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal, Sriken, Davidoff, Wong, & McLean, 2013; Nadal, Wong, Sriken, Wideman, & Kolawole, 2011). This research emphasizes how one's phenotypical appearance and familial experiences can be related to microaggressive experiences. These studies were focused more on microaggressions experienced from both monoracial White people and people of color. The current study concentrated solely on intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and how they appeared and operated within members of the same racial/ethnic group. The studies on multiracial individuals also often used assessments that were created based on original themes delineated by Sue (2010a; 2010b), which described more interracial microaggressions by White people to people of color. Although qualitative methods were used to explain findings discovered on the basis of these assessments, it is unclear if different or unique themes may occur if a qualitative analysis were conducted without relying on previously delineated interracial themes.

Research and theoretical papers on intraracial experiences have highlighted that in the social sciences there can be an assumption that marginalized racial and ethnic groups represent a monolith that is similar in sociocultural and economic experiences with very little intraracial conflict (Smith & Moore, 2000). Most of the intraracial research on interpersonal conflict has been conducted with Black/African American participants. A study with Black Americans attending a predominantly White liberal arts college underscored that "closeness" between members of this racial group was significantly lower for biracial students, Black students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and Black students from White neighborhoods. This discrepancy appeared to stem from differences that the students themselves perceived, as well as experiences they had intraracially that

made them feel as “outsiders” (Smith & Moore, 2000). Ethnographic studies corroborate this finding that intraracial conflict does occur depending on economic structural inequities (Hyra, 2006), though it is unclear exactly how everyday covert instances of intraracial prejudice unfold, if there is a pattern to these comments, and what the influence of these comments on psychological symptoms is.

There is a call from the microaggressions literature for studies on the phenomenon of intraracial microaggressions (Wong et al., 2014) as researchers have only speculated about their occurrence (Allen, 2010), and the current themes of interracial microaggressions are based on how White individuals derogate people of color. It is unclear if some themes of microaggressions (i.e., an Asian American raised in the U.S. being perceived as a “foreigner”) would occur in intraracial/intraethnic relationships. Systematically studying the themes and describing the typology of microaggressive comments were central to building a strong foundation for this budding literature. Because different racial groups may receive unique or specific themes of microaggressions, the current study desired to be comprehensive and focused on both intraracial *and* intraethnic microaggressions experienced by Korean American ITAPs. Investigating the psychological symptoms from these remarks was equally as critical to ascertaining the negative influence of these experiences.

Interracial Microaggressions and Psychological Symptoms and Emotion Outcomes

The impact of racial oppression is related to psychological, emotional, and physical symptoms (Sue, 2010b). Although microaggressions may seem relatively innocuous compared to overt racism or physical acts of violence, Sue (2010b) asserted that stressors do not need to reach a traumatic level in order for an individual to feel distress, rather, even

“daily life hassles” can be stressful. While the effects of racism and discrimination have been studied over the decades, this section will primarily focus on microaggressions and covert everyday perceived discrimination and their relation to psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Although studies that examine everyday perceived discrimination have not always been branded “microaggressions,” microaggressions researchers often cite this work as being conceptually similar in their studies as highlighted in Wong et al.’s (2014) overview of the current state of the microaggressions literature. The literatures on “aversive racism” and “modern racism” have also been compared to microaggressions (Sue et al., 2008c). A key differentiation that Sue et al. (2008) delineates between other literatures on racist slights and microaggressions is that research on microaggressions hones in on the regular recurring nature of these racist slights specifically within the interpersonal realm between initiator and recipient.

Microaggressions and everyday perceived discrimination are often measured in a self report assessment form, and thus more objective methods of evaluating discrimination are not utilized as often in these types of studies. Researchers who study perceived discrimination often assert that they are less concerned with the actual incident of discrimination, and more on how discriminatory experiences affect the individual based on the way that person experiences the event (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Because I was interested in the cumulative and perceived influence of these microaggressions, I focused on the experience of how the participant received the comments or behaviors. Although there are always some validity issues with recall bias and self report, this study can still provide some insight regarding to how a participant has “made meaning” out of the event since its initial occurrence. It has been evidenced in the microaggressions literature that

poorer mental health outcomes are related to those who perceive more microaggressions (Rivera, 2012).

When measuring microaggressions, newer studies (e.g., Rivera, 2012) have used the self-report Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) (Nadal, 2011b) based on Sue's (2010a; 2010b) conceptual framework for microaggression themes to measure the type and quantity of microaggressions perceived by participants in their interpersonal experiences within the past 6 months (measure included in Appendix C). Other studies have used self-report methods with no specific underlying conceptual theory for identifying racial microaggressions from participants by asking about how often people of color experience slights on a day-to-day basis from 0 = *never*, to 3 = *very often* (Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011).

Microaggressions and covert racism have been related to an array of negative psychological symptoms. In a study examining racial microaggressions experienced by African Americans, underestimation of personal ability was related to higher levels of perceived stress at a year follow-up, which was in turn associated with depressive symptoms (Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010). Microaggressions were also significantly related to anxiety and binge drinking among students of color (Blume, Lovato, Thyken, & Denny, 2012), lower levels of well-being in Asians, (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013), higher levels of stress (Smith et al., 2011), increased antisocial behaviors (Park, Schwartz, Lee, Kim, & Rodriguez, 2013), and greater somatic symptoms in Black, Asian, and Latino Americans (Huynh, 2012). Racial microaggressions have also exhibited links with adjustment issues including lower feelings of hope and less life satisfaction (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011). A meta-analysis determined that perceived discrimination for

sexual orientation minorities, women, and people of color was associated with increased depression symptoms, greater feelings of distress, more negative psychological stress responses, increases in unhealthy behavior, and decreases in healthy behaviors (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). In terms of associations with DSM-IV diagnoses, perceived discrimination was related to a higher likelihood of Asian Americans having a depressive or anxiety disorder within the past year when controlling for poverty, stress related to acculturation, family cohesion, poverty, self-reported health, chronic physical conditions, and social desirability (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007). Furthermore, in terms of physical issues, everyday perceived discrimination was related to indicators of heart disease, pain, and respiratory illness in Asian Americans after controlling for age, gender, the region in which one lives, per capita income, education, employment, and social desirability (Gee, Spencer, Chen, & Takeuchi, 2007).

In addition to psychological and physical symptoms, microaggressions have also been linked with negative emotional outcomes. African American college students who reported everyday experiences with racism expressed that these instances often stirred strong emotions within them including feelings of anger, less comfort, and more threat during the interactions (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). Other studies have reported microaggressions were related to elevated levels of anger (Huynh, 2012) and general “negative affect” (Ong et al., 2013). Microaggressions have also shown to have a “wearing” influence over time. A study examining Black men’s experiences in higher education discovered that as these men approached the end of their college careers, microaggressions contributed to “mundane extreme environmental stress” and feelings of fatigue (Smith et al., 2011).

Although it is clear that microaggressions are associated with an array of psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes, it appears that the vast majority of the methodological tools used to study microaggressions are geared towards interracial interactions. While Nadal's (2011) REMS is the first measure to specifically analyze microaggressions, many of the items in it may not be suitable for use for intraracial microaggressions. Items such as "someone's body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race" may not be as prominent or relevant in interactions between those of the same race who have regularly experienced these assumptions. Thus, the REMS or other current scales may not be appropriate for use in the current study. A new theoretical foundation of intraracial/intraethnic microaggression themes was necessary.

It was also relevant to discern which coping strategies best mitigated these negative outcomes. Research on mediators and moderators of microaggressions' influence on psychological symptoms has been critical in understanding their pervasive and insidious nature; this research can provide the psychological field with ideas of where intervention, prevention, or healing might occur.

Moderating Variables

Coping and Interracial Microaggressions

Racism and discrimination continue to be regular experiences for people of color (Williams & Mohammed, 2013), and sociocultural and structural changes can be relatively slow and difficult to accomplish. While microaggressions appear to be unavoidable for people of color, coping strategies are relatively "malleable," and can alleviate racism-related stress and support general well being (Barnes & Lightsey Jr., 2005). Coping was a relevant topic to study in conjunction with microaggressions for people of color because it

was necessary to understand what control individuals can maintain in discriminatory moments that can take away an individual's sense of power.

Coping has been defined as “cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of a person” (Folkman & Lazarus, 1990, pp. 315). These strategies can perpetually morph depending on appraisals and reappraisals of the person and how s/he interprets his/her surroundings, which are also in constant flux. Folkman and Lazarus (1990) conceptualize coping as a mediator of emotion states because the individual must first appraise a situation, which can then be related to the way a person copes, which then influences an emotion state within an individual. However, the literature on coping with microaggressions has studied coping as both a mediator (Liang, Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2007) and a moderator (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). The current research studied the moderating influence of coping as conceptualized in the literature, where each individual's engagement (either towards a person or situation) or disengagement (either towards a person or situation) coping strategies were examined in relation to intraracial/intraethnic microaggression and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes.

There are two broad ways of coping that are often cited in the literature; one is problem-focused where the individual tries to change the situation in order to regulate distress, and the other is more internally managing distress via emotion-focused strategies (Folkman & Lazarus, 1990). Other research has expanded upon these categories in coping assessment. Tobin's (1985) research on assessing coping in response to a specific stressor (such as a microaggression) built on Folkman and Lazarus' work. Tobin's (1985) work on assessing ways of coping determined 4 main coping strategies that individuals may use in

relation to a particular stressful event: Problem Focused Engagement (such as problem solving and cognitive restructuring), Emotion Focused Engagement (such as social support and express emotions), Problem Focused Disengagement (such as problem avoidance and wishful thinking) and Emotion Focused Disengagement (social withdrawal and self criticism). These main coping strategies broadly fit under Engagement strategies and Disengagement strategies. Alvarez and Juang's (2010) more recent study on interracial microaggressions used Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub's (1989) coping assessment scale and found 4 similar higher order factors of coping strategies in their studies: 1) Active, assessing problem-solving strategies; 2) Support Seeking where interpersonal support is used for emotional "venting and guidance"; 3) Avoidance, which measures denial and disengagement; and 4) Forbearance, which uses behaviors such as humor, acceptance, and religion.

One salient finding in the literature on coping with interracial microaggressions is that more engaging, active, problem-focused coping strategies are linked with lower levels of perceived stress (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014; Torres et al., 2010). In order to use some of these coping strategies, one must be able to identify the problem and have the language to express concerns about the microaggression. Coping strategies such as confronting the initiator of the microaggressions or willingly becoming a spokesperson about microaggressions are some ways of coping that have been employed by people of color (McCabe, 2009). Similar themes of "Using One's Voice as Power," "Becoming a Black Superwoman," "Picking and Choosing One's Battles" and "Resisting Eurocentric Standards" are also reflective of more active and problem-focused ways of coping in Black women of color (Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Hunt, 2012). Asian American women

have also been found to use more active coping strategies when they experienced more microaggressions, though this varied by ethnic group (Liang et al., 2007). In Filipino men, active coping was negatively related to psychological distress, while support seeking and avoidance strategies were positively related to psychological distress. Furthermore, active coping mediated the relationship between microaggressions and self esteem, thus underscoring that active coping was positively associated with self esteem, while in contrast, avoidance was negatively related to self esteem. There have been some studies that suggest that approach coping strategies may only mitigate perceived racial discrimination at lower levels (Yoo & Lee, 2005). Avoidance coping, however, was associated with heightened psychological distress and lower levels of self esteem in Filipino women (Alvarez & Juang, 2010). Other studies have also found that avoidance coping was associated with greater feelings of distress and depressive symptoms, while approach coping was related to feeling more personal control of the situation (Scott & House, 2005; West, Donovan, & Roemer, 2010).

Social support has often been conceptualized under both problem focused and emotion focused coping in the interracial microaggression literature as people seek out others to help regulate distress. Social support from those of a similar racial/ethnic group around instances of perceived racial discrimination has been shown to mitigate mental health symptoms (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Swim et al., 2003). Coalitions of students banding together in the form of racial/cultural organizations, institutional organizations supporting students of color, and “informal friendships” based on shared marginalized identities have been reported to be protective as “counter-spaces” to microaggressions

(McCabe, 2009). In some studies, this support has been called “Leaning on One’s Support Network” as people of color find power in collective coping (Lewis et al., 2012).

For the purposes of this study, the research question under investigation was whether coping moderated the relationship between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Based on the review of studies that examine coping with interracial microaggressions, it appeared that active and support seeking coping were often the most effective strategies in mitigating symptomology and negative outcomes, or as Tobin (1985) would label them, Engagement strategies. While there is a growing body of literature related to how people of color cope with interracial microaggressions, there is little known about engagement and disengagement coping and its association with intraracial microaggressions. It was unclear if the same types of strategies such as seeking social support from those of the same racial/ethnic group after an individual experiences intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions would be as effective in mitigating mental health symptoms compared to other strategies. Understanding which types of strategies (engagement versus disengagement) are most effective in these types of interactions was an important step in considering how we can aid marginalized groups in coping with complex interpersonal dynamics.

Ethnic Identity and Interracial Microaggressions

Along with coping, ethnic identity has also been viewed as a potentially protective factor in interracial microaggressive situations. Ethnic identity is a construct that includes several components including awareness of beliefs, traditions, customs, and behaviors related to an individual’s ethnic group (Lee, 2005). Many of the studies

examining the relationship between microaggressions and psychological symptoms conceptualize ethnic identity as a moderator (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Saucedo, 2009; Torres & Ong, 2010). Many studies use an overall global marker of ethnic identity via the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) or MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) where greater scores on the instruments are indicative of higher levels of identification with one's ethnic identity.

As a global measure, some studies have linked higher levels of ethnic identity with positive outcomes, although this is not necessarily a consistent finding. Higher levels of ethnic identity are related to support seeking behaviors after microaggressive events (Saucedo, 2009) and are protective in moderating the relationship between ethnic/racial everyday discrimination and depressive symptoms (Mossakowski, 2003). Ethnic identity also moderates the effects of discrimination on depressive symptoms and social connectedness (Lee, 2005). However, Yoo and Lee (2009) determined that higher levels of ethnic identity could actually exacerbate the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and well being in Asian Americans suggesting the idea that racial discrimination may have more impact with Asian Americans who are more attuned with their ethnic identity. Still other studies have suggested that perceived discrimination for every level of ethnic identification is related to higher levels of depressive symptoms and lower levels of self esteem in Asian Americans (Stein, Kiang, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2014) underscoring the idea that discrimination is invasive and harmful despite how identified one is with his/her ethnic identity.

The literature on ethnic identity and its relation to microaggressions has mixed findings in terms of positive and negative outcomes, although models of its function seem to be increasingly sophisticated as researchers investigate its moderating role in various

outcomes. More research is needed regarding what individual or contextual variables influence more positive versus negative outcomes. Ethnic identity is a particularly unique construct to study with ITAPs because they may have varying levels of access, interest, or encouragement related to their birth country and birth culture. In this research, ethnic identity will be defined as the ITAP's culture of origin (i.e., their birth culture). Although ITAPs often feel "in between" their birth and adoptive cultures, fostering a sense of connection to their ethnic identity via the birth culture can be related to higher levels of self-esteem (Mohanty, Keokse, & Sales, 2006).

One variable of increasing importance can be the social context of the microaggression and the identities of the persons involved. The vast majority of studies are researching ethnic identity and its relation to interracial instances of racial and ethnic daily discrimination as opposed to intraracial/intraethnic instances. Again, a review of the field describes this exact gap in the literature and asserts the need for illuminating what role ethnic identity plays for an individual when interfacing with someone of the same race or ethnicity (Wong et al., 2014).

Stigma Consciousness

In considering how one identifies, it is also pertinent to understand the meaning that an individual ascribes to his/her social group identity, particularly in the context of marginalization. It has been asserted that individuals from marginalized groups do not express uniform reactions when one is stereotyped (Pinel, 1999). An individual's level of "stigma consciousness," or the degree to which one expects to be stereotyped or marginalized, was an important variable to consider in this study. Stigma consciousness research has mixed findings in terms of the benefits or disadvantages of having higher or

lower levels of awareness of stigmatized status. A preponderance of the research in this area has related higher levels of stigma consciousness with negative outcomes. For example, low levels of stigma consciousness have been found to moderate the relation between self-relevant stereotypes and negative attitudes and beliefs about abilities in women (Clark, Thiem, Hoover, & Habashi, 2017). Higher levels of stigma consciousness has also been correlated with perceiving more anti-LGBQ threats and insults towards LGBQ identified individuals in the U.S. and lower levels of subjective happiness (Strizzi, Fernández-Agis, Parrón-Carreño, & Alarcón-Rodríguez, 2016). Even with “positive stereotypes,” Asian Americans with higher levels of stigma consciousness had associated greater levels of anxiety, contact avoidance, and concerns with being viewed as intelligent when paired with White roommates (Son & Shelton, 2011).

However, there is some research that posits that higher levels of stigma consciousness can aid in resiliency. In one study where female participants had higher levels of stigma consciousness, they were more likely to attribute their failure in manipulated job interviews to unjust discrimination, particularly if prejudice in the situation was ambiguous (Wang, Stroebe, & Dovidio, 2012).

Stigma consciousness is an especially relevant construct to this study as it is possible that Korean American ITAPs may identify in differing ways based on their familial and sociocultural experiences. While an ethnic identity measure can help to capture how committed different Korean American ITAPs are to a Korean identity, it may be unclear how identified they are to their adoptive identities. Some Korean American ITAPs may perceive their adoptive identities to be more stigmatized and stereotyped than others based on awareness of sociocultural narratives of adoptees in the

U.S. Stigma consciousness has been a moderating variable in studies, and it would be significant in contextualizing each participant's ethnic identity and the meaning they assign to it based on, in part, to their sociocultural experiences as adopted individuals.

Ethnic and adoptive identification can be related to experiences in the adoptive family and surrounding community. ITAPs have historically been raised by White parents in predominantly White communities (Siegel & Smith, 2012), thus adoptive parents often must play the role of "cultural ambassador" or act as gatekeepers to their child's birth country and their understanding of adoption. Therefore, ethnic and adoptive identity processes can often occur through racial and ethnic/cultural socialization. The literature on these socialization processes highlights how members from the same race and ethnicities can have extraordinarily divergent adoptive experiences based on familial socialization processes. Studies examining ITAPs raised by White parents juxtaposed with people of color raised by parents of the same race can manifest these differences.

Parental Racial, Ethnic, and Cultural Socialization

Based on the microaggressions literature, there is mounting evidence that even subtle forms of racism and discrimination can influence psychological symptoms. It is further evident from the microaggressions literature that people of color must employ coping strategies in an effort to buffer negative outcomes. Family structures and processes are becoming recognized as an important system that can influence this individual development (Juang & Syed, 2010). Typically, in families of color where parents and children are of the same race, socialization is a systemic intervention that can equip younger generations with the means to avoid and cope with racial discrimination. In the research on families of color, parental racial, ethnic, and cultural (REC) socialization are all

complex family processes that can provide protective and proactive functions against racism and discrimination. For example, REC socialization in families of color has been utilized to: foster high self esteem and other positive youth outcomes (i.e., competence, confidence, connection, caring, character), inculcate ethnic identity, encourage ethnic identity exploration and increase ethnic pride, develop pro social attitudes and behaviors, protect against discrimination and racism, educate about the psychological, legal, and structural repercussions of being a person of color, and discuss how to relate to others both interracially and intrracially (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, & Freeman, 2010; Calderón-Tena, Knight, & Carlo, 2012; Evans et al., 2012; Hernández, Conger, Robins, Bacher, & Widaman, 2014; Juang & Syed, 2010; Knight, & Carlo, 2012; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Mohanty et al., 2006; Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012).

REC socialization can include providing more ethnic socialization processes such as “the transmission of cultural values, knowledge, and practices” (Hughes et al., 2006, pp. 749) and/or more racial socialization elements such as “preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust and egalitarianism” to younger generations of color. Researchers frequently use these terms interchangeably or in combination (i.e., “ethnic-racial socialization”) (Hughes et al., 2006), as it can be difficult to discern where racial and ethnic and cultural divisions occur- rather- these constructs can overlap. For example, educating one’s Chinese child about the marginalization and disenfranchisement of Chinese immigrants can be viewed as racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization as parents discuss the ethnic and cultural history of Chinese laborers in the U.S., while also warning the child about racial bias and discrimination. The interracial microaggression literature also often links the two concepts

together (e.g., Sue et al., 2007a; Nadal, 2011b). Ethnic and racial socialization will be used in combination in this research as well to acknowledge this overlap in constructs.

One of the major recent trends in research on families of color has included the racial and ethnic socialization of children of color in same race families (Burton et al., 2010). Burton et al. (2010) noted that although major steps have been taken to study REC socialization practices and how they differ across major racial groups (i.e., African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, American Indians), there can be intraracial differences in REC processes. They further emphasize the growing awareness of the importance of studying intraracial differences as the number of people of color in this country continues to increase (Burton et al., 2010). A notable difference in REC socialization processes has been found between multiracial families where White European American parents transracially adopt children of color from other countries, and families of color where every member is of the same race and ethnicity (Lee, 2003). The REC socialization processes for ITAPs compared to their counterparts can be indicators of intraracial and intraethnic difference that hold the potential for interpersonal friction, psychological confusion, and worldview disjunctions.

REC Socialization and Transracial Adoptees

More recently there is mounting research that examines the REC socialization processes of transracial adoptive families (Lee, 2003). This literature grew from the recognition in the psychological field that family structures are diversifying in this country and therefore familial socialization processes may differ (Sencer, 1987). In order to understand the implications of the “browning of America” (Baugh, 2014), it is necessary to

discuss how diversity within racial groups is evolving as these complex interpersonal dynamics unfold.

ITAPs in families with White European American parents are a case where REC processes can differ from families where all members are the same race and ethnicity. REC socialization can prove challenging for White European American parents who may have received little or different REC socialization growing up in their own families of origin (Leslie, Smith, Hrapczynski, & Riley, 2013). Additionally, White adoptive parents do not possess the “insider” perspective and information that is often present for parents of color when transmitting knowledge of race, ethnicity, and culture to their children of color (Galvin, 2003). Adoptive parents may also approach socialization using “colorblind” ideology, which downplays or even ignores the ITAP’s racial and cultural heritage (Samuels, 2010).

It is not uncommon for transracially adopted individuals in White families to relate to and connect more with White culture as opposed to the cultures of people of color (Lee, 2003; Lee et al., 2006). Furthermore, several studies that have delineated ethnic identity processes in ITAPs have described stages or periods of time where ITAPs identify with White European American culture (Friedlander, 1999; Huh & Reid, 2000). In fact, in one study on adult ITAPs, as many as 78% of the 468-person sample reported they identified as White or had the desire to be White growing up with White families (McGinnis, Smith, Ryan, & Howard, 2009). ITAPs’ experiences of being identified as people of color in many contexts yet being perceived culturally as White Americans in others has been coined the “transracial adoption paradox” (Lee, 2003). It appears that as ITAPs develop throughout young adulthood, they become more aware of this paradox

and its implications as they realize themselves as racial, ethnic, and cultural beings (McGinnis et al., 2009). As this awareness increases, adopted individuals become more aware of how racism and discrimination can affect them, leading to varying levels of discomfort with their ethnic and racial identities (McGinnis et al., 2009). This paradox highlights how REC socialization processes via the White adoptive family can alter perceptions of the self and perceptions by others despite a child's phenotypical appearance; differences in socialization can lead to dissimilarities in experiences and worldview. Thus, the adoptive family can have a powerful presence in shaping the REC experiences of ITAPs.

Adoptive parents' attitudes about race, ethnicity, and culture can also influence REC socialization behaviors (Rosnati & Ferrari, 2014). Cultural and racial socialization beliefs exhibited by adoptive parents of ITAPs were shown to be important factors in predicting actual socialization behaviors (Berbery & O'Brien, 2011). Adoptive parents' REC socialization attitudes have spanned from acknowledging racial and ethnic differences to rejecting racial and ethnic differences, while others hold "discrepant" beliefs containing both ideologies (Kim et al., 2013). Lee et al. (2006) discovered that parents who deemphasized colorblind attitudes about race were more likely to be proactive in enculturation and racialization processes. Adoptive mothers' "psychological connection" to their children's birth cultures was also related to REC socialization levels and preparation for racial bias (Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Pettrill, 2007).

There are a variety of ways that White European American adoptive parents behaviorally engage in REC processes for their children (for those parents who

acknowledge racial and ethnic differences). REC socialization behaviors can include: being involved in cultural activities that are related to the ITAP's race/ethnicity/culture; seeking out role models for the adopted child of the same race or ethnicity; encouraging friendships with same race/ethnicity/culture peers; reading books to the ITAP about his/her cultural background; participating in holidays that are related to the ITAP's birth culture; providing access to food from the ITAP's birth country; engaging in "entertainment" such as movies that are reflective of the ITAP's birth country; re locating to a more racially and culturally diverse neighborhood; enrolling the ITAP in a school that is more racially and culturally diverse (Vonk, Lee, & Crolley-Simic, 2010). Although many parents of ITAPs generally seemed to be responsive in engaging in REC socialization processes, Vonk et al. (2010) noted that even parents who are engaged in these processes tend to choose REC socialization that involves the lowest level of integration with others who are racially and ethnically similar to their adopted child. Therefore, although REC socialization processes appear to be generally occurring in these adoptive families, ITAPs may not be regularly exposed to and interpersonally connected with those from the same racial/ethnic/cultural backgrounds. Thus, REC processes in these adoptive families may tend to be more specific, isolated, and intentional experiences as opposed to more all-encompassing environmentally integrative experiences. In not having regular and consistent exposure to those of similar racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, it is again understandable how ITAPs may feel more connection or identification with White culture, and may also experience more uncertainty and discomfort in interacting with people who are their same race and ethnicity who were raised by same race parents.

The REC socialization literature on ITAPs in White families reinforces the important role that parents play in their children's lives as cultural gatekeepers. This literature highlights the experience of ITAPs being raised and socialized in White families, and can serve to explain why ITAPs may have differing experiences with race, ethnicity, and culture compared to people of color raised in their biological families. Furthermore, as seen in studies on REC socialization studies in families of color, REC socialization can act as a protective buffer to the negative psychological symptoms that racism can impart (e.g., Burton et al., 2010; Mohanty, et al., 2006). The experience of ITAPs has the potential to especially emphasize some of the complex issues that individuals of color face when interacting with people of their same race who have been socialized in different contexts. Thus, this research focuses on the intraracial microaggressions that are reported and experienced by Korean American ITAPs.

Intraracial and intraethnic interpersonal tension can arise based on differences in REC socialization experiences for ITAPs adopted and raised in White families. In order to understand the intraracial microaggressions that ITAPs experience, it is important to contextualize how norms about adoption have translated into prejudice, discrimination, and stigma that have been perpetuated over decades. Similar to racial microaggressions, adoptive microaggressions have also become more covert over several decades such that they have become more subtle and covert, although still convey prejudice based on historical attitudes and beliefs about adoption.

Adoptive Microaggressions

While adoption is becoming more prominent and accepted as a way of forming a family (Fisher, 2003), adoptive families and adoptees have reported continuing to feel

stigmatized or nonnormative compared to the majority of individuals in the U.S. who are not in adoptive families (March 1995; March & Miall, 2000; Wegar, 2000). Currently, as evidenced by the research on racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007a), overt discrimination towards many marginalized groups may be deemed socially unacceptable; therefore, more covert slights and indignities have manifested that communicate negative messages. The adoptive microaggressions literature converges with the racial microaggressions literature in that adopted individuals also continue to experience covert slights reinforced and reified by stigmatizing historical practices, attitudes, and stereotypes of all members of the adoption triad (i.e., adopted individual, adoptive parents, and birth parents).

Historical Practices in Adoption

Adoption is a systematized mechanism for forming families wherein parental rights and responsibilities of the biological parents are annulled and legally transferred to new adoptive parents (Siegel & Smith, 2012). Adoption encompasses the possibility of shifting societal notions of what constitutes a “family” in the U.S. due to the lack of consanguineal, or “same blood” ties between family members. However, adoption has a controversial history, which has led to its stigmatization over time. For example, when adoption was becoming legalized and standardized in the late 20th century, it was customary that placement decisions were based on the degree to which the adopted child could phenotypically assimilate to the adoptive family so that they could appear as a biological family (Zamostny, O’Brien, Baden, & Wiley, 2003). This practice of “matching” by social workers was intended to prevent adoptive families from being shamed or blackmailed by a public that was not accepting of adoption.

The practice of confidentiality in adoption was also normalized up until about the 1980's, which prohibited any communication about adoption between triad members; this practice of silence and secrecy increased and maintained adoption's stigmatization. The negative consequences of confidentiality became more evident in Kirk's groundbreaking study in 1964, which reported that adoptive families felt that they could cope with the stigmatization of adoption in a healthier way if they openly communicated with their children about their adoption. Currently, openness trends currently vary on a continuum from confidential (no exchange of information between the adoptive family and the birth parents), to mediated (sharing of information facilitated through the adoption agency or lawyer), to fully disclosed (information directly passed between the adoptive family and birth parents) (Grotevant & McRoy, 1998). Yet, throughout the history of adoption, confidentiality and openness has remained an open debate among adoption professionals and policy makers (Grotevant & McRoy, 1998). Justifications for maintaining confidentiality have emphasized that birth mothers must be able to "move on" from the loss of their children, adoptive parents need the space to independently raise their child, and adopted individuals need confidentiality to avoid identity issues (Grotevant & McRoy, 1998; Kraft et al., 1985). However, empirical studies by researchers on open adoptions have found positive outcomes for the relationships between all triad members (Grotevant, McRoy, Elde, & Fravel, 1994; Grotevant, Perry, & McRoy, 2005; Grotevant, Rueter, Von Korff, & Gonzalez, 2011; Siegel, 2008). Despite newer trends of openness, adoption still remains stigmatized due to its complex history of secrecy and shame, as well as stigmatizing narratives shaped by societal attitudes and stereotypes of adoption triad members (Wegar, 2000; Zamostny et al., 2003).

The Stigmatization of Adoption

Historical practices of confidentiality and secrecy in adoption have allowed for stigmatizing narratives of adoption triad members to proliferate. Wegar (2000) outlined the narratives or stereotypes that U.S. society has about triad members: the single, young, morally impoverished uneducated birth mother who had an “illegitimate” child out of wedlock; adoptive parents who could not biologically create families due to infertility or other perceived deficiencies; and adopted children who were expected to have adjustment and developmental delays compared to biological children (Wegar, 2000).

The social norms of motherhood and parenthood also affected infertile prospective adoptive couples. Childless married couples were rebuffed by society as they were perceived as “selfish” in choosing to not have children, or physically defective for not having the biological ability to conceive (Wegar, 2000; Miall, 1987). If a childless couple did decide to adopt a child, their family still violated consanguineal kinship norms (i.e., how a society determines how individuals are related to one another), and therefore familial ties were seen as illegitimate (Kressierer, 1996; Miall, 1987). Society’s belief in the importance of biological ties continues to be perpetuated and normalized in everyday language and actions including when people ask who the “real” parents of the adoptee are (Fisher, 2003; Garber & Grotevant, 2015; Miall, 1987).

Due to these historical narratives of kinship ties, children who were conceived out-of-wedlock were considered “illegitimate” and were believed to have inferior “disadvantaged” backgrounds (Brodzinsky, Smith, & Brodzinsky, 1998; Kressierer, 1996; Wegar, 2000; Zamostny et al., 2003). Current empirical studies have historically examined adopted individuals from a more psychopathological perspective in looking for behavioral,

psychosocial, substance abuse, and attentional/learning symptoms that differentiate adoptees from their non-adopted peers (Brodzinsky, 1993; Brodzinsky, 2008).

While studies that look at more internal and relational outcomes of adopted individuals and adoptive families have received significant attention, studies investigating stigmatized sociocultural values imparted to adoptees and adoptive families have been relatively scant. March's (1995) study found that adult adopted individuals were cognizant of their differences from biological families, and some even began searching for their birth parents in order to obtain desired consanguineal bonds (March, 1995).

Historical, sociocultural, and religious contexts all shape the way society perceives adoptive families. While the studies that look at the internal dynamics or psychopathological aspects of adoption may be important areas of research, it is also critical to understand the ways in which external forces such as stigma and prejudice can shape adoption. The adoptive microaggressions literature examines how instances of covert slights and derogations related to historical adoptive practices and narratives currently influence adopted individuals and families.

Adoptive Microaggressions Research

The adoptive microaggression literature is in its nascent stages with only a few empirical studies conducted. Adoptive microaggressions reported by White adolescent adopted individuals in White families have been evidenced in qualitative (Garber & Grotevant, 2015) and quantitative (Garber, 2014) studies. In Garber and Grotevant's (2015) study, all adoptive microaggressive themes were connected with adoption's stigmatized history and marginalizing narratives of all members of the adoption triad (i.e., birth parents being perceived as "rejecting" of their children, adoptive parents being

portrayed as not “real” parents of their adopted child, and adopted individuals as being non normative or inferior). A typology of adoptive microaggressive themes that occurred to adopted individuals was delineated and found to map in predictable ways on to Sue et al.’s (2007a) categories of microinsults, microinvalidations, and microassaults.

Furthermore, microaggressions were initiated from family members (including extended family, parents, and siblings), mentors, and peers (Garber, 2014). Additionally, adoptive microaggressions did have an association with higher levels of negative perceptions of the adolescent’s own adoption (Garber, 2014). These studies suggest that adopted individuals still experience stigmatization and marginalization based on their adoptive status.

Other researchers are beginning to uncover how the intersection of racial and adoptive microaggressions can influence ITAP’s interpersonal experiences. Baden, Pinderhughes, Harrington, and Waddell (2013) have provided some of the qualitative themes that occur to Chinese adopted children (via parent report) using an adoptive framework presented by Baden (2016) and Sue et al.’s (2007a) racial microaggression framework. Harrington et al. (2014) provided dimension to this work in a study that found that this same sample of Chinese adopted children tended to experience more adoption microaggressions compared to racial microaggressions, suggesting that race may be a more taboo subject in interpersonal interactions compared to adoption. Furthermore, these researchers discovered that the mostly White adoptive parents in this sample were both receivers of microaggressions from others (i.e., being perceived as “pseudo/inadequate parents” and being told “biology is best”), as well as initiators of

microaggressions to their children (i.e., relaying themes that “severed” the children’s connection with the birth parent).

Though this literature is in its infancy, there are convergences in findings as well as unique differences highlighted by the various methods and participants. Although it is becoming clear that adopted individuals experience microaggressions based their adoptive status, and that ITAPs experience racism from White individuals, it was necessary to discern that ITAPs experience regular and pervasive intraracial/intraethnic prejudice from their same race/ethnicity peers.

Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions and Adopted Individuals

While the interracial microaggressions literature is growing relatively quickly, the complexity of power dynamics within racial and ethnic groups has remained more stagnant (Wong et al., 2014). The interpersonal experiences of ITAPs especially pinpoint some of the complicated dynamics that individuals of color face when interacting with people of their same race who have been socialized in differing ways. Informally in the research literature, ITAPs have reported that along with microaggressive comments from White people, they receive discriminatory and prejudiced comments from others of their same race, which has resulted in feelings of alienation, fear, anxiety, and confusion (Samuels, 2009; Samuels 2010). Samuels (2009) examined the qualitative experience of biracial Black and White individuals who were domestically adopted by White parents. These individuals were socialized into more White European American identities and expressed varying levels of discomfort around their adoption, being around White people, and being around Black people. This study indicated that the nexus of racial, ethnic, and adoptive identities must evolve into a coherent sense of identity through each individual

adoptee. Other studies have denoted this intraracial/intraethnic interpersonal tension as not “measuring up” or not endorsing or exhibiting enough racial/ethnic symbolic behaviors that would allow them to be fully accepted by communities of their same race, ethnicity, and culture (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015). However, most studies that mention these intraracial microaggressive experiences highlight specific moments as opposed to unpacking intraracial relations as a distinct and complex phenomenon.

Synopsis of the Current Research

The types of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and their cumulative association with psychological symptoms are relatively unknown despite the perpetually fluctuating population in this country (Wong et al., 2014). Microaggressions are harmful because the cumulative nature of these “daily hassle” slights are impairing (Rivera, 2012). Thus, most empirical studies also often examine the cumulative nature of microaggressions (i.e., Nadal, 2011b). The current study created and developed the beginnings of the intraracial/intraethnic microaggression literature. While the interracial microaggressions literature is quickly solidifying the case that everyday slights and derogations towards people of color are invasive and harmful in many realms (e.g., Huynh, 2012; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Torres et al., 2010), the adoptive microaggressions literature is just beginning to illuminate similar findings based on sociopolitical, sociocultural, and historical issues related to adoption (Garber, 2014; Garber & Grotevant, 2015; Harrington et al., 2014). However, intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions experienced by Korean American ITAPs from same race peers will be examined in order to unpack emerging dynamics that are becoming increasingly important due to the “browning” of America (Baugh, 2014). Intraracial/intraethnic

microaggressions experienced by adult ITAPs who were socialized by White parents are a natural and logical phenomenon to investigate when forming this literature (Samuels, 2009).

The current research tested a conceptual model (Figure 1) that involved examining the different themes of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and their cumulative relation to negative psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes as moderated by certain variables. In order to test this model, this research was comprised of two studies and used a triangulation mixed methods design, with both qualitative and quantitative data working concurrently to lead to interpretation of data (Syed, 2011). Study 1 focused on delineating the overarching themes and subthemes of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions towards ITAPs such that they could be understood and identified. Sue et al.'s (2008a) notion of a more powerful group being able to define reality for a less powerful group, in this case, in the same racial and ethnic group, was the overarching conceptual foundation guiding determination of themes. Study 2 examined moderators (i.e., age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, racial, ethnic, and cultural parental socialization and level of interaction with other Asians) that changed the relationship between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. In order to assess this relationship, a measure was developed and piloted called the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC) in Study 2 that was based on the overarching themes and subthemes found in Study 1 (see Figure 1 for a conceptual model).

Uncovering intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions in a systematic manner provided needed dimension to adult Korean American ITAPs' specific racial and sociocultural experiences; it also exposed larger and more general interpersonal dynamics between members of the same race/ethnicity and how differences in experience can influence psychological symptoms for people of color in this country. In specifically using Korean American ITAPs as a prototypical research population, variation among members can be reduced in the present study, and findings can subsequently be refined and tested in more diverse populations. All people of color have the potential to be impacted by this type of research as the U.S. population diversifies in background, socialization, and experiences. The implications of this study are theoretically relevant as researchers assert the necessity of shifting the lens from the interracial to the intraracial- that indeed intraracial/intraethnic differences do exist- and they can cause social disjunctions and psychological tension.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 1 METHODS

Study 1 used a focus group format to delineate the types of intraracial/intraethnic microaggression overarching themes and subthemes that were experienced and reported by Korean American ITAPs. The purpose of the focus groups was to facilitate discourse that would eventually be used to create the typology of microaggressions that were later used in Study 2.

Research Question

What types of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions from nonadopted same race/ethnicity peers are reported by adult Korean American ITAPs?

Participants

Two focus groups were conducted; each group consisted of 4 male and 4 female (N = 8) adult ITAPs from Korea between the ages of 18-35 years old. Participants were raised in single or two-parent middle class or upper middle class families, although adoptive parents all had to identify as White. Participants grew up in Illinois, Montana, Iowa, Hawaii, Washington, California, Massachusetts, and Tennessee. They all currently reside in Washington, Oregon, Montana, California, Massachusetts, and New York. Six participants endorsed visiting their birth country ranging from 1 to 4 times.

Participants described their race as: “Asian-American,” “Asian,” “Mixed Race,” and “Asian American.” Participants expressions of ethnicity were: “Korean-American,” “American,” “Adoptee,” and “Local [state name].” All participants also reported accessing higher education: 3 participants held Bachelor’s degrees, 1 had a Master’s degree, and 3 had a doctorate, law, or medical degree. One participant identified as Deaf

and used ASL, and participated in the focus group using a translator. Confidentiality was discussed privately with the translator in terms of maintaining the privacy of group members. The rest of the members in the focus group consented to having a translator present. Participants were instructed to respond to the participant as opposed to responding to the translator.

All participants were adopted before the age of 2 years old. Children who were adopted before the age of 2 generally show normative developmental and attachment processes unless severe maltreatment has occurred (van Londen, Juffer, & van Ijzendoorn, 2007), whereas children who have been adopted around 2 years and older have long been considered “special needs” in the adoption field (McKenzie, 1993) and therefore may have differing developmental experiences.

Young adulthood was chosen as a time period for the study because most adoption research reflects the experiences of children and youth, even though identity and experiences with race, ethnicity, and culture are still developing past these developmental periods (McGinnis et al., 2009). Young adults may also be more aware and increasingly able to more coherently elucidate how prejudice and discrimination can affect them (McGinnis et al., 2009).

Because the intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions literature is in its nascent stages, purposive sampling was employed to meet the major goals of this research. Purposive sampling is a regularly employed strategy for focus groups as members are specifically chosen in order to provide insight regarding relevant topics (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2006; Ruff, Alexander, & McKie, 2005). I selectively chose specific participants who were likely to have had these microaggressive experiences (e.g.,

exposure to others of the same race and ethnicity) and who could express and articulate these experiences in a meaningful way. The sampling method was chosen to fit with the purpose of Study 1, which was to obtain a broad catalogue of different types of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. This catalogue is imperative for developing theory and empirical evidence regarding this phenomenon; therefore a sample that could provide rich data was important. One participant dropped out of the study before completing the second focus group. The reason for this attrition is unknown to the investigator.

Procedure

Participants were recruited via social media and word-of-mouth. Focus groups have regularly been used in the microaggressions literature to discover themes of interracial microaggressions for specific racial groups (e.g., Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007b; Sue et al., 2008b). Focus groups hold the possibility for rich conversation about complex topics among group members and can constitute an in-depth view into the phenomenon of interest. This study and its procedures were approved by the IRB of University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Focus groups may be vulnerable to groupthink where individualized critical reasoning is subverted to group consensus; thus a diversity of solutions or ideas can be undermined (Boateng, 2012). Although groupthink is a critique of the focus group method (Boateng, 2012), there are conceptual reasons for pursuing this method. Further, there are ways of offsetting groupthink by constructing the study in an appropriate way and using triangulated evidence for findings (Boateng, 2012). Conceptually, focus groups can be consonant with the contextualist frame of the study (Appendix B) as critical

realism becomes a dynamic part of the group process where meaning is actively made between participants based on their lived experiences. However, these experiences are grounded in the sociopolitical context of race, ethnicity, and culture in the U.S. Focus groups have been noted as being particularly useful for marginalized groups as people of color may be more willing to share personal experiences when they are among others who are similar to them (Ruff et al., 2005). Furthermore, negative topics can be more readily discussed and processed with others who share experiences (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2006). In creating a group of shared experience, knowledge can arise from a trusting environment where participants are empowered in their role as “the experts.” Focus groups honor the perceptions of participants and can “balance” the impact of the researcher (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2006). Thus, awareness can be strengthened and new realizations can proliferate. Importantly, from a contextualist perspective, individual people can begin to understand their experiences are “shared and structural” versus isolated and personal (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2006).

While it is recognized that exposure to new opinions may dynamically shift conversation in focus groups (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2006), it is also possible that new knowledge is subjugated to the value of group harmony (Boateng, 2012).

Methodologically, it is then important to minimize the possibility of groupthink. Boateng (2012) suggests using other methods and/or an extended focus group to buffer against groupthink. Elements of this idea were used in the current research. Before the first session, focus group members were individually sent emails orienting them to creating their online research account and the content of the focus group. Participants were encouraged to individually consider and note microaggressive experiences they had with

others of their same race/ethnicity before the first session. The word “microaggression” was not used in the initial instructions to participants in order to reduce jargon and encourage a discussion less constrained by tightly specified definitions; however, at the end of each focus group, participants were provided with Sue et al.’s (2007a) definition of a “microaggression” and asked if they felt the experiences they described with other Asians/Koreans would apply to this definition. Ultimately, all unanimously agreed that these experiences were considered to be “microaggressions.” Also, after the first and second focus group sessions, participants were sent a follow up email requesting any other instances of microaggressions that may have emerged. Three participants noted other examples of microaggressions they had considered, which were entered into the data pool. Between the focus group sessions, participants were also asked to individually consider and revise the culled themes and preliminary items for Study 2 as necessary. While all ITAPs were active participants, those who were quieter were encouraged to discuss more, and questions about the relatability of many microaggressions were asked of all group members. Lastly, this study was used in conjunction with quantitative methods and a larger more diverse sample so that this phenomenon was more broadly understood.

The focus group was technology-mediated so that the sample was geographically diverse; a pilot of this method was conducted with lab members to practice negotiating a discussion with several members and to ensure audiotaping worked correctly.

When approaching potential participants for the focus group, they were notified that willingness to be recorded was a prerequisite to participation. At the beginning of the actual focus group, written consent was obtained. Each focus group lasted about 1-2

hours. Participants were each compensated \$20 after the first group and \$20 after the second feedback session.

The focus group study was divided into two different sessions with the same participants, and was completed using a group function on Google Hangout so that all callers could see each other at the same time. Two smaller groups rather than one larger group were used to invite more intimate conversation from all participants. In the first session, participants were asked to speak about their experiences with intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions. As the facilitator, my role was to ask questions to start conversation and subsequently guide the discussion if there was a lull; mainly participants led the discussion. I prepared modified questions used in Sue et al. (2007b) and Sue et al.'s (2008b) microaggressions studies with focus groups that acted as a basic guide and frame for encouraging conversation when necessary (Appendix A). The general format of Sue et al.'s (2008b) focus group method was held consistent: it began with discussion of confidentiality, followed by *opening questions*, a *general initial question*, *main interview questions*, *transition questions*, and lastly *ending questions* and summary of discussion. Interracial language from Sue et al.'s (2008b) questions was replaced with intraracial and intraethnic labels. Participants were asked about how long ago the microaggressive events occurred to them, how intensely they experienced the microaggression during the event and now, and how frequently they have experienced these events. These answers helped in guiding the creation of the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC) in Study 2.

To start the focus group, I asked participants a general question about feeling invalidated or subtly discriminated against by others of their same race/ethnicity. Main

interview questions and transition questions included asking about situations in which they felt derogated due to the way they “express” their Korean and Asian identities (including language/communication styles and cultural values), stereotypical beliefs that other Koreans and Asians seemed to have about Korean American adoptees, and times they felt they did not “belong” with others of their same race/ethnicity. Details regarding the timeframe, intensity, and frequency of these events were then asked. At the end of the discussion, I summarized some of the experiences and emerging themes that evolved from the group, and asked participants to verify that I represented their experiences in an accurate manner.

In the second session 3-4 weeks later after the preliminary typology was created (using the thematic analysis method described below), the focus group reconvened. Participants were provided with the preliminary themes about a week beforehand and they were asked to reflect on the themes. Participants also received preliminary items that could be used on the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC) later in Study 2. At the time of the second session, the themes were presented and feedback was gathered from the participants about their thoughts on the themes as a triangulation validity check.

For both sessions, after the focus groups finished, I reflected on the content and took notes on my reactions and observations (Sue et al., 2007b). No major technological issues arose.

After the focus groups, the audiotapes were transcribed verbatim with all identities of participants removed. I reviewed all transcripts for accuracy.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data from the focus group until themes were exhaustively distilled into distinct categories. The themes identified in the final codebook constitute a typology that was used to determine the types of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions that are reported by adult Korean American ITAPs.

The qualitative intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions examples that participants provided in the focus groups were coded using thematic analysis to discern the varied types of microaggressions. Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 6) describe thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” Thematic analysis is an interpretive process for analyzing qualitative data; it is atheoretical in its conception, and therefore epistemologically flexible (Boyatzis, 1998; Howitt & Cramer, 2008). Thematic analysis was appropriate for studying intraracial microaggressions due to its theoretical flexibility because it can accommodate finding similar thematic content across very few or several cases. Although thematic analysis is theoretically flexible, it also requires some precision and systematization in its procedures. With this data analysis method, vivid and complex insights were ascertained from qualitative data in a guided, structured manner. Due to the paucity of research on this area of microaggressions, a method that was participant-driven was appropriate. In highlighting the experiences expressed by the participants, the foundation of this literature began with their voices. Thematic analysis was also shown to be effective in generating themes for new phenomenon across cases such as in the first published work on adoptive microaggressions (Garber & Grotevant, 2015).

There were several decisions that were clearly reasoned before data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) outlined relevant major decisions that should be considered including: what constitutes a theme, the scope of the research and whether a “rich description of a data set” or a “detailed account of one particular aspect” of a data set should be the focus, using inductive or deductive reasoning in analysis, if “semantic” or “latent” themes should be identified and evaluated, and the researcher’s epistemological stance. For a detailed justification of the outlined decisions made for this study, refer to Appendix B. After solidifying pertinent theoretical and practical details for data analysis, I began data analysis of the intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions reported by focus group participants by using a modified version of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) guide for thematic analysis.

Trustworthiness

The coding process required that I constantly consider steps to maintain trustworthiness in the study. There were several strategies integrated into the design to increase *credibility*, or the internal validity of the study (Morrow, 2007). Completing written observations after each group, using participant checks for both groups, and using coanalysis of the data (with the principal investigator and a trained graduate student) augmented the rigor of the study (Morrow, 2007). Triangulation, or utilizing multiple voices and perspectives, was evident throughout data analysis. All focus groups examined and reflected on every theme, and there was ample outside consultation with individuals who had varied ties to adoption. *Confirmability*, or the idea that the researchers are never truly objective, was also an important aspect of credibility. Reflexivity, or the ability for a researcher to self examine one’s own worldview and

biases and maintain a flexible attitude about the direction of the study was of vital importance (Davies & Dodd, 2002). In the focus groups, I had a script to welcome participants and reaffirm the important of taping and confidentiality. The script also contained set questions to guide the conversation. This semi-structured interview allowed for the focus group to cover specific topics, but also had the flexibility to encourage participants to create their own meaning in interacting with each other. The coder and I also constantly referred back to the original transcripts when coding to ensure we were capturing themes as closely related to the transcripts as possible. As a Korean American ITAP myself, I had to be aware of how my own positioning, parental REC socialization, and identities influenced the research questions, the data analysis process, and interpretation of findings. For example, as a Korean American ITAP, participants may have felt more comfortable divulging difficult experiences to me, as perhaps they believed I could understand them as an ingroup member. However, as a female identified person, it is possible that men in the group felt less comfortable talking about gendered topics, and issues related to women could have dominated some parts of the conversation. In order to ensure all participants had a voice in the group, I would specifically ask men how they related to the topics being asked. Because I have personal experience with the subject matter, it was important for me to include others who were and were not connected with the ITAP community to challenge me to see viewpoints different from my own experiences. The second coder identified as a White woman and did not have a personal connection to adoption.

Transferability was enhanced by collecting “sufficient” information so that others may determine how generalizable these results are (Morrow, 2007). Interviews with

participants were lengthy (about 1.5 – 2 hours) and provided us with “thick” descriptions (Geertz, 1983) of the phenomenon of interest, as well as the context, cultures, and various situations in which these microaggressions occur. When conversation became repetitive and slower, it became more evident that the topic had been thoroughly discussed and reached saturation (Mason, 2010). *Dependability*, or the reliability of a study was addressed by recording the focus groups and having them transcribed verbatim such that data could be clearly tracked through the data analysis process (Beck, 1993). A recorded audit trail of notes summarizing all research meetings, decisions made about codebooks and themes, and discussions and reflections throughout the data collection and analysis processes were meticulously kept so that the process can be publicly tracked and scrutinized. Furthermore, an external auditor (another graduate student who has extensive experience studying microaggressions) completed a dependability audit. For this audit, the external auditor examined the audit trail, coding sheets, and the final codebook with the themes and subthemes in order to ensure a standard of credibility for the study. While most of the content of the themes were largely unchanged, the auditor raised questions around how subthemes were similar and different to each other, and clarifications were needed about definitions for each theme. For example, the auditor asked for the coders to further discern between the types of environmental microaggressions that affected the participants. Thus, subthemes for this theme of microaggressions were further distinguished and denoted. Mertens (2010) explained that the dependability audit aids in evidencing “quality and appropriateness” of the analysis.

Coding Process

The coding process included 6 phases: 1) Become familiar with the data; 2) Extract instances of intraracial microaggressions; 3) Create higher order themes with data subset; 4) Finalize themes in the codebook; 5) Conduct a dependability audit; 6) Interpret the data and produce the report. The recursive nature of this process required fluidly fluctuating between different phases moving between the original data set, the “instances” of data that were being extracted and analyzed, and the emerging themes. The phases, adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006), are described in more detail:

Phase 1: Become Familiar with the Data

In the first phase, the other coder and I delved into the data and became “immersed” by thoroughly reading all of the transcripts to gain a deeper and broader understanding of the sample, their context, and their reported experiences.

Phase 2: Extract Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Codes

After multiple readings of the transcripts, we copied and pasted all “instances” of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions into columns in an Excel spreadsheet so that all available data were in one centralized location. Boyatzis’ (1998, p.63) defined a code, or, “instance” as “the most basic segment or element of the raw data that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon.” Comments about similarities and differences in units were noted so that an audit trail was evident for how decisions about instances and emerging themes were made.

Phase 3: Develop Subthemes with Data Set

After instances were identified, they were clustered and organized into potential individual subthemes. Analysis involved reflecting on “relationships” between instances

and developing subthemes. Highlighters were used to identify patterns in units that were forming potential subthemes. Coding continued until subthemes were mutually exclusive and exhaustive. The principle of saturation guided this process. Under this principle, there is eventually a point of diminishing return when there are no “new” phenomena being reported and the data being investigated become repetitive (Mason, 2010). Every week, both coders independently coded a subset of the data (about one fourth of a transcript) and then united to compare and discuss responses. When there were differences in coding, coders both presented their reasoning (as written in their notes) and deliberated until there was an agreement for the final code. The codebook continually evolved to accommodate new subthemes, merge subthemes that were redundant, or separate subthemes that were too general in to more specific themes.

Once the subthemes were developed and defined, they were submitted to the focus groups during their second meeting. The focus group members and I went over each subtheme and edited the definitions according to their discussions. While the all the focus groups generally stated the subthemes matched their discussions, there were two definitions that were modified after seeking consultation with both groups to better accommodate and reflect the validity of their experiences. For example, with the subtheme related to appearance, the majority of females noted specific expectations from same race/ethnicity peers related to their appearance and weight, while males stated they had not experienced such instances. The other modification was related to clarifying which members had experienced microaggressions related to cultural context.

Phase 4: Finalize Subthemes and Create Overarching Themes

After identifying all potential subthemes, each subtheme was reviewed. Each subtheme was examined to ensure all instances were unified and consistent and that distinction between subthemes was maintained. Subthemes were then compared to the data set in order to ascertain if they accurately reflect the “meanings” of the data set. Once a subtheme appeared unified in its codes, a title and definition were discerned.

Once the subthemes were solidified, the authors separately conceptualized ways in which certain themes “hung together.” They then joined to compare and discuss overarching themes that connected subthemes until they agreed on the most coherent and parsimonious structure. Overarching themes were created based on larger common “threads” of thematic content in subthemes including subject matter related to relationships, identity, or adoption.

Phase 5: Conduct A Dependability Audit

In this stage, the external auditor, an advanced graduate student who researches and studies microaggressions, was consulted in order to review the coding process and final product and confirm if the themes appropriately represented the data.

Phase 6: Interpret the Data and Produce the Report

In the last phase, the authors told the complex “story” of the data set. This narrative contains connections between overarching themes and subthemes and includes quotes that illuminate each theme.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 1 RESULTS

Through the data analysis process that employed thematic analysis, 15 distinct subthemes and 5 overarching themes were discerned. Descriptions that interweave the subthemes (in italics) within each overarching theme are found below. All “initiators” were other Asians or Koreans who are not adopted. A conceptual map of all the themes and subthemes can be found in Figure 3.

Cultural Scripts

This theme described microaggressions in which the initiators indicated that the ITAP should possess knowledge of a cultural script because of their Korean/Asian phenotypical appearance. These cultural scripts may include culturally prescribed norms, values, and practices. Members of the focus groups reported that the initiators often expressed surprise or disapproval when they did not possess this knowledge. Additionally, initiators of these microaggressions often displayed ignorance or misunderstanding about adoption and why the ITAP may not possess knowledge of these cultural scripts.

Specific cultural scripts mentioned by members of our focus groups include *traditions and customs, language, occupation, appearance, and relationships*. Microaggressions related to traditions and customs included those in which the initiator communicated that the ITAP should practice specific national and cultural *traditions and customs*. With this subtheme, the initiator believed that the participant should exhibit behavioral fluency in conventions specific to Korea or another Asian country. Examples could include assumptions that participants know how to participate in Korean/Asian

holidays, have experience with eating Korean/Asian foods, or use Asian eating utensils (i.e., chopsticks). For example, one participant recounted that, “Oh I didn’t even know how to use chopsticks when I went to college and I’d never had soy sauce so like...I don’t know, most of [the other nonadopted Koreans] are...surprised.”

A prominent subtheme was focused on the importance of being able to exhibit verbal fluency in Korean or another Asian *language*. Focus group members reported microaggressions in which the initiator assumed that the ITAP could speak Korean, Mandarin, Japanese or another Asian language based on their appearance. As one participant shared, “Language, language was big. They would try talking to me in Korean and I would stare blankly back at them and they would get angry, like they would get upset with me that I was not understanding what they were saying.”

Focus group members reported that others commonly made assumptions that they were aspiring to a particular *occupation* based on Korean/Asian cultural norms. Oftentimes, these particular occupations were associated with math, engineering, and physical sciences such as chemistry and physics. However, focus group members had varied career interests in fields such as psychology, social work, activism, English, technology, and business.

Many female participants also indicated that they experienced microaggressions in which the initiator indicated that the ITAP should conform to certain Korean/Asian beauty standards or change their *appearance* to better conform to Korean/Asian norms. Participants were encouraged by initiators to change their make up, clothing, or hairstyle to match cultural expectations. The following example was provided by a female participant:

I think my, in terms of how I've presented myself...like...dressing, hairstyle makeup whatever, has definitely changed, I think, since I started to be around more Korean...people. Uh, especially when I started working at that organization, a lot of the women that I would work with would constantly give me like hints like "Oh I would never go out of my apartment without putting makeup on." And of course this is at a time when I didn't want makeup and my hair was all spiky and crazy like, you know from this white suburban neighborhood that I was from originally.

Although only female participants reported personally experiencing microaggressions related to beauty standards, male participants reported that they had witnessed such microaggressions happening to others.

Another common subtheme included scripts for expectations in *relationships*. Microaggressions under this theme included experiences in which the initiators communicated assumptions about how the ITAPs should form and maintain close relationships. The content of these types of microaggressions included assumptions about family dynamics, roles, and composition as well as indications that the ITAP should form romantic relationships and friendships with other Koreans/Asian Americans. A female participant shared:

The first thing that everyone really wanted to figure out was where I was from and when they found out that I was transracially adopted they really wanted to know like about my dating life and really encouraged me to date another Asian or Asian American man um and were very dissatisfied with the fact that I was with a white man (laughs)... They kind of maybe....dismissed that actually a lot and were

like “That’s not a real relationship, you need date someone within our community...”

Assumptions about family dynamics and composition included expectations that specific cultural dynamics, such as showing deference to one’s parents, exist within the ITAP’s family. They also included assumptions that the ITAP’s family should look a certain way such as all family members being of the same race. One participant noted that:

[E]ven in [state] where Asians are, where the minorities are the majority, it’s still kind of like “Well dad must be Asian if mom is white.” Or if they see us altogether it’s kind of like “How did this happen?” sort of thing.

Assumptions of Identity

Another major overarching theme included assumptions related to identity where focus group members noted experiences where initiators had specific expectations about how or why an ITAP identified. With the subtheme *affiliation*, initiators incorrectly presumed that ITAPs identified in ways similar to themselves based on participants’ phenotypical appearances or other characteristics such as their name. Instances of affiliation included Korean people automatically assuming that ITAPs identified as Korean or Korean American, or Asian people assuming that ITAPs identified as Asian based purely on external appearance.

With another subtheme, focus group members reported that the initiator actively *categorized* the ITAP into a racial or ethnic group that was different from themselves in an attempt to communicate a negative message to the ITAP; this tended to happen most frequently with other Koreans specifically. For this subtheme and the affiliation

subtheme, an identity was falsely ascribed or “added” to the ITAP. The messages in these instances were communicated through negative associations held by the initiator about the racial or ethnic group into which the ITAP was being classified. One participant shared that they experienced this type of microaggression while visiting Korea:

Initially...Koreans will assume that I'm either Chinese or Japanese...I feel like there's this sense that like Korean folks assume that you're something different from them. And I felt that way when I was in Korea like in a cab, like my cab driver would always say "Oh you're Chinese, you're Chinese," and like I didn't really understand what that meant... I was just kind of like oh okay whatever he doesn't- he doesn't know. So when asking my colleagues like...why would he assume that, they instantly tell me, "Oh this is like a negative connotation, like they want you, they want to think of you negatively." Um, because I don't know if there's like a hierarchy or something like this? Um, but that's what I keep hearing from other Asian Americans...

In addition, focus group members also reported experiencing *invalidations* of their ethnic, racial, or adoptive identity. These invalidations included experiences in which the ITAP felt as though the initiator was ignoring, downplaying, or “taking away” some aspect of their identity such as in the following example:

...I think there's a certain weird like expectation of authenticity particularly, I feel like I had a similar experience with the Asian American college group. I was like I'm not Asian enough for this. Like I don't kind of connect.

Contextual Microaggressions

Focus group members also indicated that contexts and environments could implicitly send messages to ITAPs that they should conform to certain expectations or behave in certain ways. Contexts may also function to establish what is “normal” for all Koreans or Asians. Contexts may be physical or cultural. *Physical contexts* include messages conveyed by things in the ITAP’s physical environment such as specific aspects of a room or building, magazines, or billboards. One participant described a physical contextual microaggressions as:

Then I go to Korea, and everyone on every billboard in every show, in everything is supposed to be like me, but I don’t look like them, and then there is like a similarity, that I think, as an outsider, I see where there’s a certain way to put your make up on, there’s a certain look that you have, there’s a certain skin tone that you aim for...

Cultural contexts, on the other hand, refer to larger cultural narratives. Several focus group members indicated that they felt excluded from larger cultural narratives that are seen as part of Asian/Korean culture such as family history or immigration stories. One focus group member explained:

I also feel...talking with other Asian Americans about their families histories and immigration stories that when I tell them that, again, that I’m adopted and my immigration story is basically like...coming in a plane, and just being here not by choice but you know...I feel like I can’t really connect with other peoples’ family backgrounds because of that, like in terms of the Asian American community...I can though with other adoptees and I feel like that’s when I feel more comfortable

is knowing that other adoptees have a similar kind of story...that's where I feel okay to talk about those sorts of things in that type of space...

Although 6 focus group members agreed that they had felt excluded from larger cultural narratives, 2 focus group members reported that they had not had such experiences. This is the only theme on which not all focus group members agreed.

Infantilizing/Paternalizing

This overarching theme refers to experiences in which initiators of microaggressions not only assume that the ITAPs lack important cultural knowledge, but also assume responsibility for teaching the ITAP about Asian/Korean culture. With this theme, initiators not only cognitively assume that an ITAP is ignorant of some aspect of Korean/Asian culture, but they actively seek to correct this perceived deficiency. The subtheme *instruction* highlights the dynamic relationship that occurs when an initiator exhibited a behavioral, verbal, or emotional cue that felt controlling or condescending to the ITAP; these actions can limit the ITAP's agency. For this subtheme, initiators may have presumed that it is important for the ITAP to have a specific knowledge of Asian/Korean culture, while the ITAP showed hesitancy, conflicting feelings, or ambivalence in accepting instruction. In other cases, with the *pity* subtheme, the initiator acted in a way that communicated pity and concern for the ITAP thus infantilizing the ITAP such as in the following example:

One thing that happened to me in college...I met a girl who was Korean American and I introduced myself. And she noticed behind me was a non-Korean name, a common American name and she said "Oh you must be adopted" and it looked

like she felt sorry for me that I was adopted...So my friend felt lucky that she wasn't adopted...She felt sorry for us because we had to be adopted.

In other cases, focus group members reported that initiators' efforts to instruct the ITAP on Asian/Korean culture were more intrusive and could be better categorized as *unwanted mentoring*. Instances of unwanted mentoring were seen as distinct from instances of instruction in that the ITAP expressed that the efforts to teach Asian/Korean culture made them feel uncomfortable or nervous. Further, ITAPs added that they wished to reject or deny the help of the initiator. In both cases, the initiator positions themselves in a position of power via cultural authenticity in their relationship with the ITAP because of the ITAP's perceived lack of cultural knowledge.

Adoption-Specific Microaggressions

The final two subthemes of microaggressions reported by the ITAPs in our study were specific to their identity and experiences as adoptees. These microaggressions were supported by bionormative assumptions, where biological familial ties are considered the most valuable way of forming a family. Focus group members expressed that they received *intrusive questioning* in which the initiator invasively asks specific questions of the ITAP about adoption. These questions were either related to adoption broadly or about the ITAP's personal adoption story or adoptive identity. In the following example, one participant gave several examples of common types of intrusive questions:

As soon as you're adopted... "Do you know your birth parents? Do you know your birth family?" "Do you have a relationship with your birth mother?" Or I don't know if that's necessarily...but I feel like that's the next question, right? Or like "What age?" And then "Oh tell me about this birth family situation."

Which...should imply that they would think about the loss and sort of what it means to think about your relationship with your adoptive family and all that, but they don't. And it just...you can't like really separate them but people don't know necessarily.

Another adoption-specific theme included experiences of microaggressions in which the initiator expressed negative assumptions or made prejudicial comments about the ITAP's *birth parents*. These comments included both assumptions that the ITAP was rejected or unwanted by their birth parents or negative assumptions about the birth parents (e.g., that the birth parents were impoverished or sexually promiscuous) as in the following example:

So mine is always that like slutty teenager mom. Like knocked up by an American soldier. Always it's like "Oh well she probably was a slut" basically. Like um and then the dad is an absent American soldier. That's for me. Yes. Because they're like "Oh the Korean War...Americans were there"...That she was one of those like camp girls or something. Like oh so much history you are not doing justice to. But yeah I feel like that's the stereotypical for me.

The Context of Intraethnic/Intracultural Microaggressions

Basic details regarding the frequency and intensity of intraethnic/intracultural microaggressions were mentioned by the focus group members. All of the participants stated that they experienced far more intraethnic microaggressions as young adults than in earlier points in their life. They noted this increase could be attributed in part to increased exposure to members of their same race/ethnicity after they moved away from their more homogenous White neighborhoods. While the ITAPs reported that intraethnic/intracultural

microaggressions occurred less frequently than interracial ones, participants reported that microaggressions felt more intense when someone of their same race or ethnicity initiated them. As one participant explained:

Like when White people are being racist I just am used to it. Like that's what it is. Depending on what I had for breakfast that morning that kind of dictates how I respond. But when Asian people or Koreans or Korean Americans uh are racist or prejudicial towards me, there's um...there's all of that plus this feeling of like um like that I'm a disappointment to them. So there's all of the anger that emerges because of the racism.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 1 DISCUSSION

A common thread among the themes is related to the definition and reification of group identity. While intragroup assumptions and expectations can often be unspoken, when they are expressed and wrongfully attributed to marginalized group members, it can highlight disjuncture in experience and reality. While there are environments such as entire states or cities or ethnic enclaves (e.g., Chinatowns, Japantowns, Koreatowns, etc.) where Asian identities are expressed in a diversity of ways, these microaggressions suggest that even in different geocultural regions, there is still an archetypal way of embodying “Asian” or “Korean.” Sue et al.’s (2008a) theory that the group with more privilege using power to define reality (such as group identity, group narrative, and adherence to cultural values and norms) for all members is relevant to each intraracial/intraethnic theme. The microaggressive themes in this study can highlight environments and expectations, both behavioral and verbal, that subtly express and reinforce traditionally what it means to be “Korean” or “Asian.” There are embedded assumptions and expectations that can be perceived in these microaggressive comments about the type of foods, languages, and appearance that are identified with Asians and Koreans. The experiences of participants in this study underscore how those who do not possess identification with traditional Asian and Korean cultures and the specific REC socialization to follow particular *cultural scripts* (i.e., family structures, language, relationships, etc.) are encouraged and even redirected to ascribe to a particular group identity. Participants often felt they did not define their identities by a specific Korean narrative because they did not have access to such growing up in a White family and

community. It is relevant to note that despite the way participants racially, ethnically, and culturally identified, even participants who internally identified more as ethnically “American” or racially “Mixed Race” still perceived and felt affected by intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions. Thus, assumptions based on external phenotype could be a strong motivator of microaggressions compared to the more nuanced internal identity that participants had developed. Also, notably, initiators ranged in generational status from Asian and Korean nationals to Asian and Korean Americans, thus suggesting that bionormativity, REC socialization, and acculturation levels could all be underlying microaggressions.

Some intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions could result because initiators may have greater exposure and/or adherence to traditional Asian values of collectivism, conformity, and family recognition through achievement compared to ITAPs (Kim, Li, & Ng, 2005); these values may not necessarily be present for Korean American ITAPs growing up in White European American homes. In providing subtle assumptions and expectations about cultural knowledge such as with the *cultural scripts* theme, it is possible to educate about, uphold, or redirect group identity in order to maintain collectivistic values through group identity and social harmony. When nonadopted Asians or Koreans express condemnation or even surprise that a Korean American ITAP does not possess knowledge of a particular cultural script, the initiator may subtly redirect the adoptee to a more culturally sanctioned way of behaving while still preserving interpersonal harmony. The *occupation* subtheme in particular may stem from differences in familial expectations. While choice of occupation may be a particularly important value for those from Asian families with more traditional Asian values (Kim et al., 2005),

the participants in this study felt their career choices were more formed by individual interest. These assumptions expressed by nonadopted Asians about familial expectations and values led some participants to feel alienated.

Microaggressions, such as those classified in the *instruction* theme, could also be a means for reinforcing REC socialization and upholding the value of conformity. Nonadopted Asians may try to provide REC socialization via instruction and mentoring to ITAPs so adoptees can better understand and more seamlessly blend in with their birth culture and the norms of Asian society (Hughes et al., 2006). The participants in this study speculated that they often did not feel these microaggressions stemmed from malicious intent; rather, they perceived these instances to be the result of eager duty or sympathetic pity. However, it's also important to emphasize from the perspective of those in this study, that instruction could feel infantilizing and disallowed individual agency.

Similar to the U.S., Korean and other East Asian kinship ties are defined through shared biology and genetics, where consanguinity is of prime importance (Kim, 2007). The theme of *adoption-specific microaggressions* especially underlines the bionormative kinship values that pervade Korean culture. These kinship values, regarding the composition of families and the roles and dynamics of family members, are also cultural norms and beliefs that may be expressed through intraracial microaggressions to Korean American ITAPs. These norms can exclude and marginalize the experiences of Korean American ITAPs who are raised in families created through adoption.

As the U.S. is diversifying, so is the world through globalization; in this age it becomes apparent that diasporic identity for those living outside of Asia and Korea is forming and shifting (Howard, 2000). Because of the “transracial adoption paradox”

(Lee, 2003), Korean American ITAPs' adoptions can be tied to their racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization, identities, and experiences. Thus, they are uniquely situated in the context of larger Asian and Korean group identities. While *interracial* microaggressions unfold in the sociopolitical and historical context of white supremacy and racism (Sue, 2010a; Sue, 2010b), *intraracial* and *intraethnic* microaggressions, for this group, may be related to socialization issues, the reinforcement of group identity and sociocultural values, and differences in identity and family. These findings suggest that while there is more than one way of being Korean and Asian, these multiple ways of being are not equally valued by all. While cultural values and socialization are important, it may also be significant for groups in a changing world to recognize the evolving nature of identity and how this permeates intragroup interactions.

It is necessary to reemphasize that the Korean American ITAPs in this study expressed that microaggressive comments from Korean initiators felt more "hurtful" and "harmful" than from those of other ethnicities. While participants stated they felt alienated from White people in some ways, they also felt unable to seek refuge and understanding from other Koreans. Participants stated microaggressions from other Koreans were particularly difficult due to the nature of perceived shared identity and the opportunity for greater "judgment" for deviations from this shared identity. These findings emphasize the importance of considering the roles of race and ethnicity from an intragroup lens in psychology.

Conceptual Implications

Within Group Diversity

The intraracial/intraethnic microaggression themes found in this study will be pertinent in terms of theory and practice. Theoretically, research that asserts the importance of an intraracial/intraethnic lens will underscore the diversity that is found within racial groups. If studies continue to make foundational assumptions about the homogeneity of racial groups in between-group research, they may be missing or neglecting important within group experiences; this may further silence or marginalize some groups of people of color. Intraracial and intraethnic differences may become more evident in research as the population composition of the U.S. continues to shift. Researchers have begun to note that the area of research has been vastly understudied (Wong et al., 2014). With this typology of these microaggressions, researchers can begin to investigate the psychological and social implications of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. A strong theoretical background in this area aided empirical research in Study 2.

Intersectionality

To date, there are few articles in the adoption literature specifically theorizing how adoptive identity intersects with other identities such as race, ethnicity, gender, etc. The findings from this article indicate that Korean American ITAPs' experiences of their race and ethnicity in social situations is intimately linked with their adoptive identities and experiences in White families. Intersectionality theory contextualizes identity and highlights the experiences of "more marginal members" within a group, thereby affirming the notion that there is not one "right way" to be a group member (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.

195). If either adoptive identity or racial/ethnic identity is examined in isolation, then researchers run the risk of essentializing experiences within a given group. Intersectionality theory can add dimension to a larger group's narrative about identity. This study and others similar to it would benefit enormously if researchers developed a cogent theoretical foundation that discusses intersectionality as it pertains to adoptive identity and its link with other identities.

An example of intersectionality among this sample is evident with the *appearance* subtheme as it was reported to be more salient for female members compared to male members. Experiences with sexism and intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions thus converged so female participants experienced multiple forms of marginalization due to their gendered appearance and racial/ethnic/cultural behaviors. In this particular subtheme, women dominated the conversation more as it personally resonated with their experiences. The male identified ITAPs participated in this subtheme by validating women's experiences through stating they had heard about such issues from other female Korean American ITAPs, even though they had no personal experience with the subtheme. It is possible that because I identify as female, this subtheme was more allowed to emerge in a mixed gender group.

Other intersections of identity affected the level of participation with different group members. Geocultural and regional experiences of where participants resided seemed to affect group dynamics. While all participants were active in both focus groups, those from areas with less diversity and fewer Asians/Koreans commented on how they felt they had more limited experiences with intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions compared to those living in more cosmopolitan areas. They thus experienced fewer themes compared

to other participants. It was important to include individuals who had experiences with rural, suburban, and city settings so that several perspectives were represented.

Intersectionality of ability and racial/ethnic/cultural background was also relevant in this sample. The participant who identified as Deaf stated that this identity was most salient and important in his experiences, and therefore he mentioned perceiving fewer intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions compared to those without a Deaf identity.

Implications for Counseling Practice

The results of this study suggest that counselors should pay particular attention to context when discussing experiences of microaggressions with their clients. This refers to both the broader context of the client's identities and life experiences and the specific context of the microaggressions being discussed. The results of this study highlight how diversity in experiences, REC socialization, family, and identity can translate in to important differences in the lived experiences of individuals within the same racial or ethnic group. It is therefore important that counselors consider how these factors may shape their client's experience of the microaggression. Contextual factors of the specific microaggression such as the identities of the initiator may also be important for counselors to discuss with their clients. Discussing the context of a particular microaggression may allow both the counselor and client to develop a deeper understanding of the client's experience and the potential consequences of that experience; this may influence the counselor's conceptualization and treatment of a particular client.

Strengths and Limitations

There are several strengths and limitations regarding the credibility and transferability of Study 1. Due to the aim of this study, participants were chosen in terms of who could provide rich and insightful data across a broad landscape of themes. While participants were instrumental in developing the themes in this study, the results may be prone to selection bias. Those Korean American ITAPs who selected to participate in the focus groups may be more interested in research on microaggressions than those who did not participate. These individuals may therefore be more likely to identify and consequently report experiences of microaggressions than individuals who are not as familiar with the concept. However, the subtle nature of microaggressions may make them more difficult for any individual to identify. Thus, the microaggressions reported in this study may still reflect an underreporting of actual microaggressions experienced. A more concrete account of the frequency of each type of microaggression will be an important step in the next study. Furthermore, one participant dropped out of the study before completing the second focus group. Although it is unclear why this occurred, the final consensus on themes may have been affected by this absence.

While a strength of the sample of participants was diversity in terms of gender, geocultural location, ability, and even ways of identifying ethnically, the small size may mean that the sample is not necessarily representative of the entire population of Korean American adoptees. The lack of diversity in age represented another limitation to the transferability of the study. Participants in our study were all young adults and the microaggressions reported by participants may be different from those experienced by

older or younger generations. The issue of age and a broader sample were addressed in Study 2.

Finally, while focusing specifically on Korean American adoptees allowed me to closely examine intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions experienced by this population, it is still unclear whether adopted individuals who are members of other racial and ethnic groups experience such microaggressions in similar ways. For example, theoretically, transracially domestically adopted individuals may receive more microaggressions related to race, while transracially internationally adopted individuals may receive more microaggressions related to their ethnic and cultural experiences.

Another asset of the study was the innovative use of tech-mediated focused groups. This method eased financial burden for the researcher and all participants, allowed for participant convenience, and provided access to Korean American ITAPs across the country. However, scheduling across several time zones had to be carefully considered. One participant was 15 minutes late to one of the focus groups due to confusion over the starting time. Furthermore, small glitches in technology could make it difficult at times to hear participants (e.g., “fuzziness” or volume levels), or determine who was going to talk next. Participants were notified ahead of time that a secure connection was important so that the group could run as smoothly as possible. Conducting multiple focus groups and piloting this method was key to effectively using this method.

Due to these qualitative findings and the purposive sampling used in this study, it was necessary to study microaggressions on a wider scale with a more diverse population who may not have experienced these microaggressions. Although this study provided an

important conceptual foundation for this research, a theory cannot be affirmed with such a small sample. While the interracial microaggressions literature has provided evidence for various negative psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes (i.e., Huynh, 2012, Ong et al., 2013; Park et al., 2013), it was unclear if intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions were similarly detrimental to those outside of this sample. While Study 1 provided in-depth support for the nature of these slights, their influence was studied more systematically with quantitative evidence in Study 2.

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 2

Study 2 consisted of piloting the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC) to ensure there was evidence of reliability and face validity, content validity, construct validity, and criterion validity. Criterion validity in particular was ascertained through using both Internal and External IMC subscales in conjunction with psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes in the Korean American Adopted Person's Survey (KAAPS). Because interracial microaggressions have been related to psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes (i.e., Huynh, 2012, Ong et al., 2013; Park et al., 2013), and adoptive microaggressions have been related to negative feelings about adoption (Garber, 2014), testing the IMC subscales to determine if intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions exhibit similar associations was integral to establishing criterion validity. Once there was evidence for criterion validity, the IMC was used in conjunction with psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes in quantitative analyses.

The overarching research questions guiding this study were the following: To what degree do experiences of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions (IMAs) predict psychological symptoms and negative emotion; and are these links buffered by moderators such as age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? A total of 138 quantitative analyses were completed: There were 12 main effects regressions completed for microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes and 84 interaction analyses that analyzed whether moderating variables

changed the relationship between microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Due to the low number of significant interactions (1 in this case), 83 analyses were rerun as a next step in order to determine if main effects held constant when control variables were present in the model without the interaction term, as suggested by Hayes (2013). The relationships between these variables can be found in the conceptual model in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Research Question: Instrument Development

Does the Intra-racial Microaggression Checklist (IMC) show evidence of reliability (i.e., Cronbach's alphas for subtests and pre-post reliability) and validity (face, content, construct, and criterion validity)?

Hypothesis: Instrument Development

It was hypothesized that the IMC would show adequate reliability and preliminary evidence for validity. Specifically, in terms of construct validity, it was hypothesized that there would be 5 underlying factors (whose content will constitute the overarching themes from Study 1: *Cultural Scripts, Relationships, Assumptions of Identity, Contextual Microaggressions, Infantilizing/Paternalizing, and Adoption-Specific Microaggressions*) accounting for the majority of the variance in the IMC.

Research Questions 2-4: Microaggressions and Depressive Symptoms

To what degree do IMAs (internal and external IMAs considered separately) predict depressive symptoms? In addition, to what degree do these predictions continue to hold, when controlling for age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? To what degree do age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic

identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interactions with other Asians moderate the relation between IMAs and depressive symptoms?

Hypotheses: Microaggressions and Depressive Symptoms

Both internal and external IMAs (considered separately) significantly and positively predict depressive symptoms, as well as when the prediction controls for age, levels of age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Further, it was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and age in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that being a younger age combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to older age combined with low levels of IMAs. Moderation analyses for age were more exploratory in nature. Based on the adoption literature and discussions from Study 1, it was hypothesized that younger adults would report higher levels of psychological symptoms and negative emotion outcomes. Korean American ITAPs from the 1950s grew up in more homogeneous communities compared to adoptees in more recent generations (Siegel & Smith, 2012) and therefore may have experienced less of these types of microaggressions. This analysis was particularly relevant because while the focus group findings were relatively consistent in Study 1 with young adults, a wider population of adults was used for Study 2.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and engagement coping in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that low levels of engagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be

associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to high levels of engagement coping and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and disengagement coping in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that high levels of disengagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of disengagement coping and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and ethnic identity in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that low levels of ethnic identity combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to high levels of ethnic identity and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and stigma consciousness in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that high levels of stigma consciousness combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of stigma consciousness and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and parental REC socialization in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that low levels of socialization combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to high levels of socialization and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and level of interaction with other Asians in the prediction of depressive symptoms, such that high levels of interaction combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of interaction and IMAs. Level of interactions with Asians was another exploratory moderation analysis. This hypothesis was based on preliminary evidence from Study 1, where the focus groups mentioned the period they experienced intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions the most was in their young adulthood when they were most often in contact with other Asians. This hypothesis was relevant conceptually because it was logical to expect that Korean American ITAPs that had more interactions with other non adopted Asians had the potential for experiencing more intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions.

Research Questions 5-7: Microaggressions and Anxiety Symptoms

To what degree do IMAs (internal and external IMAs considered separately) predict anxiety symptoms? In addition, to what degree do these predictions continue to hold, when controlling for age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? To what degree do age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interactions with other Asians moderate the relation between IMAs and anxiety symptoms?

Hypotheses: Microaggressions and Anxiety Symptoms

It was predicted that both internal and external IMAs (considered separately) significantly and positively predict anxiety symptoms, as well as when the prediction

controls for age, levels of age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Further, it was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and age in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that being a younger age combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to older age combined with low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and engagement coping in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that low levels of engagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to high levels of engagement coping and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and disengagement coping in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that high levels of disengagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of disengagement coping and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and ethnic identity in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that low levels of ethnic identity combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to high levels of ethnic identity and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and stigma consciousness in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that high levels of stigma consciousness combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of stigma consciousness and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and parental REC socialization in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that low levels of socialization combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to high levels of socialization and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and level of interaction with other Asians in the prediction of anxiety symptoms, such that high levels of interaction combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of interaction and IMAs.

Research Questions 8-10: Microaggressions and Stress Symptoms

To what degree do IMAs (internal and external IMAs considered separately) predict stress symptoms? In addition, to what degree do these predictions continue to hold, when controlling for age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? To what degree do age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interactions with other Asians moderate the relation between IMAs and stress symptoms?

Hypotheses: Microaggressions and Stress Symptoms

It was predicted that both internal and external IMAs (considered separately) significantly and positively predict stress symptoms, as well as when the prediction controls for age, levels of age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Further, it was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and age in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that being a younger age combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of stress symptoms compared to older age combined with low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and engagement coping in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that low levels of engagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of stress symptoms compared to high levels of engagement coping and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and disengagement coping in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that high levels of disengagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of stress symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of disengagement coping and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and ethnic identity in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that low levels of ethnic identity combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with

higher levels of stress symptoms compared to high levels of ethnic identity and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and stigma consciousness in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that high levels of stigma consciousness combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of stress symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of stigma consciousness and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and parental REC socialization in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that low levels of socialization combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of stress symptoms compared to high levels of socialization and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and level of interaction with other Asians in the prediction of stress symptoms, such that high levels of interaction combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of stress symptoms compared to low levels of either or both of interaction and IMAs.

Research Questions 11-13: Microaggressions and General Negative Affect

To what degree do IMAs (internal and external IMAs considered separately) predict general negative affect? In addition, to what degree do these predictions continue to hold, when controlling for age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? To what degree do age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic

identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interactions with other Asians moderate the relation between IMAs and general negative affect?

Hypotheses: Microaggressions and General Negative Affect

It was predicted that both internal and external IMAs (considered separately) significantly and positively predict general negative affect, as well as when the prediction controls for age, levels of age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Further, it was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and age in the prediction of general negative affect, such that being a younger age combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect, compared to older age combined with low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and engagement coping in the prediction of general negative affect, such that low levels of engagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect compared to high levels of engagement coping and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and disengagement coping in the prediction of general negative affect, such that high levels of disengagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect compared to low levels of either or both of disengagement coping and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and ethnic identity in the prediction of general negative affect, such that low levels of ethnic identity combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect compared to high levels of ethnic identity and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and stigma consciousness in the prediction of general negative affect, such that high levels of stigma consciousness combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect compared to low levels of either or both of stigma consciousness and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and parental REC socialization in the prediction of general negative affect, such that low levels of socialization combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect compared to high levels of socialization and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and level of interaction with other Asians in the prediction of general negative affect, such that high levels of interaction combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of general negative affect compared to low levels of either or both of interaction and IMAs.

Research Questions 14-16: Microaggressions and Positive Affect about Adoption

To what degree do IMAs (internal and external IMAs considered separately) predict positive affect about adoption? In addition, to what degree do these predictions

continue to hold, when controlling for age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? To what degree do age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interactions with other Asians moderate the relation between IMAs and positive affect about adoption?

Hypotheses: Microaggressions and Positive Affect about Adoption

It was predicted that both internal and external IMAs (considered separately) significantly and negatively predict positive affect about adoption, as well as when the prediction controls for age, levels of age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Further, it was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and age in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that being a younger age combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to older age combined with low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and engagement coping in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that low levels of engagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to high levels of engagement coping and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and disengagement coping in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that high levels of disengagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to low levels of either or both of disengagement coping and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and ethnic identity in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that low levels of ethnic identity combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to high levels of ethnic identity and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and stigma consciousness in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that high levels of stigma consciousness combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to low levels of either or both of stigma consciousness and IMAs.

It was hypothesized there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and parental REC socialization in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that low levels of socialization combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to high levels of socialization and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and level of interaction with other Asians in the prediction of positive affect about adoption, such that high levels of interaction combined with high

levels of IMAs would be associated with lower levels of positive affect about adoption compared to low levels of either or both of interaction and IMAs.

Research Questions 17-19: Microaggressions and Negative Feelings about Adoption

To what degree do IMAs (internal and external IMAs considered separately) predict negative feelings about adoption? In addition, to what degree do these predictions continue to hold, when controlling for age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians? To what degree do age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interactions with other Asians moderate the relation between IMAs and negative feelings about adoption?

Hypotheses: Microaggressions and Negative Feelings about Adoption

It was predicted that both internal and external IMAs (considered separately) significantly and positively predict negative feelings about adoption, as well as when the prediction controls for age, levels of age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Further, it was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and age in the prediction of negative feelings about adoption, such that younger age combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to older age combined with low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and engagement coping in the prediction of negative feelings about adoption, such that low levels of engagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to high levels of engagement coping and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and disengagement coping in the prediction of negative feelings about adoption, such that high levels of disengagement coping combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to low levels of either or both of disengagement coping and IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and ethnic identity in the prediction of negative feelings about adoption, such that low levels of ethnic identity combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to high levels of ethnic identity and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and stigma consciousness in the prediction of negative feelings about adoption, such that high levels of stigma consciousness combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to low levels of either or both of stigma consciousness and IMAs.

It was hypothesized there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and parental REC socialization in the prediction of negative affect about adoption, such that low levels of socialization combined with high levels of IMAs would be

associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to high levels of socialization and low levels of IMAs.

It was hypothesized there would be an interaction effect between internal/external IMAs and level of interaction with other Asians in the prediction of negative feelings about adoption, such that high levels of interaction combined with high levels of IMAs would be associated with higher levels of negative feelings about adoption compared to low levels of either or both of interaction and IMAs.

IMC Development and Pilot Methods

Participants

For the pilot of the IMC, 10 new participants (separate from the sample in Study 1) completed the measure in order to provide some evidence for face and content validity. Participants included both male (n = 4) and female (n = 6) Korean young adult ITAPs between the ages of 18-35 years old who were adopted before the age of 2 years. The pilot was completed prior to the larger KAAPS survey to help fine-tune the instrument.

Pilot Procedure

The themes in the final codebook from Study 1 constituted the conceptual framework for the IMC. The instances of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions from the focus groups in Study 1 were used to create and develop the IMC. The IMC was then later used in conjunction with other measures on the KAAPS to determine 1) the relation of IMAs to psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes; 2) if specific moderators change the relationship between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes.

All of the extracted instances of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions from the focus groups in Study 1 were the basis for the starting list of items for the IMC. All the instances were organized in an Excel sheet in columns under their respective themes in the codebook.

Next, two trained undergraduate research assistants and I independently examined the existing items, and generated possible additional items that conceptually fit under the overarching themes. After independently assessing the items, the team united to discuss each list of items. The team voted to consensually determine which items should remain on the IMC and which ones would be discarded. Grammar and awkward wording were noted with every item at this stage. Each item was then examined to ensure that it appropriately represented the underlying theme. The items were then discussed with research lab members (2 faculty members, 2 graduate students, and 3 undergraduates). Feedback about the wording, content, and coherence of items was obtained.

The chosen items were then randomized and put on Qualtrics to be sent out to participants for the pilot study. Participants were recruited through word-of-mouth from the participants that completed the focus groups in Study 1. After providing consent online, the participants were asked to fill out the 3-5 minute IMC in one sitting. They also completed basic demographic information including birth country, current age, age at time of adoption, racial and ethnic identity, education and income, and gender.

The instructions for the IMC asked participants to read each item and reflect on generally how often each event has ever happened to them, in addition to providing general intensity ratings for each type of microaggression. Based on Study 1, it seemed that intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions may occur less frequently compared to

interracial microaggressions (which occur fairly frequently as documented on the REMS developed by Nadal (2011b)) so a long timeframe (i.e., across participants' lifespan) was necessary for garnering enough data on this phenomenon. Similar to the REMS scale for interracial microaggressions (Nadal, 2011b), participants were specifically asked to provide frequency ratings on a scale from 0-3, with 0 = *I never have this experience* to 3 = *I frequently have this experience*. It also seemed conceptually important to measure how intense each type of microaggression felt for a participant as this construct is relevant in the microaggression literature (Sue, 2010a, Sue 2010b). Intensity ratings were on a scale from 0-4, with 0 = *No Intensity* to 4 = *Extremely Intense*. The measure included a randomized list of examples (or items) of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions based on the list of items solidified from the team.

In order to have measures of face and content validity, pilot group participants were asked to answer questions related to 1) what they believed the items were trying to measure; 2) three keywords or phrases that could be used to label the various experiences that were described in the items; 3) unclear or incoherent items (Nadal, 2011b). Further evidence for content validity was determined by having experts on adoption and microaggressions examine the items and decide what each item is intended to measure. One expert is a professor who studies interracial microaggressions and the other is an advanced graduate student with extensive knowledge about adoption.

Participants in the pilot study were able to identify that items were trying to measure "prejudice against Korean adoptees," "same race/ethnicity discrimination," "stereotypes about Korean adoptees," "microaggressions," "difficult social experiences with Asians," "within group expectations," "and "assumptions" or "expectations" that

Asians have of each other. There were some grammatical errors or formatting issues noted about the instrument, although the content of the items largely remained the same. Suggestions from multiple participants about modifications for the anchors were noted. Participants stated that for the frequency scale in particular, “frequently” and “very frequently” were difficult to differentiate between. Upon reflection, it was decided that fewer anchors for the frequency scale would be more appropriate. However, participants were able to conceptualize gradations of intensity (“very intense” versus “extremely intense”) more definitively than with frequency. Anchors, then, were changed to reflect these comments with the frequency scale being measured from 0-3 with 0 = *I never have this experience* and 3 = *I frequently have this experience*. The intensity scale was held constant on scale from 0-4 with 0 = *No Intensity* and 4 = *Extremely Intense*. The first version of the IMC as presented in the KAAPS survey is in Appendix D and was used to measure the cumulative level of microaggressions experienced by participants in the KAAPS.

KAAPS Methods

Participants

In order to test the IMC on a wider population, participants from a broader age range were recruited. There were 150 participants total who completed the Korean American Adopted Person’s Survey (KAAPS). Participants included Korean American ITAPS between the ages of 19-66 years old. There were 84% of participants were adopted from Korea before the age of 2 years old. Approximately 23% of participants identified as male (n = 35), 75% identified as female (n = 112), and 2% identified as nonbinary or agender (n = 3).

Participants were asked to write the racial and ethnic identities that best described how they identified in the survey. The responses reflected the complex, unique, and at times fluid nature of race and ethnicity for this sample. Racially, ITAPs identified as “Asian,” “Biracial,” “Adopted Korean,” “Third Culture,” “Mutt Asian,” “Multi,” “White/Asian,” “White,” “Asian American,” “Transracial,” “East Asian,” “API,” “Other,” “Multiracial,” and “Korean-American adoptee.”

Ethnically, ITAPs identified as “Korean,” “Korean American,” “Korean-American,” “Korean American adoptee,” “American,” “KAD,” “multiethnic,” “Other,” “Faux Korean,” “Blurred,” or a combination of their adoptive parents’ cultural background and Korean and American. Because much of the interracial research conducted thus far has focused on specific racial and ethnic groups, this study had a similar approach to determine which unique and specific themes occur to this group of Korean American ITAPs. Korean American adoptees have a significant presence in online communities and research studies due to the fact that South Korea was the first sending country that systematically and legally completed international adoptions due to the Korean War. Furthermore, South Korea has continued to be a major sending country to the U.S. as it is consistently in the top 5 of sending countries from 2008-2012 as cited by the most recently available of statistics on international adoption (U.S. Department of State, 2014).

The majority of participants had grown up in a suburban setting (n = 84, 56%), with rural (n = 32, 22%), small city (n = 20, 13%), large city (n = 11, 7%), and other (i.e., combination of suburbs/small city, rural/large city, and all of the above) (n = 3, 2%) following respectively. Regionally, most of the participants grew up in the northeast (n =

53, 36%), Midwest (n = 51, 34%), and West (n = 30, 20%). A small number grew up in the southeast (n = 13, 9%) and southwest (n = 2, 1%). Currently, the breakdown for participants' regions is northeast (n = 51, 35%), Midwest (n = 33, 21%), west (n = 43, 30%), southeast (n = 14, 10%), southwest (n = 6, 4%), with more participants moving west. There were about 16% of participants whose parents had completed some (2%) or all of high school (14%), while about 8% had associate's degrees, 33% had some college or bachelor's degrees, and approximately 43% had some postgraduate training or held advanced degrees.

A power analysis was conducted for the moderation analyses with two necessary pieces of information: 1) the proportion of variance in Y that can be predicted from X_1 and X_2 (in a main effects model), and, 2) the proportion of additional variance in Y that can be predicted from an interaction between X_1 and X_2 (Warner, 2013). R^2 for the main effects model and R^2 for the interaction model were estimated based on previous literature in order to discern the sample size. After finding the necessary R^2 values, they were compared in a specified table (e.g., Warner, 2013) to discern a sample size required for a statistical power of .80 using alpha .05. Due to the high number of moderators (i.e., age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians), the literature on interracial instances of racism was investigated for R^2 values for the moderators (i.e., coping, ethnic identity, parental REC socialization) that had the most substantiated evidence.

In the literature for engagement and disengagement coping and its moderating relation to racial discrimination and adjustment and emotion outcomes, the R^2 's for main

effect models were between approximately .19-.24 (e.g., Yoo & Lee, 2005), and the R^2 s for interaction models were between .22-.27. The sample size for statistical power of .80 to detect an interaction in regression with alpha .05 given these values would be a minimum of about $N = 119$. In the literature for ethnic identity moderating the relation between racial discrimination and depressive symptoms (e.g., Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008), the R^2 for the main effects model was about .27 and the R^2 for the interaction model was about .40. The sample size for statistical power of .80 to detect an interaction in regression with alpha .05 given these values was a minimum of $N = 53$. In the literature for parental REC socialization moderating the relation between racial discrimination and psychological stress (e.g., Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007), the R^2 for the main effects model was about .12 and the R^2 for the interaction model was about .15. The sample size for statistical power of .80 to detect an interaction in regression with alpha .05 given these values was a minimum of $N = 135$. Due to the large range of these sample size numbers ($N = 53$ to $N = 135$), the more conservative estimate ($N=135$) was chosen to ensure the expected effect could be detected.

Participants for the Korean American Adopted Persons' Survey (KAAPS) were recruited through physical (e.g., college student organizations) and cyber organizations (e.g., Asian American or Korean organizations) that are targeted at adopted or Korean individuals, social media postings in groups based around Korean adoptees, and word-of-mouth. More current studies with Korean American adopted individuals have often used recruitment methods such as word-of-mouth and student list-servs (e.g., Nissen, 2011), reaching out to organizations that represent Korean American adoptees (Park, 2011), or using social media and online forums (Bumpus, 2014; Samuels 2010). Using the internet

and social media as primary recruitment tools was an effective tactic as it is typical for ITAPs and transracially adopted individuals to be geographically dispersed rather than living in large communities together that are easily accessible (Yang, 2009). None of the participants from Study 1 or the pilot were allowed to participate.

KAAPS Procedure

Secure links routing to the survey hosted and developed on Qualtrics were posted in Facebook adoption and Korean adoptee forums and sent out in emails. Participants completed the KAAPS in one sitting. The online survey was comprised of 9 parts. After providing consent online, the first measure participants completed was the first version of the Intraethnic/Intracultural Microaggressions Checklist (IMC) in Appendix D. If participants did not experience any of the items, they were told to indicate this by answering “0” for the entire checklist. They then proceeded to respond to the measures in the same order as those who did report experiencing intracultural microaggressions. However, the only difference for this “0” group was that the coping measure had its original instructions where participants were asked to reflect on a “stressful event” in their lives.

Next, participants filled out measures, in order, regarding their general coping strategies after intracultural/intraethnic microaggressions, a report of their depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms in the moment, measures for general negative emotions in the moment, ethnic identity, current adoption-specific feelings, perceived parental REC socialization, stigma consciousness, and demographic information. (The specific measures are described below.) In asking the participant to provide a measure of these symptoms and emotions in the moment, the cumulative experience of the intracultural

microaggressions was tapped. The total scores for each of these measures would eventually be used for the main effects and moderation analyses. Demographic information included questions about birth country, current age, age at time of adoption, racial identity, ethnic identity, education and income, and gender identity. There were also questions about participants' adoptive parents' racial and ethnic identities, education and income background, and genders.

Participants were also asked if they would be willing to participate in a 3-5 minute follow up (this consisted of completing the IMC once more for test-retest reliability purposes). Those who responded "yes" (n = 100) were asked for their email for follow up in 7 days. A total of 79 participants completed and submitted the post survey. Participants that did not respond within a week were sent one last reminder a week after the first reminder. Then, participants were notified that upon completion of their surveys, if they desired, they could provide their email address to be entered into a raffle to win one of four \$30 gift cards. A total of n = 135 participants provided their emails for the raffle, and 4 participants were awarded with gift cards. Lastly, the participants were thanked and provided with contact information if they would like follow up information on the final report.

Measures

Independent Variable: Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist

The *Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist* (IMC; Garber, 2016) is a 17-item measure for adults developed to assess the intensity with which an individual experiences microaggressions from others of the same race and/or ethnicity. Participants are asked to endorse the types of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions they have

experienced, and how “intense” each type of microaggression has felt. Originally, this measure was created and normed for use with Korean American internationally and transracially adopted individuals and their experiences of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions with other Asian and Korean people. The measure is on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 = *no intensity*, to 4 = *extremely intense*, with higher scores indicating greater feelings of intensity. The IMC is divided into two subscales that measure intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. There is an External subscale, which is more related to actual observable behaviors or statements that initiators have communicated to the Korean American ITAP. Examples of items from the External subscale include: “Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language,” and “Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted feel the need to teach me about Korean culture.” The Internal subscale reflects the intrapsychic experiences, reactions, and feelings that a person may have with intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. Examples of items from the Internal subscale include: “Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt like an outside amongst others of my same race/ethnicity,” and “Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt that I am not “Korean enough” or “Asian enough.” The development of the instrument and reliability and validity information is expounded upon below.

Dependent Variable: Psychological Symptoms

The Depression Anxiety Stress Scale-21 (DASS-21; Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995a) is a 21-item self-report instrument that assesses three negative emotional states: depression, anxiety, and stress and their corresponding severity levels (i.e., normal, mild,

moderate, severe, and extremely severe). The DASS-21 uses a Likert scale ranging from 0 = *did not apply to me at all*, to 3 *applied to me very much, or most of the time*. Example items include: “I couldn’t seem to experience any positive feeling at all,” “I found myself getting agitated,” and “I found it difficult to relax.” All 3 subscales were analyzed separately to determine their relation to level of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. The DASS-21 is not used for clinical diagnosis purposes, rather, it is more effective as a measure of “disturbance” (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995a). Furthermore, it should be noted that the severity levels were not used in terms of labeling if a disorder is mild or moderate; instead, these labels were used to describe the level of severity relative to the population. The DASS-21 was an appropriate assessment tool for this study as it was not used for diagnosis, but rather for the level of distress an individual experiences after a microaggressive incident. Studies have supported reliability for the DASS-21 in measuring depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms with Cronbach’s alphas for the 3 subscales ranging between .87 and .97. The DASS-21 subscales are moderately inter correlated (between $r = .50 - .70$) (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995a). The scores for each subscale (i.e., depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms) were used for this study. The alphas for depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms for participants in this study were .91, .81, and .89 respectively. Validity has also been demonstrated in a clinical sample (e.g., patients with DSM-IV diagnoses such as panic disorder, obsessive compulsive disorder, social phobia, specific phobia, and major depressive disorder) and non-clinical samples including menopausal women and volunteers (Antony, Bieling, Cox, Enns, & Swinson, 1998; Bauld & Brown, 2009). The DASS-21 showed concurrent validity with the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI), Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI), and State-Trait

Anxiety Inventory (STAI-T), with the DASS stress scale being correlated at a moderately high level with measures of depression and anxiety. The DASS depression scale has been most highly correlated with the BDI, and the DASS anxiety scale has been most highly correlated with the BAI and moderately correlated with the STAI-T.

Dependent Variable: General Negative Affect

The Brief Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) is a 20-item measure that assesses positive and negative mood. The PANAS can be used to measure how an individual feels in a specific moment or how the individual has generally been feeling over the course of a week (in this case, it will be how the participant is feeling in the moment). The negative emotions subscale from the PANAS was used as a general measure of negative emotions that the participant is feeling in the moment about the cumulative level of intraracial microaggressions. Wording was modified to indicate the participant should respond about their emotional reaction in the moment. The PANAS uses a Likert scale from 1 to 5 with 1 = *very slightly or not at all*, and 5 = *extremely*. The participant checks off all applicable emotions that s/he experienced. Items include emotions such as “distressed,” “upset,” “ashamed,” and “afraid.” Only the negative affect scale was analyzed in this study. The PANAS Negative Affect has good psychometric properties. The Negative Affect Scale alphas range from .84 – .87 with test re-test correlations from .39 – .71. The alpha for the NA subscale in this sample was .88. The PANAS also has support for its validity with other measures of distress, depression, and anxiety for college students (Watson et al., 1988) and a non-clinical sample representative of the “general adult” population in a Western country (Crawford & Henry, 2004). The NA scale has been shown to be uniquely predictive of

variance related to depression (Crawford & Henry, 2004). The NA PANAS scale has also been highly correlated with the BDI and the Hopkins Symptom Checklist (Watson et al., 1988).

Dependent Variables: Positive Affect about Adoption/Negative Feelings about Adoption

The Adoption Dynamics Questionnaire (ADQ; Benson, Sharma and Roehlkepartain, 1994) was developed for the Search Institute's study of adoptive families in the 1990s. Two modified subscales, Positive Affect about Own Adoption (PA) and Negative Experience with Own Adoption (NE) were used to assess the participant's feelings about his/her adoption in the moment. Both subscales are on a Likert scale from 1 = *not true or strongly disagree or never* to 5 = *always true or strongly agree or always*. The PA subscale contains 20 items and has a Cronbach's alpha of .89, and the NE scale contains 7 items and has acceptable reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of .59, although only 5 items of the NE scale were used in the current study. The Cronbach's alphas for the PA and NE subscales for this sample were .93 and .80 respectively. The reason for modification of the NE scale is 2 of these items were related to comments from parents and were not relevant conceptually to intraracial microaggressions (i.e., "My parent(s) tell me that I should be thankful that they adopted me.") The NE contains statements including "Being adopted makes me feel angry," "I get tired of having to explain adoption to people," and "It hurts to know I was adopted." The PA contains statements including "I feel good that I'm adopted," "It hurts to know I was adopted," and "Being adopted makes me feel angry." There are a few questions that asked for the participant to

reflect on how they felt about adoption in 6th, 7th, or 8th grade, but the timeline was modified in this study to reflect how the participant was feeling in the moment.

Moderating Variables: Engagement/Disengagement Coping

The *Coping Strategies Inventory-Short Form (CSI; Tobin, 1985)* is a 32-item measure for adults designed to assess the main type of engagement or disengagement coping strategies that an individual enacts when encountering a specific stressful situations; in this case, participants were asked to provide responses for how they tend to cope for both engagement and disengagement strategies with respect to the same race/ethnicity experiences they endorsed in the IMC. The CSI is the brief version of the full (72-item) scale (Tobin, 1985). The measure is on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 = *not at all*, to 4 = *very much*, with higher scores reflecting greater use of either engagement or disengagement coping strategies. The primary subscales were related to more specific strategies that an individual uses during a distressing situation: Problem Solving, Cognitive Restructuring, Social Support, Express Emotions, Problem Avoidance, Wishful Thinking, and Social Withdrawal. Using a hierarchical factor analysis, four higher order secondary subscales were determined including Problem Focused Engagement (including the Problem Solving and Cognitive Restructuring subscales), Emotion Focused Engagement (Social Support and Express Emotions subscales), Problem Focused Disengagement (Problem Avoidance and Wishful Thinking subscales), and Emotion Focused Disengagement (Social Withdrawal and Self Criticism subscales). Furthermore, tertiary subscales of Engagement and Disengagement strategies were supported via the hierarchical factor structure as well as divergent and convergent validity (Tobin, Holroyd, Reynolds, & Wigal, 1989). For the purposes of this study, the

tertiary Engagement and Disengagement scales were used as separate continuous moderator variables in interaction analyses to determine if engagement and disengagement coping strategies uniquely influenced outcomes. Example items for engagement include, “I looked for the silver lining, so to speak,” and “I talked to someone about how I was feeling,” while items for disengagement include, “I blamed myself,” and “I avoided my family and friends.” The CSI was adapted from the Lazarus “Ways of Coping” measure (Folkman & Lazarus, 1981), though this previous measure was not situation or stimulus specific. The CSI has exhibited excellent internal consistency (Cronbach’s alphas = .90) for the tertiary subscales. Test-retest reliability scores for Engagement and Disengagement coping were .78 and .79 (Tobin, 1985). Reliability for the CSI has also been evident in Asian American samples with alphas of .90 for Engagement Scores and .89 for Disengagement scores (Wong, Kim, & Tran, 2010). Chang (1996) provided support for the construct validity of the CSI by showing that its subscales were related to measures of depression, psychological, and physical symptoms in an Asian American sample. The alphas for the tertiary subscales for Engagement Coping and Disengagement Coping were .91 and .88 respectively for the current sample of Korean American ITAPs in this study.

Moderating Variable: Ethnic Identity

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007) is a 6-item instrument using a Likert scale that assesses ethnic identity development comprised of two factors: ethnic identity exploration and commitment, which both are calculated when determining the final ethnic identity score. The MEIM-R was used in the current study to assess participants’ general global index of ethnic

identity. Items are on a 5-point scale from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 5 = *strongly agree*. Sample items include: “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group” and “I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.” This global index was used to assess if ethnic identity moderates the relationship between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms. This revised version of the MEIM has been shown in recent studies to be more internally reliable (alpha = 0.88) than its predecessor, the MEIM (alpha = 0.84) (Herrington, 2014). The alpha for the MEIM-R for participants in this sample was .92. The MEIM-R has shown strong psychometric properties and has evidenced measurement invariance across diverse racial groups (i.e., Asians, Black Americans, Hispanics, White individuals, and those who identify as multiethnic) in a large community sample of women (Brown et al., 2014).

Moderating Variable: Stigma Consciousness

The *Stigma-Consciousness Questionnaire* (SCQ; Pinel, 1999) was created to address assumptions in the psychological literature that marginalized individuals have unvarying reactions and interpretations of their “stereotyped status.” The SCQ is a 10-item instrument that measures the level of expectation that a marginalized individual has of being stereotyped. Each item is measured on a 1-7 Likert scale with 1 = *Strongly Disagree* and 7 = *Strongly Agree*. Examples of items, modified for use with an adoption population, included: “Stereotypes about adoptees have affected me personally,” “I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as a stereotypical adoptee,” and “Most people who aren’t adopted judge adoptees on the basis of their being adopted.” There were 3 items from the original scale that were deleted and not used for this study: “My being female does not influence how people act with me,” “I often think that men are unfairly

accused of being sexist,” “Most men have a problem viewing women as equals.” These were omitted because it was difficult to word the items in a way that captured the same sentiment as the original measure. For example, “I often think that non adopted people are unfairly accused of being bionormativist” seemed confusing as this language is not used within the general public. The Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .72 with female identified individuals and .81 when used with gay and lesbian identified individuals (Pinel, 1999). The Cronbach’s alpha for the SCQ was .78 for this sample of Korean American ITAPs.

Moderating Variable: Parental Racial/Ethnic/Cultural Socialization

The *Cultural Socialization Scale* (CSS; Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013) was developed by the Sibling Interaction and Behavior Study. It is a 6-item measure that assesses internationally and transracially adopted persons’ perceptions of their parents’ level of engagement in racial and cultural socialization processes. Each item is on a scale from 1 = *definitely false*, to 4 = *definitely true*. This scale was reversed from the original to make it more consonant with the scales in the other measures with the negatively worded anchor being at the lowest end of the scale. Although most studies on parental cultural socialization in the adoption field are self-report measures completed by parents, this measure was created so that the adopted adolescents in the study could provide a report of parental cultural socialization. Examples of items include: “My parents try to meet people from my own race so they can learn more about it,” “My parents try to help me find out about my own racial group, such as its history, traditions, and customs,” and “My parents try to participate in cultural practices of my own racial group, like eating food, listening to music, or celebrating holidays/learning the language.” The Cronbach’s

alpha for this measure was 0.94 (Kim et al., 2013). The Cronbach's alpha for the CSS for this sample was .92.

CHAPTER 7

STUDY 2 RESULTS

Exploratory Factor Analysis

In order to investigate the dimensionality of the Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC), the factor structure was examined. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) is often used with new instruments to explore whether several items can be more parsimoniously represented (Fabrigar & Wegener, 2012). Thus, understanding the underlying structure of correlations among variables (items) in the instrument is key. EFA is useful for theory development, as the goal is to determine the unobserved latent “distinct constructs” that account for the pattern of associations in the instrument (Fabrigar & Wegener, 2012). Because the IMC is a new instrument, the dimensionality of the IMC was uncertain. EFA is a necessary first step in discovering if the IMC is unidimensional, or if it has several underlying theoretical constructs. While the statistical procedure of EFA analyzes the pattern of correlations, determining and designating conceptual meaning to the results is a subjective process involving several pertinent decisions. The accuracy of the findings, then, is dependent on the methodological decisions, both statistically and theoretically, made by the researcher.

Data

One of the first major issues to consider with EFA is sample size. EFA is dependent on the meaning of the variables, and thus a sufficient sample size and the conceptual relation of variables is necessary in data interpretation. While there are several differing opinions on how large a sample should be (Beavers et al., 2013) ranging from 51 more cases than the number of variables (Lawley & Maxwell, 1971) to at least 300

cases (Norusis, 2005), there is a consensus that not having enough participants could lead to unreliable results (Beavers et al., 2013). A common figure recommended in the literature for EFA is at least 100 cases, and a subjects-to-variables (STV) ratio of between 5 and 10 cases (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995; Suhr, 2006). Other researchers state that instead of suggesting a general sample size, the strength of the items loading on to factors is the most relevant criterion for producing a reliable factor analytic solution (Guadagnoli & Velicer, 1988). For example, if factors have 4 or more items with high loadings (.60 or higher), then the sample size is not relevant. However, if 10-12 items have moderate loadings of .40 or higher, then a sample size of 150 is recommended for greater certainty of the results. In this study, a sample size of 160 participants completed the IMC. This sample size was used for 21 items, yielding a 7.6 STV ratio in the first EFA. After excluding 4 items from the analysis, the final EFA analysis included 160 participants for 17 items, yielding a 9.4 STV ratio. Further, all 17 items in the final exploratory factor analysis loaded on .60 or higher on the factors. Thus, the sample size, STV ratio, and item loadings seemed appropriate for EFA.

Intensity Scale

Only the intensity scale was used for an exploratory factor analyses. The intensity of the scale is an appropriate choice because the current interracial microaggressions literature focuses on the subjective experience of how recipients receive microaggressions from initiators (i.e., Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Rivera, 2012; Smith et al., 2011; Sue et al., 2007a; Torres et al., 2010). Furthermore, the intensity of a microaggressive experience may be more reliable and stable over time compared to the

quantity of intraracial microaggressions one experiences. The mean and standard deviations for all of the original 21 items on the intensity scale can be found in Table 1.

Assumptions

Multivariate statistical techniques require other assumptions of data to ensure reliable and valid results. Assumptions including large sample size, continuous data, data that follow a normal distribution, linearity in relationships, lack of outliers, and few missing data must be met (with the exception of normality) in order to continue with EFA. Mardia's Multivariate Normality test (see: initial extraction section) indicated that data were not multivariate normal; thus, a method that was not sensitive to normality was used. Linearity was evidenced through visual inspection of several bivariate scatterplots (22 pairs) where all data appeared to have a linear relationship. The data were tested for multivariate outliers, or extreme scores on one or more variables, using Mahalanobis distance. Using the criterion of $p < .001$ with 21 variables, the critical chi square value was $\chi^2 = 46.80$. None of the values exceeded the critical value and therefore no multivariate outliers were present in the data. Excluding cases listwise was used for missing values. A total of 4 cases were not included in the final analysis; all 4 had 1-3 missing items and were not entered into the analysis. Another case was removed because the participant reported experiencing no intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. All major assumptions for using EFA were satisfied.

Correlation Matrix

Initially, the factorability of the 21 IMC items was examined. Several criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. A correlation matrix is necessary in completing a factor analysis as it measures the strength of the relationships between

variables. A correlation matrix is a set of correlation coefficients of all items under consideration in the instrument. In that correlation matrix, the items must be intercorrelated, but “extreme” multicollinearity could create difficulties in assessing the “unique contribution” of items to a factor (Field, 2000, p. 444). If no correlation is greater than .30, then factorization may be questionable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The correlation matrix displays the relationships of all 21 items in the current study in Table 3. The matrix shows that there are several substantial correlations suggesting that factor analysis is appropriate.

There are several other statistical tests that indicate factoring is beneficial. The determinant is another test of factorability. The determinant is an analysis of the values within the matrix that indicates if linear combinations exist. When the determinant is greater than 0.00001, the matrix contains linear combinations, meaning factors can be produced, and there is no extreme multicollinearity (Beavers et al., 2013; Field, 2000). The determinant in the current study was 0.00003, which suggests that linear combinations exist.

Additionally, Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Test of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) can be calculated to determine the strength of relationships and factorability of the items (Beavers et al., 2013). Because the determinant in this study was quite small, Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity is an assessment of if this value is statistically different from zero. Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity tests the null hypothesis that the “original correlation matrix is an identity matrix” (Field, 2000, p. 457). Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity was significant ($\chi^2(210) = 1953.82, p < .001$) and the null hypothesis was rejected suggesting factorability of the observed matrix. The KMO is a measure of the

shared variance in variables (Beavers et al., 2013). The KMO was equal to .92, which is considered “marvelous” in terms of the degree of common variance among the items (Beavers, et al., 2013).

Taken together, these 3 tests indicate that factorability of the correlation matrix can be pursued. A summary of these values can be found in Table 4.

Initial Extraction

One of the first key decisions to make in EFA is the extraction method. Maximum Likelihood (ML) and Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) are the two most common extraction methods for EFA (Beavers et al., 2013). An assumption of ML is that data have multivariate normality. The data were checked for multivariate normality using Mardia’s Multivariate Normality test, where both p-values of skewness and kurtosis should be greater than .05. Both p-values were smaller than .05, thus indicating the data were not multivariate normal. After ruling out ML, PAF was used as this technique does not require multivariate normality and is thought to generally give the best results (Beavers et al., 2013; Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999).

The next major decision in EFA involved deciding on the number of factors to extract. Due to the qualitative analysis from the previous study, the number of factors (= 5) was chosen based on the number of overarching themes that connected individual themes. The overarching themes conceptually grouped the individual themes from which individual items were conceived. Thus, the number of factors was chosen using theory as a guide.

In choosing the optimal number of factors to retain, the verisimilitude, or, “proximity to the objective truth” and generalizability, or, “ability to cross-validate to

data arising from the same underlying process” were considered (Preacher, Zhang, Kim, & Mels, 2013). Matrix algebra is the method through which linear combinations of variables are used to find the greatest amount of variance among the items in factor analysis (Beavers et al., 2013). The communality for a variable is the variance accounted for by the factors. Generally, higher communalities (.70 or more) are considered better as the extracted factors then account for a large proportion of the variable’s variance (Field, 2000). However, researchers recognize that it is more common in the social sciences to have low to moderate communalities ranging from .40-.70. Best practices for EFA state that if an item has a communality of less than .40, it may not be related to other items or it may load on an additional factor (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Communalities in the initial solution ranged from .36 to 1.0. The presence of a communality of 1 is considered a Heywood case, and a clear indication that the factor model is not fitting properly (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Possible causes could include too many or too few factors or poor communality estimates. Examining the communalities was the first indication that there may be too many factors in the model.

Initial eigenvalues, a scree plot, and a parallel analysis were consulted in order to determine the final number of factors (Beavers et al., 2013; Costello & Osborne, 2005). Eigenvalues are the variances of the factors. A common practice is to retain all factors with eigenvalues greater than or equal to 1. Initial eigenvalues over 1 indicated that the first 3 factors explained 44%, 10%, and 6% of the variance respectively. The fourth and fifth factors had eigenvalues under 1 and each explained 4% of the variance. Eigenvalues for the initial extraction can be found in Table 5. The eigenvalue method tends to be considered the “least accurate” of methods and can lead to overextraction (Costello &

Osborne, 2005) and thus other methods for factor retention were used in conjunction with these findings. The scree test (Figure 4) portrays a graph of the eigenvalues. The interpretation of the scree test involves analyzing the graph and looking for the “elbow,” or natural bending point in the data. The number of data points above this bending point suggests the number of factors to retain. However, this technique can also be somewhat abstract if there is a grouping of data points near the bend (Costello & Osborne, 2005). In the scree plot for this study, it was obvious that factors 1 and 2 should be retained, although it was still unclear if factor 3 should be retained as it was near the leveling off point. Lastly, a parallel analysis (Watkins, 2000) was run that used a Monte Carlo simulation process that compared “expected” eigenvalues from a simulated normal random sample that parallels observed data with sample size and number of items specified (Ledesma & Valero-Mora, 2007). A parallel analysis for 21 items, a sample of 160 participants, and 100 replications was conducted. In comparing the expected and observed eigenvalues, the parallel analysis suggested that only 2 factors should be retained as the eigenvalues for the observed values were larger than that of the expected values. Based on all the above analyses, solutions for 3 and 2 factor solutions were generated.

Two Factor Solution

The 2 factor solution, which explained 55% of the variance, was preferred due to 1) the analysis of the scree plot and parallel analysis and, 2) insufficient number of primary loadings and/or numerous cross loadings and, 3) difficulty theoretically interpreting the three factors. All solutions including the final 2-factor solution used an oblique (oblimin) rotation of the factor loading matrix. Choosing an appropriate rotation

is another important step in conducting EFA because a single solution must be determined from among an “infinite number of equally fitting solutions” for explaining the relationships between 2 or more factors (Fabrigar et al., 1999, p. 281). The guiding principle for selecting a solution is the idea of simple structure, which means the best solution was one that rendered the data most easily interpretable and meaningful (Thurstone, 1947). Practically, the simple structure is 1) one where each factor is defined by a subset of items with large loadings relative to other items, and 2) one where each item loaded highly on one subset of the factors (Fabrigar et al., 1999). Rotation allows for the simplification of the data structure. While an orthogonal varimax rotation is by far the most popular method used in EFA, it assumes that the factors are uncorrelated. Many researchers (e.g., Beavers et al., 2013; Fabrigar et al., 1999) familiar with factor analysis suggest using an oblique rotation first in social sciences as it generally renders a more accurate solution (Costello & Osborne, 2005; Fabrigar, 1999). It is noted that there is no single dominant oblique rotation method as they all tend to lead to similar results; thus it is recommended that using the default delta (0) in SPSS with an oblimin method is adequate (Costello & Osborne, 2005). The factor correlation matrix indicated that the 2 factors were moderately correlated, $r = .53$, indicating that an oblique oblimin rotation was warranted.

After the rotated solution with all 21 items was conducted, the communalities and pattern and structure matrices were examined. Researchers recommend primarily using the pattern matrix (comprised of regression coefficients) for relationships between the items and the factor when the variance of other factors are removed (Beavers et al., 2013), and the structure matrix to understand correlations between factors; they

furthermore state that “substantive interpretations” with oblique rotations and the pattern matrix are “essentially the same” as when interpreting the rotated factor matrix in orthogonal rotation (Costello & Osborne, 2005).

A total of 4 items were eliminated. Item 2 (*Other Koreans/Asians who are not adopted assume that my parents are the same race/ethnicity as I am*), item 7 (*Other Koreans/Asians who are not adopted believe that my career choice is based on cultural pressures*), and item 12 (*Other Koreans/Asians who are not adopted have asked or suggested that I am an ethnicity that is separate or different from being Korean (e.g., labeled me as Chinese, Japanese, Thai, or another ethnic group)*) were removed due to low communality scores less than .40.

Upon consulting the pattern and structure matrices, item 15 (*Due to other Asians/Koreans who are not adopted, I have felt that I am expected to be aware of Korean customs/traditions (e.g., holidays, foods, values)*) was additionally removed because it did not contribute to a simple factor structure. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) advised .32 as a general guideline for the minimum loading of an item as this means about 10% of the variance overlaps with the other items in the factor. Items that crossload at .32 or higher on both factors must also be removed from the analysis. Item 15 crossloaded on both factors as the loading on factor 1 was .42 and the loading on factor 2 was .44.

Final Two Factor Solution

For the final EFA model, a PAF analysis of the remaining 17 items using oblimin rotation was completed with 2 factors explaining 58% of the variance. All items in this analysis had communalities of .40 or higher. All items in the rotated pattern matrix had

primary loadings of .63 or higher. There were no crossloadings in this model. The communalities and rotated factor loading matrices for this final solution can be found in Tables 6, 7, and 8. Interpretation of the analysis is aided by each factor being “sufficiently identified.” Each factor should be represented by at least 3-5 items with strong loadings to be reliable (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Ultimately, factor 1 contained 12 items and factor 2 was comprised of 5 items.

With 160 cases, the final IMC had a mean of $M = 27.56$, $SE = 1.15$, and $SD = 14.57$. Although the Shapiro-Wilk statistic was statistically significant ($p = .03$), the skewness was $= .23$ ($SE = .19$) indicating that the skew was approximately symmetric. The kurtosis was $= -.65$, $SE = .38$ designating the distribution platykurtic. No outliers were found in this distribution. The minimum and maximum values in the distribution were 1.00 and 64.00 with a range of 63.00. A table with all the descriptive statistics can be found in Table 9.

Overall, these analyses indicated that 2 distinct factors were underlying Korean American ITAPs’ experiences of intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions and that these factors were moderately internally consistent. While the EFA analyzed the underlying relationships between items on the IMC, naming the factors is a more subjective process that requires theoretical knowledge and common sense (Beavers et al., 2013). Factor 1 was named External Assumptions of the Korean Adoptee Experience, as all items that loaded onto this factor were related to assumptions made by other Asians and Koreans about the identity, feelings, experiences, and realities of Korean adoptees. In the interracial microaggression (Sue et al., 2007a) and adoptive microaggression (Garber & Grotevant, 2015) literatures, assumptions and stereotypes about a particular

marginalized group appear frequently (e.g., “All Asians are good at math,” or “all adoptees have behavioral problems.”) Conceptually, it was reasonable to define this factor based on content as well as theory.

Factor 2 was named Internal Experience of Korean Adoptees, as all items in this factor represented internal feelings of alienation, wariness, and invalidation that Korean American ITAPs had around other Koreans/Asians (e.g., feeling like an outsider or not being “Korean enough”). Another item in this factor was also related to behaviors that Korean adoptees enacted based on internal decisions (i.e., avoiding environments in which most people are Korean/Asian). While the content of these items seemed to reflect another separate dimension of the experience of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, themes in these items are also reflected in the interracial microaggressions literature. Microaggressions often result in negative emotions and feelings of alienation (Ong et al., 2013; Smith et al., 2011; Swim et al., 2003), thus defining this factor in terms of an internal experience seemed appropriate. Based on the results of the EFA, the External and Internal factors can represent 2 separate but related subscales of the IMC. As an extra measure of reliability for each subscale, a reliability analysis was completed. Cronbach’s alphas for the External and Internal subscales were .91 for the 12 items and .88 for the 5 items respectively. Cronbach’s alpha for the entire IMC scale was .92. The two subscales were moderately correlated, $r = .56$. While the purpose of this study was to determine the factorial structure of the IMC, it is theoretically possible that future researchers will not want or need to contrast between the two different factors. Because the two factors are moderately correlated and have solid internal consistency, it is possible that the IMC could be used as two separate subscales or a full unidimensional scale depending on the

purpose and aims of future studies. While these scores indicate strong internal consistency, the structure of the subscales needed to be analyzed to ensure that each subscale was relatively uniform and parsimonious.

Principal Components Analysis

PCA identifies and analyzes several variables with fewer underlying components while still maintaining dimensions of the data (Beavers et al., 2013). Although the literature at times refers to EFA and PCA as similar processes (Costello & Osborne, 2005), there are distinct statistical and theoretical qualities of each analysis.

Mathematically, PCA involves including shared variance, unique variance, and error variance in the analysis. Further, it does not parse out variance from items when determining relationships (Beavers et al., 2013). EFA partitions out unique and error variance from the analysis, and thus common variance is used in extracting the factors (Beavers et al., 2013). While these two methods have similar functions and may even produce similar results, they can differ in the way linear combinations are extracted (Beavers et al., 2013).

While EFA theoretically posits that items are a result of an underlying factor, PCA assumes that items cause or define the component (DeCoster, 1998). Further, EFA does not assume theoretical unidimensionality of an instrument and explores underlying distinct constructs, while in PCA a scale is assumed to be comprised of one dimension and a component is a composite of the observed variables (Beavers et al., 2013). PCA pulls together the items to maximize the variance across all items into a general average by weighting each item according to the overall composite. If there is more than one dimension, PCA cannot detect this in terms of the underlying theoretical factors or

structure (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Thus, EFA was first used to identify the theoretical underlying constructs, and PCA then refined the distinct subscales (External and Internal) by maximizing the variance. Principal Components Analysis (PCA) was used to assess the External and Internal subscales respectively as the primary purpose of this analysis was data reduction.

External Subscale

For the External subscale, 12 items were entered into the analysis. The correlation matrix showed correlations ranging from .32 to .69 for all 12 items in the current study and can be found in Table 10. The determinant was = .001 suggesting linear combinations exist. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2(66) = 1022.06, p < .001$) provided more evidence for the presence of linear combinations. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .92, thus designating a "marvelous" measure of shared variance in the items (Beavers et al., 2013). All 4 missing cases were deleted from the analysis.

In PCA, components were extracted based on those which had eigenvalues greater than 1. After extraction, communalities, or the proportion of variance explained by the principal components, were in the moderate range between .55 and .66. Initial eigenvalues equaling 6.30 and 1.11 indicated that the first 2 components accounted for 53% and 9% of the variance respectively. The number of points above the elbow on the scree plot appeared to be 1 (Figure 5). Lastly, results from the parallel analysis with 12 items and 160 participants with 100 replications indicated that only 1 component should be retained (Watkins, 2000).

The final PCA was run with 1 component extracted accounting for 53% of the variance. Communalities continued to be in the moderate range between .45 and .60 (Table 11). After consulting the component matrix, with loadings between .67 to .77, all items were retained (Table 12). The final External subscale items can be found in Appendix D.

The mean for the External subscale ($n = 160$) $M = 17.23$, $SE = .86$, $SD = 10.86$. The minimum value was 0.00 and the maximum value was 46.00 with a range of 46.00. Standardized component scores for each participant ($M = 0.00$, $SE = .08$, $SD = 1.00$) were produced by SPSS for the External subscale and saved for use in the moderation analyses. Although the Shapiro-Wilk statistic was significant ($p = .001$), the skew was .34 ($SE = .19$) indicating that the distribution is approximately symmetric (Bulmer 1979). The kurtosis was $-.74$ ($SE = .38$) making the distribution platykurtic. No outliers were found in the distribution. A table with all the descriptive statistics can be found in Table 9.

Internal Subscale

For the Internal subscale, 5 items were analyzed with PCA. The correlation matrix displayed relationships ranging from .51 to .76 (Table 13). The determinant value was .06 indicating the presence of linear combinations. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2(10) = 445.47$, $p < .001$) confirmed the existence of linear combinations, and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .86 meaning there was "meritorious" level of shared variance in the items. All 4 missing cases were deleted from the analysis.

As with the External subscale, components were extracted based on those which possessed eigenvalues greater than 1. After extraction, communalities were between .56 and .80 indicating moderate to high reliability for the items (Table 14). Initial eigenvalues for the first component was equal to 3.44 explaining 69% of the variance; no other components had eigenvalues over 1. The scree test also supported a 1 component solution (Figure 6).

Upon consulting the component matrix, all items had loadings of .75 to .89 (Table 15). Thus, the subscale remained the same and 1 component was shown to be the best solution. The final Internal subscale and the final iteration of the IMC can be found in Appendix D. Standardized component scores for each participant (mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1) were produced by SPSS for the External and Internal subscales and saved for use in the moderation analyses.

The mean for the Internal subscale ($n = 160$) $M = 10.34$, $SE = .43$, $SD = 5.42$. The minimum value was 0.00 and the maximum value was 20.00 with a range of 20.00. Standardized component scores for each participant ($M = 0.00$, $SE = 0.08$, $SD = 1.00$.) were produced by SPSS for the Internal subscale and saved for use in the moderation analyses. Although the Shapiro-Wilk statistic was significant ($p = .002$), the skew was .04 ($SE = .19$) indicating that the distribution is approximately symmetric (Bulmer 1979). The kurtosis was $-.87$ ($SE = .38$) making the distribution platykurtic. No outliers were found in the distribution. A table with all the descriptive statistics can be found in Table 9. A simple correlation of the External and Internal subscales indicated they were moderately positively correlated, $r = .56$.

Test-retest Reliability

A total of 79 participants had completed data for the pre and post surveys for the intensity External and Internal scales for the IMC. The test-retest correlation for the IMC External subscale for intensity of microaggressions was $r = .77, p < .001$. The mean for the pretest was $M = 26.85, SD = 9.60$ and the mean for the posttest was $M = 25.99, SD = 8.93$. The test-retest correlation for the IMC Internal subscale for intensity of microaggressions was $r = .80, p < .001$. The mean for the pretest was $M = 15.51, SD = 5.41$ and the mean for the posttest was $M = 13.96, SD = 4.98$. A satisfactory level of reliability has been cited as .70 or higher (Drost, 2011). Thus, both subscales have exhibited sufficient reliability to continue with further quantitative analyses.

Quantitative Descriptives

Dependent Variable: Psychological Symptoms

The mean for depressive symptoms for the sample ($n = 150$) was $M = 3.85, SD = 4.07$. The mean for this sample falls within the “normal” range (total score of 0-4 on the depressive subscale) on the DASS-21. The minimum value was 0 (“normal range”) and the maximum was 17 (“extremely severe”) with a range of 17.00. The distribution for depressive symptoms was highly positively skewed ($skew = 1.12$) and platykurtic with a kurtosis of .68.

The mean for anxiety symptoms for the sample ($n = 150$) was $M = 3.19, SD = 3.24$. The mean for this sample falls within the “normal” range (total score of 0-3 on the anxiety subscale) on the DASS-21. The minimum value was 0 (“normal” range) and the maximum was 14 (“extremely severe”) with a range of 14.00. The distribution for

anxiety symptoms was moderately positively skewed (skew = .87) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of -.12.

The mean for stress symptoms for the sample ($n = 150$) was $M = 5.88$, $SD = 4.54$. The mean for this sample falls within the “normal” range (total score of 0-7 on the stress subscale) on the DASS-21. The minimum value of 0 was in the “normal” range, and a maximum value of 20 was in the “extremely severe” range (range = 20.00). The distribution for stress symptoms was moderately positively skewed (skew = .69) and platykurtic with a kurtosis of .07.

Dependent Variable: General Negative Affect

For general negative emotions ($n = 150$), the mean was $M = 15.41$, $SD = 5.67$ with a minimum value of 10 and a maximum value of 33 (range = 23.00). The mean for this sample is slightly higher but still comparable to the mean of a large sample of undergraduates at an American university ($N = 660$), $M = 14.80$, $SD = 5.40$ (Watson et al., 1988). The distribution for negative emotions was very positively skewed (skew = 1.24) and platykurtic with a kurtosis of 1.04, meaning participants tended to experience lower levels of negative affect.

Dependent Variable: Positive Affect about Adoption/Negative Feelings about

Adoption

For positive feelings about adoption ($n = 150$) the mean was $M = 39.52$, $SD = 12.24$ with a minimum value of 15 and a maximum value of 66 (range = 51.00). The distribution for feelings about adoption was approximately symmetric (skew = -.11) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of -.82.

For negative feelings about adoption ($n = 150$) the mean was $M = 12.30$, $SD = 4.43$. The minimum value was 5 and the maximum value of 25 (range = 20.00). The distribution was moderately positively skewed (skew = .54) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of -.11, indicating that this sample tended to report fewer negative feelings about adoption.

Moderating Variable: Age

The mean age for the sample ($n = 150$) was $M = 32.56$, $SD = 8.69$ with the youngest participant being 19 and the oldest being 66 years of age (range = 47). The distribution was moderately positively skewed = .95 and platykurtic = 1.12, $SE = .41$.

Moderating Variable: Engagement/Disengagement Coping

For engagement coping strategy, ($n = 150$), the mean was $M = 44.64$, $SD = 12.24$, indicating that participants tended to use more engagement coping strategies compared to disengagement strategies. The minimum value was 16 and the maximum was 79 (range = 63.00). The distribution for engagement coping was -.10 indicating an approximately symmetric distribution. The distribution was very platykurtic with a kurtosis of -.12.

For a disengagement coping strategy ($n = 150$), the mean was $M = 35.95$, $SD = 10.33$. The minimum value was 16 and the maximum was 70 (range = 54.00). The distribution for disengagement coping was moderately positively skewed (skew = .74) and platykurtic with a kurtosis of .66.

Moderating Variable: Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity for the sample ($n = 150$) had a mean of $M = 20.73$, $SD = 6.23$ with a minimum value of 6 and a maximum value of 30 (range = 24.00). The mean for this sample is slightly higher compared to a sample of multiracial individuals, where over half

the sample identified as Asian/White, $M = 18.90$, $SD = 3.75$ 128 (Jobe, 2014). The distribution for ethnic identity was moderately negatively skewed (skew = $-.50$) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of $-.37$, thus showing that participants in this sample tended to have higher global levels of ethnic identity.

Moderating Variable: Stigma Consciousness

In terms of stigma consciousness for the sample ($n = 150$), the mean was $M = 25.75$, $SD = 8.44$ with a minimum value of 10 and a maximum value of 49 (range = 39.00). The mean for this sample was considerably lower compared to gay men ($M = 36.87$, $SD = 11.06$), lesbians ($M = 31.37$, $SD = 11.24$), Black Americans ($M = 36.36$, $SD = 7.59$), but higher compared to women ($M = 23.55$, $SD = 6.83$) (Pinel, 1999). The distribution for stigma consciousness was approximately symmetric (skew = $.01$) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of $-.77$.

Moderating Variable: Parental REC Socialization

In terms of REC socialization from parents, the mean for the sample ($n = 150$) was $M = 14.12$, $SD = 5.96$ with a minimum value of 6 and a maximum value of 24 (range = 18.00). The distribution was approximately symmetric (skew = $.19$) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of -1.26 .

Moderating Variable: Interactions with Other Asians

When asked about the amount of contact that participants had with other Asians/Asian Americans from childhood through high school, 13% ($n = 20$) responded “no contact,” 43% ($n = 64$) responded “minimal contact,” 21% ($n = 32$) responded “some contact,” 5% ($n = 7$) responded “regular contact,” and 11% ($n = 17$) responded “daily contact.” Additionally, there were 7% ($n = 10$) that responded “other” to denote

combinations of 2 or more of the above contact levels. The mean for early interactions was $M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.44$. There was a positive skew for this distribution, skew = .92. The distribution was very platykurtic with a kurtosis of $-.12$.

There was a shift in contact when participants endorsed how much contact they had with other Asians/Asian Americans post high school through adulthood with only 2% ($n = 3$) reporting “no contact,” 12% ($n = 18$) reporting “minimal contact,” 28% ($n = 42$) reporting “some contact,” 26% ($n = 39$) reporting regular contact, 31% ($n = 47$) reporting “daily contact,” and 1% reporting “other.” The mean for adulthood interactions was $M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.12$. This distribution was approximately symmetric (skew = $-.32$) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of $-.74$.

When asked to compare prejudicial experiences with differing groups, about 50% ($n = 70$) of the ITAPs reported that prejudicial experiences from White Americans felt most intense, 23% ($n = 31$) endorsed prejudicial experiences from other Koreans as feeling the most intense, 23% ($n = 31$), reported prejudice from all groups felt about the same, and 4% ($n = 6$) stated that prejudice from other Asians (non Koreans) felt most intense.

Quantity

While the quantity IMC scale was not used in the EFA or moderation analyses, this scale still provided important information about the phenomenon of intraracial microaggressions. The mean for the total quantity IMC scale ($N = 160$) was $M = 26.02$, $SD = 9.94$. A breakdown of the frequency means and standard deviations by item can be found in Table 2. Similarly, the median was 26.00. The minimum value was 2 and the

maximum value was 47 (range = 45.00). The distribution of the data was approximately symmetric (skew = -.12) and very platykurtic with a kurtosis of -.57.

Main Effects Analyses

There were 12 simple linear bivariate regression analyses that were completed to investigate the relationships between internal and external intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms (i.e., depressive, anxiety, stress) and emotion outcomes (i.e., general negative affect, positive affect adoption, and negative feelings about adoption). There was only one participant in the sample who reported experiencing no intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, either external or internal, and was thus removed from the following main effects analyses. Due to the high number of analyses being completed, a Bonferroni correction was employed to guard against Type I error ($.05/12 = .004$). This correction set the new p value at .004. Table 16 has a list of all the pertinent information from these analyses; only the significant findings are relayed in the text below. While 6 of the 12 simple regressions are reported below, 3 other regressions were significant in the predicted direction but were not officially reported (i.e., internal IMAs predicting depressive symptoms, internal IMAs predicting general negative affect, and external IMAs predicting negative feelings about adoption) because they did not clear the strict Bonferroni level. These 3 other regressions can be found in Table 16.

Based on the low number of significant interactions (1 in this case), 83 additional analyses were rerun as hierarchical regressions in order to determine if main effects continued to be significant when control variables were present in the model (Hayes, 2013). Tables 18-23 contain results from the hierarchical regressions for the direct effect

of internal and external IMA's respective prediction of outcomes (i.e., depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms and general negative affect, positive affect about adoption, and negative feelings about adoption) while controlling for moderating variables including age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians. While all the analyses results are reported in Tables 18-23, only significant results are described below in the text.

Assumptions

For all simple regressions, the following assumptions were verified with the following methods. Linearity was established by visual inspection of a scatterplot of the independent variable (internal IMC scores) and the dependent variable (depressive symptom scores). Linearity was also verified by visual inspection of a P-P plot of regression standardized residuals between expected and observed values. A relatively random and rectangular display of points in a scatterplot of studentized residuals against values of the independent variable provided evidence of independence. Furthermore, homogeneity of variance was evidenced through a relatively random display of points, where the residuals were relatively consistent across the range of values of the independent variable. Lastly, normality was ascertained through examining a histogram of the regression standardized residuals. Residuals that were roughly normally distributed satisfied the normality assumption.

Main Effects: Depressive Symptoms

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if depressive symptoms could be predicted from internal and external IMAs respectively, with and

without controlling for the moderators age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with Asians. There were no significant main effects for depressive symptoms. While there was one trending result for depressive symptoms being predicted from internal IMAs, the significance level did not meet the more stringent $p < .004$ level for this study.

Main Effects: Anxiety Symptoms

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if anxiety symptoms could be predicted from internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions intensity level. The data were analyzed for missingness and 3 cases were identified. In examining the standard Z scores for anxiety, there was 1 outlier identified that was more than 2 standard deviations outside of the norm. The outlier was subsequently removed. The results indicated that a significant proportion of the total variation in anxiety symptoms scores was predicted by the level of intensity of internal IMAs, $F(1, 144) = 13.98, p < .001$. Anxiety symptom scores increased .18 for each unit of internal microaggression intensity. The unstandardized coefficient, ($b = .18$) and the standardized coefficient ($\beta = .30$) were statistically significantly different from 0, $t(144) = 3.74, p < .001$. The confidence interval around the unstandardized slope did not include 0 (.09, .28). The intercept, or predicted value of anxiety symptoms when intensity level is 0, was 1.26. R squared ($R^2 = .09$) indicated that approximately 9% of the variation in depressive symptoms was predicted by internal intensity level.

Anxiety symptoms predicted from internal IMAs continued to hold when the majority of moderators were included in the model one at a time including age, engagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization,

and level of interaction with other Asians. However, when disengagement coping was added into the regression model with internal IMAs, disengagement coping was highly significant, $b = .10$, $t(144) = 3.28$, $p = .001$, while internal IMAs were not.

Disengagement coping and internal IMAs were moderately correlated, $r = .52$ (see Table 17 for internal and external IMAs separate correlations with moderators variables), and therefore multicollinearity could be affecting the model. While the VIF scores were within an acceptable range, $VIF = 1.37$, it is possible that both variables were “competing” to explain the total variance. When IMAs were omitted from the equation, disengagement coping continued to be significant, $b = .12$, $t(144) = 4.74$, $p < .001$. In running disengagement and IMAs separately, it was revealed that both continued to have significant relations with anxiety symptoms, but running them in the same model could make it more difficult to estimate each variable’s exact contribution.

Main Effects: Stress Symptoms

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if stress symptoms could be predicted from internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions intensity level. The data were analyzed for missingness and 3 cases were identified. In examining the standard Z scores for stress, there were no outliers identified. The results indicated that a significant proportion of the total variation in stress symptoms scores was predicted by the level of intensity of internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, $F(1, 145) = 17.09$, $p = < .001$. Stress symptom scores increased .27 for each unit of internal microaggression intensity. The unstandardized coefficient, ($b = .27$), and the standardized coefficient ($\beta = .31$) were statistically significantly different from 0, $t(145) = 3.91$, $p = < .001$. The confidence interval around the unstandardized slope did not include

0 (.13, .40). The intercept, or predicted value of stress symptoms when intensity level is 0, was 2.90. R squared ($R^2 = .10$) indicated that approximately 10% of the variation in depressive symptoms was predicted by internal intensity level.

Stress symptoms predicted from internal IMAs continued to hold when the majority of moderators were included in the model one at a time including age, engagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians. However, when disengagement coping was in the regression model with internal IMAs, disengagement coping was highly significant, $b = .16$, $t(145) = 4.37$, $p < .001$, while internal IMAs was not. Disengagement coping and internal IMAs were moderately correlated, $r = .52$ (see Table 17), and therefore issues of multicollinearity could have affected the model. While the VIF scores were within an acceptable range, $VIF = 1.37$, it both variables could be “competing” to explain the total variance. When IMAs were omitted from the equation, disengagement coping continued to be significant, $b = .20$, $t(145) = 6.07$, $p < .001$. In running disengagement and IMAs separately, it was revealed that both continue to have significant relations with anxiety symptoms, but running them in the same model made it difficult to estimate each variable’s exact contribution.

Main Effects: General Negative Affect

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if general negative affect scores could be predicted from external intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions intensity level. The data were analyzed for missingness and 3 cases of missing data were eliminated. In examining the standard Z scores for negative affect, there were no outliers identified. The results indicated that a significant proportion of the

total variation in general negative affect scores was predicted by the level of intensity of external intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, $F(1, 145) = 9.48, p = .002$. Negative affect scores increased .13 for each unit of external microaggression intensity. The unstandardized coefficient, ($b = .13$), and the standardized coefficient ($\beta = .25$) were statistically significantly different from 0, $t(145) = 3.08, p = .002$. The confidence interval around the unstandardized slope did not include 0 (.05, .21). The intercept, or predicted value of negative affect when intensity level is 0, was 13.13. R squared ($R^2 = .06$) indicated that approximately 6% of the variation in negative affect was predicted by external intensity level.

General negative affect predicted from external IMAs continued to hold when several of the moderators were included in the model one at a time including age, ethnic identity, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians. However, when engagement coping was in the regression model with external IMAs, neither external IMAs nor engagement coping were significant. External IMAs and engagement coping were moderately correlated, $r = .39$ (see Table 17). When external IMAs were omitted from the equation, engagement coping was not significant, $b = .02, t(145) = .47, p = .64$. In running engagement and IMAs separately, it was revealed that only external IMAs had a significant relation with general negative affect.

However, when disengagement coping was in its own regression model with external IMAs, disengagement coping was highly significant, $b = .19, t(145) = 3.96, p < .001$, while external IMAs was not. Disengagement coping and external IMAs were moderately correlated, $r = .36$ (see Table 17). When IMAs were omitted from the equation, disengagement coping continued to be significant, $b = .19, t(145) = 4.38, p$

<.001. In running disengagement and IMAs separately, it was revealed that both continue to have significant relations with general negative affect, but running them in the same model made it difficult to estimate each variable's exact contribution.

Similarly, when stigma consciousness was added into its own model with external IMAs, only stigma consciousness was significant, $b = .20$, $t(145) = 3.46$, $p = .001$.

External IMAs and stigma consciousness were moderately correlated, $r = .39$ (see Table 17). When external IMAs was omitted from the equation, engagement coping was not significant, $b = .23$, $t(145) = 4.42$, $p < .001$. In running stigma consciousness and IMAs separately, it was revealed that both continued to have significant relations with general negative affect, but running them in the same model made it difficult to estimate each variable's exact contribution.

Main Effects: Positive Affect about Adoption

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if positive affect about adoption could be predicted from internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions intensity level. The data were analyzed for missingness and 3 cases of missing data were eliminated. In examining the standard Z scores for positive affect about adoption, there were no outliers identified. The results indicated that a significant proportion of the total variation in positive affect about adoption was predicted by the level of intensity of internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, $F(1, 145) = 28.41$, $p < .001$. Positive affect about adoption scores decreased $-.92$ for each unit of internal microaggression intensity. The unstandardized coefficient, ($b = -.92$), and the standardized coefficient ($\beta = -0.40$) were statistically significantly different from 0, $t(145) = -5.25$, $p < .001$. The confidence interval around the unstandardized slope did not include 0 ($-1.26, -.57$). The

intercept, or predicted value of positive affect about adoption when intensity level is 0, was 49.51. R squared ($R^2 = .16$) indicated that approximately 16% of the variation in positive affect about adoption was predicted by internal intensity level.

Positive affect about adoption predicted from internal IMAs continued to hold when all of the moderators were included in the model one at a time including age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if positive affect about adoption could be predicted from external intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions intensity level. The data were analyzed for missingness and 3 cases of missing data were eliminated. In examining the standard Z scores for positive affect about adoption, there were no outliers identified. The results of the simple linear regression indicated that a significant proportion of the total variation in positive affect about adoption was predicted by the level of intensity of external intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, $F(145) = 11.15, p < .001$. Positive affect about adoption scores decreased $-.30$ for each unit of external microaggression intensity. The unstandardized coefficient, ($b = -.30$), and the standardized coefficient ($\beta = -0.27$) were statistically significantly different from 0, $t(145) = -3.38, p = .001$. The confidence interval around the unstandardized slope did not include 0 ($-.45, -.10$). The intercept, or predicted value of positive affect about adoption when intensity level is 0, was 44.99. R squared ($R^2 = .07$) indicated that approximately 7% of the variation in positive affect about adoption was predicted by external intensity level.

Positive affect about adoption predicted from external IMAs continued to hold when several of the moderators were included in the model one at a time including age, engagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians. However, when disengagement coping was in the regression model with external IMAs, only disengagement coping was significant, $b = -.38$, $t(145) = -3.84$, $p < .001$ in contributing to the overall model. External IMAs and disengagement coping were moderately correlated, $r = .36$ (see Table 17). When external IMAs was omitted from the equation, disengagement coping continued to be significant, $b = -.47$, $t(145) = -5.02$, $p < .001$. In running disengagement coping and IMAs separately, it was revealed that both continued to have significant relations with positive affect about adoption, but running them in the same model made it difficult to estimate each variable's exact contribution.

Main Effects: Negative Feelings about Adoption

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if negative feelings about adoption could be predicted from internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions intensity level. The data were analyzed for missingness and 3 cases of missing data were eliminated. In examining the standard Z scores for negative feelings about adoption, there were no outliers identified. The results indicated that a significant proportion of the total variation in negative feelings about adoption was predicted by the level of intensity of internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, $F(1, 145) = 17.12$, $p < .001$. Negative feelings about adoption scores increased .26 for each unit of internal microaggression intensity. The unstandardized coefficient, ($b = .26$), and the standardized coefficient ($\beta = 0.31$) were statistically significantly different from 0, $t(145) = 3.87$, $p <$

.001. The confidence interval around the unstandardized slope did not include 0 (.12, .38). The intercept, or predicted value of positive affect about adoption when intensity level is 0, was 9.34. R squared ($R^2 = .09$) indicated that approximately 9% of the variation in negative feelings about adoption was predicted by internal intensity level.

Positive affect about adoption predicted from internal IMAs continued to hold when all of the moderators were included in the model one at a time including age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians.

Interaction Effects

Hierarchical multiple regressions were run to assess the statistical significance of the interaction between scores on the External and Internal subscales of the IMC respectively and moderator variables (i.e., age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and interactions with other Asians) in separately predicting psychological symptoms (depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms) and emotion outcomes (general negative emotion, positive affect about adoption, negative feelings about adoption). Hayes' (2013) PROCESS, a macro for SPSS, was used to analyze the moderating relationships. Hayes' model 1 tested for the conditional effect of internal or external intraracial microaggressions on outcomes by estimating a simple moderation multiple regression model. If the interaction term has a significant p value, then the IV interacts with the moderating variable in predicting the outcome; thus the slope of the relationship between the outcome and predictor variable depend on the moderating variable. All independent variables were mean centered so that zero was a meaningful value, which eased in the

interpretation of the results. All missing data were excluded listwise. Model 1 also produced the simple slopes of microaggressions on outcomes at values of the moderator equal to 1 standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and 1 standard deviation above the mean (Hayes, 2013) and provided corresponding p values.

There was only one participant in the sample who reported experiencing no intraracial microaggressions, either external or internal, and was thus removed from the following moderation analyses.

Due to the high number of moderation analyses (2 independent variables x 7 moderation variables x 6 outcome variables = 84 in total), type I error was of concern when conducting these analyses. Because intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions has not yet been the focus of any major study, it was important to explore all of the moderating analyses. The analyses were completed in “blocks” (e.g., first all the microaggressions for psychological symptoms, then emotion outcomes, etc.) so that converging evidence would become a guiding factor in interpretation. Because the examination for interaction effects was exploratory in nature and using a statistical correction (e.g., Bonferroni analysis) to guard against type I error in this case would decrease the possibility of finding effects that might be worth pursuing in future studies, the significance level for detecting interactions was set at .05, acknowledging that some type I errors may occur. Future work will need to examine suggested findings in more targeted ways.

There were no statistically significant interaction results for the moderators: age, engagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians. The one significant result for disengagement

coping moderating the relationship between stress symptoms and internal IMAs is delineated below.

Interaction Effects: Stress Symptoms

A hierarchical multiple regression was run to assess if stress symptoms (score on the DASS-21 Stress subscale) are significantly predicted by the interaction between internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions (score on the IMC Internal subscale) and disengagement coping strategy (score on the CSI-Short Form). Disengagement coping was entered as a continuous moderating variable in PROCESS. Linearity was established by visual inspection of a P-P plot of regression standardized residuals between expected and observed values. Adequate homoscedasticity was ascertained by examining a scatterplot of the regression standardized residuals and the regression standardized predicted values. The residuals appeared roughly equal across the predicted values on the x-axis and were approximately constantly spread on the y-axis. Multicollinearity was determined to be at acceptable levels by consulting the variance inflation factor (VIF) value of 1.40. A total of 2 multivariate outliers were identified by extreme values on multiple variables above a cutoff for both Cook's Distance (using the $4/[n - p]$ model) as well as their leverage value (using the $2p/n$ model); these outliers were subsequently removed. Normality was assessed by visually inspecting a histogram of the regression standardized residuals. The histogram was slightly positively skewed due to the disengagement variable being positively skewed (skew = .74, kurtosis = .66).

There was a statistically significant finding for disengagement coping strategy moderating the relationship between stress symptoms and internal IMAs, $F(3, 142) =$

9.44, $MSE = 16.73$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .21$. The interaction term explained an additional 3% of the total variance, $F(1, 142) = 4.25$, $p = .04$.

Simple slopes for the association between internal intraracial microaggressions and stress were tested for low (-1 SD below the mean = -.12), moderate (mean = 0), and high (+1 SD above the mean = .12) levels of disengagement. The simple slopes analysis revealed that at high levels of disengagement, every internal intraracial microaggression increases .27 score on stress symptoms $b = .269$, $t(142) = 2.59$, $SE = .10$, $p = .01$.

Statistically significant findings for simple slopes at average, $b = .138$, $t(142) = 1.82$, $SE = .08$, $p = .07$, and low levels of disengagement $b = .006$, $t(142) = .07$, $SE = .09$, $p = .95$ were not found for this relationship. A graph of this relationship can be found in Figure 7.

CHAPTER 8

STUDY 2 DISCUSSION

One major goal of this study was to use the themes culled from Study 1 in order to develop a measure, the Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist (IMC) that could systematically assess intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions that Korean American ITAPs experience. The other major goal of Study 2 was to 1) examine main effects between the respective IMC Internal and External subscales and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes; 2) investigate moderating variables that could alter the relationship between subscales of the IMC and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Theory, empirical data from Study 1, and statistical analyses were all used to identify 17 intraracial/intraethnic microaggression items that comprised two subscales, 1) External Assumptions of the Korean Adoptee Experience, and 2) Internal Experience of Korean Adoptees, that represented the intensity that participants' experienced from microaggressions initiated by others of their same race and/or ethnicity. The overall final IMC continued to reflect many themes found in Study 1, and supported previous literature related to transracially adopted individuals' experiences with their same race/ethnicity peers (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015; Samuels, 2010; Samuels, 2009).

The intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions involving adoption (i.e., Intrusive Questioning and Assumptions of Birth Parents) were also theoretically related to the adoptive microaggressions literature (Garber & Grotevant, 2015). Further, intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions show broad conceptual overlap with interracial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007a) in that assumptions made about an individual's background, heritage, cultural knowledge, nationality, and identity all constitute these

covert slights. However, themes of authenticity seemed to dominate intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions more than interracial microaggressions (e.g., emphasis is placed on behaving, dressing, speaking, and thinking in a culturally prescribed way.)

Reliability and Validity for the IMC

Reliability for the IMC was evidenced with a sizeable sample through strong internal consistency statistics for each subscale and the measure overall, in addition to satisfactory test retest statistics. Preliminary evidence of face, content, construct, and criterion validity was obtained suggesting that the IMC has the potential to be a solid measure of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. For face and content validity, participants from Study 1, pilot participants, and 2 experts in the adoption and microaggressions fields all stated that the generated IMC items did seem to be measuring intraracial/intraethnic prejudice. In terms of content validity, 2 factors via exploratory factor analysis were discerned through multiple modes (i.e., eigenvalues over 1.0, scree plots, and parallel analysis) and exploration of all pertinent plausible factor combinations. Once the factors were identified and named as 2 separate subscales, the principal components analysis relayed that further data reduction was unnecessary and that linear combinations existing in the data were interpretable. All items in each subscale were thematically and conceptually appropriate. Lastly, the IMC provided some criterion validity when it was related to certain outcomes that have been associated with interracial microaggressions in the past (i.e., psychological symptoms and negative emotions).

Although the number of overarching themes from Study 1 did not match the exact number of factors identified, the content in both studies remained relatively consistent.

Study 2 added other dimensions to the conceptualization of this phenomenon. The quantitative findings of Study 2 provide an additional layer that can be superimposed onto the data. While Study 1 determined and delineated overarching themes and subthemes, Study 2 provided a more generalized way for organizing these overarching themes even further. In this way, the two factors seemed to broaden how researchers can categorize these microaggressions. With this larger 2-factor structure, IMAs may be more easily grouped for statistical analysis. One subscale (External) was more related to observable, tangible behaviors or comments that other Asians/Koreans had initiated toward Korean American ITAPs. The other subscale (Internal) was indicative of the feelings and internal thoughts, feelings, and experiences that Korean American ITAPs felt in relation to other Asians/Koreans who were not adopted.

IMC External and Internal Subscales

The subscales of the IMC are also conceptually similar to other studies on transracial adoptees' experiences with same race relations. In Samuels' (2009) qualitative study with African American biracial and transracial adoptees, her theme "Life on the Outside: Managing Societal Perceptions of Multiraciality and Transracial Adoption" includes experiences similar to those participants in this study. Comments such as "I accepted the fact that I will never truly be perceived as a 'true' Black person and that I will always feel some animosity from 'real' Black people" and "I often tell people up front, I'm biracial and transracially adopted'...helps explain to people why I speak the way I do, why I look [and] act the way I do. And who I am," resemble internal and external aspects of intraracial/intraethnic themes of authenticity and expectations related to language. Other studies such as Haenga-Collins and Gibbs' (2015) qualitative research

with indigenous Maori children adopted into White European families underscored themes of “Navigating the Unfamiliar” when reunited with their Maori families and cultural heritage and “Walking Between Worlds” of different cultures. These themes share similar content with the External and Internal subscales in this study. Korean American ITAPs also stated they had to learn how to interpersonally connect with Koreans and Asians. Further, several explained they also felt a sense of not fully being able to “fit in” with American and Korean cultures.

Although the majority of items loaded highly on their respective factors, there was one item that loaded highly on both factors. The item “Due to other Asian/Koreans who are not adopted, I have felt that I am expected to be aware of Korean customs/traditions (e.g., holidays, foods, values)” was eventually removed. This item highlights the blurred boundary between the external and internal experience of Korean American ITAPs. The item was worded in such a way that the emphasis was on the internal frame of the Korean American ITAP, yet also included specific external behaviors that were expected of them. It is possible that with different wording, this item could have been reworked and later included. Other items 2 (“Other Koreans/Asians who are not adopted assume that my parents are the same race/ethnicity as I am”), 7 (“Other Koreans/Asians who are not adopted believe that my career choice is based on cultural pressures”), and 12 (“Other Korean/Asians who are not adopted have asked or suggested that I am an ethnicity that is separate or different from being Korean (e.g., labeled me as Chinese, Japanese, Thai, or another ethnicity”) did not have high communality scores indicating that they were not strongly influenced by the underlying factor. It is possible that these instances were more idiosyncratic experiences of the focus group. These items

may also have been too specific and narrowly worded, and thus this the larger sample of Korean American ITAPs did not endorse these items.

The items on the Internal subscale seemed to be more cohesive as a factor than the External subscale as evidenced by the factor loadings. The Internal subscale had higher correlations (ranging from .51 - .76 for 5 items) compared to the External subscale (ranging from .32 - .69 for all 12 items). It may be that one's internal feelings and reactions to these types of microaggressions are more consistent and easier to control than the external behaviors of others around them. Also, the External subscale contained more items that covered a wider range of content. Many of the subthemes in Study 1 are represented in the items in the External subscale, and thus there may be more variability of content that was found in this factor. It is also possible that simply having fewer items in general in the Internal subscale allowed for greater consistency than with more items.

Main Effects

An important goal of Study 2 was determining if intraracial/intraethnic (i.e., both IMC Internal and External subscales) microaggressions were related to negative psychological symptoms (i.e., depressive, anxiety, stress symptoms) and emotion outcomes (general negative affect, positive affect about adoption, and negative feelings about adoption). The main effects findings are consonant with the interracial microaggressions literature that psychological (Gee et al., 2007; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Smith et al., 2011;) and emotion outcomes (Ong et al., 2013; Smith et al., 2011; Swim et al., 2003) are associated with these subtle derogations. While the balance of power and privilege of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions is not the same as with interracial microaggressions, they can still be related to serious negative outcomes.

The main findings suggest that anxiety and stress symptoms were predicted by internal intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. The internal experience, captured in the Internal subscale items, was related to participants' feelings of alienation, disconnection, and difference with regards to ethnic identity compared to their same race/ethnicity peers. The other notable main finding related to the Internal subscale was its relation to emotions specific to participants' adoptive experiences (significant findings for the positive affect about adoption and negative feelings about adoption subscales). The PA subscale is more related to participants' personal feelings such as happiness, sadness, or confusion about their own adoptions whereas the negative feelings subscale is more related to feelings that participants had about social experiences related to adoption such as their willingness to explain adoption to others or their readiness to disclose their adoptive status to others. These findings suggest that there may be a connection between the internal alienation that participants experience from their same race/ethnicity peers and the internalization of negative feelings about being adopted (e.g., feeling sad, angry, or confused about adoption). These negative experiences may be related to their willingness to discuss adoption in social exchanges with others. Thus, participants' internal experiences with IMAs may be metabolized in a way that becomes personally deleterious. More generally, higher means on the IMC Internal subscale and more significant findings (compared to the External subscale) indicate that participants' perception of their own identity and social experiences with others of the same race/ethnicity can be powerfully related to their psychological and emotional state. These findings may also provide evidence for the idea that when one feels outside of the

“reality” defined by their same racial/ethnic group, this difference can have profound meaning.

General negative emotion and positive affect about adoption were predicted by external IMAs. The external element of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions focuses more on observable behaviors, comments, and environments that are expressed to an individual. It is possible that one’s internal experiences of alienation could be more constant or consistent, thus being more tied to the internalization of psychological symptoms. However, if an external microaggressive experience within a finite timeframe occurs, perhaps it is more likely to be connected with evoking negative emotion. Furthermore, the results indicated that positive affect about adoption were predicted by external intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. Again, it seems that these more external experiences with IMAs are related to an emotional component, even regarding how an ITAP feels about his/her own personal adoption.

From these internal and external results taken together, it seems that external microaggressions may be connected more with emotional responses related to adoption and more generally, while internal microaggressions are more associated with psychological and emotional experiences that are tied with personal *and* social experiences with adoption.

Moderation Analyses

The other major goal of Study 2 was examining if specific moderators including age, engagement coping, disengagement coping, ethnic identity, stigma consciousness, parental REC socialization, and level of interaction with other Asians variables moderated the relationship between the IMC External and Internal subscales and negative

psychological symptoms (i.e., mental health symptoms) and emotion outcomes (general negative affect and adoption specific feelings). The findings of this study contributed to the criterion validity of the IMC. The most notable and robust finding in the moderator analyses was that internal microaggressions combined with high levels of disengagement coping seemed most detrimental in relation to stress symptoms. While participants in Study 1 reported that they experienced intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions as harmful, these analyses give more specific context for how they are deleterious. The findings for disengagement coping in this research, which includes social withdrawal and avoidance, thus parallels other research that has associated negative outcomes with this style of coping (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Liang et al., 2007). The moderation findings help to refine the main effects results. Disengagement and avoidance coping such as ignoring the comment, spending time alone, forgetting the incident, wishing for the microaggressive situation to “go away,” or trying not to think about the comment may be effective in buffering stress symptoms, but only if the intensity level is low. However, if an individual feels either strongly internally disconnected from others of the same race/ethnicity this way of coping may be insufficient in buffering negative outcomes.

Several of the moderator variables did not significantly moderate the relationship between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. One trending result was for high levels of disengagement coping and high levels of external microaggressions predicting higher levels of general negative affect. It may be possible that if the external microaggressive event feels extreme and an ITAP relies on primarily using disengagement coping, then it can be associated with generally feeling negatively. While there were no significant relationships found for the

ethnic identity moderator, there was a trending result for the interaction of low levels of ethnic identity and high levels of internal microaggressions predicting higher general negative emotions. Conceptually, it is reasonable to expect that strongly intense internal feelings about intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions (e.g., not feeling “Korean enough”) combined with internal factors such as lower ethnic identity (e.g., having lower levels of identification with Korean culture) could be associated with higher levels of negative emotions. However, it is unclear if this relationship actually exists given the statistical analyses. These potentially important relationships should be examined with a larger sample.

It was hypothesized that age may be an important moderator as adoptees from different generations (e.g., different cultural climates for those growing up in the ‘50s versus the ‘80s) may have varying ways of perceiving these microaggressions. However, this relationship did not appear in the analyses. One factor that may explain this result is that Korean adoptees across the generations represented in this study were still being raised in similar environments and then later encountering other Asians in comparable developmental periods. It is possible that intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions were perceived similarly across generations of Korean American ITAPs from the ‘50s to the ‘80s because they were all still relatively geographically and culturally isolated growing up despite overarching sociocultural changes in the U.S. Indeed, the descriptive results indicated that many of the participants in the KAAPS across generations grew up in places where they had little to no interaction with other Koreans/Asians. However, in adulthood, it seemed that generally participants moved to more diverse neighborhoods

and began to encounter more Asians/Koreans and thus experienced more microaggressions.

REC socialization was another non significant variable in the moderator analyses. It was hypothesized that greater levels of parental REC socialization would buffer negative outcomes. Participants contacted me after finishing the KAAPS to discuss this specific measure with me. Some perceived the Cultural Socialization Scale to be too general in its wording. One participant stated, “I would say in my case my parents ‘supported’ [racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization], but it was done very clumsily and embarrassingly, but to them they could check the ‘support box’ on paper quantitatively. Qualitatively, the nuance was completely missing.” Thus, it is possible that the particular measure in this study was not sensitive enough to differentiate between competence in the area of REC socialization versus mere support. This comment highlights the importance of mixed methods where qualitative explanation may explain unexpected findings in the quantitative area. The specific connection between parental REC socialization, intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, and negative outcomes may be clearer with a qualitative study that lays the conceptual framework for further study.

Lastly, the separate analyses for anxiety and stress symptoms being predicted from internal microaggressions and disengagement coping when all moderators were held constant in the model seemed to indicate that mediation could be occurring instead of moderation. A similar pattern was evident for positive feelings about adoption being predicted by external microaggressions and disengagement coping. Disengagement coping being added into these three regression models (i.e., internal microaggressions and anxiety symptoms and stress symptoms, and external microaggressions and positive

feelings about adoption) made all of these models statistically significant. The presence of disengagement coping in the model thus suggests that this variable explains the *process* through which microaggressions relate to outcomes. While studies have analyzed coping strategy as a moderator between interracial microaggressions and outcomes (e.g., Noh & Kaspar, 2003), it has also been studied as a mediator (e.g., Liang, Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2007). Thus, mediation could be theoretically and statistically possible for these models; this should be further investigated in the future.

Strengths and Limitations

There were several strengths and limitations to this study. First, this study used a sample that was primarily recruited via social media. Although social media is often the main tool used in recruiting Korean adoptees and allowed for a diverse geographical spread (Yang, 2009), this can lead to a biased sample of adopted individuals who desire connection and who may be more open to communication about difficult adoption-related topics. Because the participants completed measures solely online without supervision, proper data checks could not be completed to ensure each participant was responsible for his/her responses. Furthermore, even though reliability estimates were fairly strong, due to the nature of self report, it is possible that participants over or underestimated the intensity of this phenomenon and how they reacted to them. It should also be noted that recall bias can be more of a methodological concern with a retrospective design (Hassan, 2005). While it seems that the IMC was fairly reliable over the period of approximately one to two weeks, participants may still make recall errors as they could be recollecting events from years ago. Also, although this sample was adequate in size, a larger sample may have allowed for other associations in the moderation analyses to be found.

Another limitation in this study was that the two factors accounted for about 51% of the variance. While this figure is respectable, it is possible that it could have been improved with some tweaking of the wording of the instrument. For example, informal feedback from participants indicated that they felt quite different about microaggressions from other Koreans compared to other Asians. This sentiment seems to be reflected in responses where 23% of the participants endorsed prejudicial experiences from other Koreans as feeling the most intense compared to 4% that stated prejudice from other Asians (non Koreans) felt more intense. This feedback may help in reworking the IMC so that it is more ethnic group specific in future iterations.

Lastly, while this study made significant steps in developing the IMC, it is important to remember that further steps need to be taken to ensure the IMC is valid.

Implications

There are several implications that the IMC has for the field of microaggressions, adoption, and same race/ethnicity relationships. This was the first quantitative study that measured intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions on a grander scale with a larger and more diverse population than the previous qualitative study. While there have been mentions of this phenomenon in previous literature (e.g., Samuels 2010; Sameuls, 2009), this mixed methods research allowed for the instrument development of the IMC in Study 2 due to empirical findings from Study 1. With further development, this tool could be powerful in allowing researchers to explore a myriad of connections that intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions have with psychological symptoms. Furthermore, the IMC can provide the skeletal framework for other instruments that may study this phenomenon with different groups.

Another major implication of this study is that intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions could be a common phenomenon that many Korean American ITAPs may experience. In the Study 2 sample, of those who completed the IMC ($n = 160$), all participants except for one reported at least one intraracial/intraethnic microaggression. While intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions have not yet been a major area of study in adoption and microaggression literatures, these slights were certainly identified and reported by many Korean American ITAPs.

This study also contributes to practitioners in the field of psychology such as counselors, educators, and social workers. The IMC provides concrete examples of intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions, which can make them more readily relatable and identifiable. Furthermore, the two-factor structure can also provide two ways in which these microaggressions could be perceived and discussed. For example, external microaggressions may be easier to identify in a therapy session, while it also may be important to delve into how a client may be feeling about internal microaggressions.

There were a large number of moderation analyses that were run in Study 2, and therefore it is important to proceed with caution with these results. Future research with both qualitative and quantitative data should help further illuminate how coping may be integral to the ways in which Korean American ITAPs process and experience intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. The significant interaction finding in this study was related to disengagement coping. In further investigating coping, counselors and social workers may be able to provide more concrete suggestions to build resiliency for families and adopted individuals. For example, understanding the specific engagement

and disengagement strategies that promote better psychological well being will be key in the future.

Future Directions

The next step for the IMC should include completing a confirmatory factor analysis with a significantly larger sample. A confirmatory factor analysis will help determine if the overall final factor structure for the IMC is a strong fit, and will provide necessary evidence that the hypothesized relationships between the observed variables really are accounted for by the underlying constructs.

It would also be important to consider how the IMC may be pertinent for other groups who experience intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. This type of assessment could be relevant to international students, different generations of an ethnic group, or different ethnic groups within the same race. This research could conceivably be modified for other populations. Samuels (2009) has illuminated how biracial adopted adults in her qualitative study have received comments that are similar to intraracial microaggressions found in this study. Thus, it is likely that other adoptive populations may experience intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions, although the exact content of these microaggressions may differ. Further, although there were not enough males to complete a thorough comparison analysis for gender, differences in gender would also provide dimension to how IMAs may affect males and females in unique ways. For example, females may be more likely to report or perceive IMAs due to their intersectional experiences with sexism.

Other future research would include further investigating intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions with outcome variables and moderating variables that were trending in

this study. For example, internal microaggressions predicting depression, internal microaggressions predicting general negative affect, and external microaggressions predicting negative feelings about adoption were all significant at lower thresholds (less than the Bonferroni correction set at $p < .004$). Another study aimed at specifically investigating these relations and other psychological symptoms would be beneficial. While disengagement coping was the only major moderator that was identified in this study, it is possible that other moderators could be associated with negative psychological symptoms or emotion outcomes. Entire studies devised around determining relationships between these slights and negative outcomes would be foundational for this literature.

CHAPTER 9

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overall these two complementary studies formed a triangulated mixed methods design (Syed, 2011) that investigated a conceptual model to 1) qualitatively identify the typology of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions that occur to Korean American ITAPs; 2) create, develop, and test a quantitative measure of these microaggressions using foundational thematic content from the first step; 3) use the measure to investigate main effects and moderating relationships between intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions and psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Investigating this comprehensive model has resulted in mounting evidence regarding intraracial/intraethnic slights; importantly, these slights can be identified, categorized, measured, interpreted, and used to test hypotheses related to psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes.

Intraracial Versus Interracial

This research created the beginnings of the intraracial/intraethnic microaggression literature with both theoretical and empirical underpinnings. For Korean American ITAPs specifically, this phenomenon must be further investigated given the potential for psychological, emotional, and social ramifications.

While interracial microaggressions are more related to historical inequities and prejudices that marginalized racial groups have experienced throughout history (Sue et al., 2007a), intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions for Asians and Koreans may be tied to other constructs such as group identity, socialization, and collectivism. In these intraracial/intraethnic struggles, there is not necessarily an obvious and overarching imbalance of privilege and oppression; Korean American ITAPs may have more

socioeconomic privilege through their adoptive parents and Korean and Asian individuals may have more sociocultural privilege through transmitted intergenerational knowledge and REC socialization from their parents, peers, and the surrounding community. Both groups, therefore, can be advantaged in some ways and disadvantaged in others, and the complexity of difficult interactions such as microaggressions requires comprehensive study. While this research model focuses on the experiences of Korean American ITAPs, it is important to explicitly state that Koreans and other Asians who are not adopted likely experience these interactions in other ways depending on the cultural narratives and identities involved.

This research does have some overlapping findings with the interracial microaggressions literature. Both interracial and intraracial microaggressions are related to psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. Thus, even though interracial microaggressions are buttressed by more “clear cut” power differentials in the context of White supremacy and racism (Sue, 2010a; Sue, 2010b), this research shows that complex power dynamics can arise within the same racial and ethnic group as well. When an ethnic group can define and reify ethnic and cultural realities including group identity, cultural narratives and scripts, physical environments, “proper” REC socialization, and culturally sanctioned bionormative familial relationships, there can be associated negative psychological symptoms and emotional consequences. Oppressive sociocultural processes can shape even the way one talks about and perceives their own adoption. Interracial and intraracial microaggressions highlight how the *social and cultural become personal*.

Similar to interracial microaggressions, intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions may be committed unknowingly by the initiator, who may have “good intentions” (Sue et al., 2007a). Although the underlying intentions may differ for interracial versus intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, there still may be an unconscious bias that is guiding interactions. In Study 1, many of the participants remarked that they believed the initiator did not necessarily have malicious intent when enacting microaggressions (e.g., an initiator may try to teach a participant how to “properly” cook a dish or pronounce a word the “right” way) although these instances were still related to self consciousness, emotional pain, frustration, and confusion. In addressing these issues, awareness should be increased for the initiator so they are aware that their actions can be harmful, despite intentions. In considering these instances more carefully, the recipient would also have greater insight into their own identity, background, and REC socialization experiences in reacting to these types of situations.

Intraracial Versus Intraethnic

Results from both of the current studies seem to suggest that *ethnicity*, specifically interactions with other *Koreans*, was more prominent as a catalyst to these slights compared to race. The majority of participants from the focus groups and 23% of participants from the KAAPS endorsed prejudicial experiences from other Koreans as feeling the most intense compared to White Americans (50%) and other Asians (4%). Furthermore, another 23% of participants identified prejudice from all groups as being equally intense. Thus, a sizable number of Korean American ITAPs in this sample experienced difficult and painful interactions with others of their same ethnicity. Based on the data from both studies, it seems that participants particularly felt alienated from

Korean individuals who seemed to have specific expectations of how Korean identity should be expressed. Due to these expectations, they urged the participants to enact culturally prescribed ways. Therefore, it seemed that some Koreans had a certain conceptualization or “narrative” in terms of how to be Korean. Korean American ITAPs may experience difficulty with other Koreans when they deviate from this narrative in varying meaningful ways.

Comparatively, very few of the participants seemed to identify other (non-Korean) Asians as committing these microaggressions. In fact, participants from the focus groups and anecdotes from participants on the KAAPS indicated they felt more comfortable around other Asians as they perceived these non Korean groups to be a source of comfort or empowerment. Some participants noted that they felt sociopolitical power in being able to identify with other Asians who are also marginalized. Another participant stated he could seek refuge with other Asians as he felt they could not necessarily judge him on his “Koreanness” or “instruct” him on how to be Korean specifically. Conceptually, this may be a necessary construct to parse out in future iterations of the IMC, and can also be a guide to future studies in this area of microaggressions.

Given the number of Korean American ITAPs reporting these microaggressions, it should be a topic that social workers, clinicians, researchers, and educators are aware of when thinking about the sociocultural experiences of transracial and international adoptees. On a larger scale, greater awareness through education should occur about the growing diaspora of Koreans and how possessing certain identities, living in certain contexts, and having specific experiences may lead to differences in being Korean.

Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions and Adoptive Microaggressions

Intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions are also similar to adoptive microaggressions (Garber & Grotevant, 2015) in that bionormativity and the importance of blood ties reigns supreme. The participants in both the studies discussed or endorsed content that evoked narratives of the impoverished birth mother who “rejected” her “pitied” child (Wegar, 2000). Adoption-specific microaggressions in this study conveyed stereotypes about birth parents and intrusive questions around adoption; this finding is similar to the themes already found in the adoption literature with White adoptees in same race families (Garber & Grotevant, 2015). Thus, generally, results suggest that both American and Korean/Asian populations may have this particular bias with non biological relations. Stereotypes, prejudice, and expectations about adoption are still buttressed by stigmatizing bionormative narratives that have become perpetuated over time. The current studies emphasized the idea that adoption is still misunderstood, stigmatized, and nonnormative.

The concept of being “misunderstood” and “stigmatized” are reminiscent of issues that arise in other adoptive microaggression studies that discuss the element of control (e.g., Garber & Grotevant, 2015). When other Asians or Koreans attempt to control the narrative or identity of Korean American ITAPs by communicating cultural expectations, it minimizes the power of control to define and express oneself. Korean American ITAPs are transported across cultural and national borders, often without any consent on the part of the individual. Therefore, Korean American ITAPs could benefit from possessing the power to have agency in the development and evolution of their own identities.

Furthermore, to have their identities recognized and validated could also be an empowering experience for them.

An important implication of these studies for practitioners is to consider the diversity of adoptive experiences for their adopted clients. Garber and Grotevant (2015) argued for the need for counselors to be aware of their own bionormative assumptions as well as other issues surrounding adoption in order to prevent their clients from experiencing invalidation and stigmatization in the therapy room. The findings of this study provide further support for the authors' arguments and extend them by highlighting the need for counselors to also develop a deeper understanding of the diversity of adoptive experiences. Many of the themes presented here are specific to the experiences of internationally and/or transracially adopted individuals. Counselors should strive to become familiar with the issues, controversies, and positive experiences associated with various types of adoptive experiences (e.g., international, transracial, private, through foster care, etc.).

Qualities of Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions

While this research uncovered the importance of “who” (e.g., race versus ethnicity) is committing intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, “how” they might be received, and “what” they may appear as, there are other findings in these studies that suggest important qualities of these slights.

The “When” of Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions

Conceptually, these two studies have revealed that intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions are often a developmental phenomenon. In Study 1, the participants relayed that intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions mainly occurred once they left their

parents' homes and entered more multicultural environments. In being introduced to these new diverse contexts, participants reported increasing interaction with others of their same race and ethnicity that resulted in microaggressions. Similarly in Study 2, it seems that many of the participants began to regularly experience intraracial and intraethnic interactions in adulthood. The majority of participants in Study 2 (approximately 56%) reported that they had minimal to no contact with other Koreans/Asians from childhood through high school. However, this trend was dramatically reversed from post high school through adulthood when only 14% had minimal to no contact, and 85% had some to daily contact. Taken together, these studies suggest that, unlike other research with transracial adoptees where racism is encountered fairly early on (e.g., Huh & Reid, 2000) intraracial and intraethnic microaggressions may occur later in life. However, the moderation results indicate that more interaction does not necessarily equate to negative outcomes. It is possible that as this country diversifies, the timeline for when these slights are experienced will shift accordingly.

Another contextual piece of information about intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions that can be gleaned from the two studies is the rarity of these events compared to interracial microaggressions, which are considered to be "daily hassles" (Sue, 2010b). Participants in Study 1 stated that these intraracial/intraethnic events were less frequent for them compared to interracial microaggressions. In Study 2, the mean for the entire quantity scale was 26.02. For the 17 items, this averages out to about 1.5, which translates to these events as occurring between "rarely" and "sometimes." In identifying the contexts for when these microaggressions occur, the field can gain a greater understanding for how to recognize and respond to these moments.

The Missing “Why” of Intraethnic/Intracultural Microaggressions

This research was effective in beginning to understand the content of intraethnic/intraethnic microaggressions, the context of these slights, who may be initiating them and how often, how they may be perceived, and how they can be associated with deleterious psychological symptoms and emotion outcomes. However, this research has not yet determined why these microaggressions are being committed. Future research should focus on understanding the intention of the person initiating microaggressions. While we now have findings that aid us in recognizing why they may be harmful to participants, gaining knowledge on the initiator’s motivations and intentions may provide insight into the dynamics of these interchanges. While interracial microaggressions are communications that transmit negative and stereotypical messages based on sociohistorical narratives (Sue et al., 2007a), intraethnic and intraethnic communications could have a different basis. Perhaps in comprehending each person’s positionality and viewpoint, dialogue related to group identity and difference in experience could progress.

The Importance of Coping

The coping moderation results are an important reminder of the implications of resiliency for those marginalized and nonnormative populations who face microaggressions. In Study 1, several of the participants included informal remarks about varying ways they responded to these microaggressions, whether it was an engagement strategy (e.g., discussing their adoptive identity with the initiator to dispel expectations) or disengagement strategy (e.g., withdrawing or avoiding those of the same race/ethnicity). While these comments provided some foundational understanding for

how Korean American ITAPs may respond to these microaggressions, it was unclear how effective they were. The results of Study 2 built on the qualitative results and suggested that when one mostly relies on disengagement coping in response to intensely felt intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, there can be associated negative outcomes such as higher levels of stress. This finding is consonant with other coping research on disengagement strategies in the interracial microaggressions literature (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Scott & House, 2005; West et al., 2010).

Coping is a particularly fruitful area of study for microaggressions as new coping strategies can be taught, either through socialization with parents or social workers or counselors. Engagement strategies have been found to be the most effective way of mitigating negative outcomes (Scott & House, 2005; West et al., 2010). Further studies should investigate specifically what types of coping are most effective, whether it is garnering social support via “counter-spaces” or coalitions (McCabe, 2009) or “approach coping” where the initiator is confronted (Scott & House, 2005; West et al., 2010), or using education and activism to spur social change and retain agency in disempowering situations. Based on this research (Study 1), potential areas of engagement support could include social support from other Asians. Furthermore, participants also identified other Korean American ITAPs as sources of understanding, validation, and empathy. With engagement coping, it is possible that an individual may possess the tools to empower oneself and maintain a sense of control during difficult interchanges.

In considering these two studies together, this area of research is necessary and important, not simply for adoptees, Koreans, or Asians, but for diverse and multifaceted groups of marginalized individuals who intersect with differing racial, ethnic, and

cultural socialization, competing cultural narratives, and varying levels of privilege and oppression. As the world and this country continue to diversify, the way people are raised, their values and worldviews, their REC socialization, and their identities in complex communities can relate to their emotional, social, and psychological well being. As a field, psychology must address these issues by conducting research that pays respect to the depth and breadth of these evolving multicultural issues.

TABLES

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations for All Original Intensity Items on the IMC

<u>Item</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	1.52	1.11
2. Assume that my parents are the same race/ethnicity as I am	2.10	1.24
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way	.99	1.13
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	1.28	1.22
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	1.72	1.36
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	2.28	1.25
7. Believe that my career choice is based on cultural pressures	.60	.93
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	1.49	1.26
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	1.97	1.39
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my wishes	1.03	1.14
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	1.20	1.32
12. Have asked/suggested that I am an ethnicity different from Korean	1.64	1.38
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	.98	1.38
14. Discover that I'm adopted and ask intrusive personal questions	1.77	1.36
15. Felt that I am expected to be aware of Korean customs/traditions	1.73	1.24
16. Have been pressured to date/form friendships within my racial/ethnic group	.84	1.04
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	2.62	1.25
18. Avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me	1.72	1.37
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences because of my adoption	2.18	1.23
20. Felt that I am not "Korean enough" or "Asian enough"	2.37	1.39
21. Felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace	1.27	1.33

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for All Original Frequency Items on the IMC

<u>Item</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	1.79	1.02
2. Assume that my parents are the same race/ethnicity as I am	2.51	.80
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way	1.08	.96
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	1.52	1.03
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	1.92	1.08
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	2.39	.78
7. Believe that my career choice is based on cultural pressures	.74	.90
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	1.64	.98
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	1.70	1.01
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my wishes	1.05	1.02
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	1.14	1.04
12. Have asked/suggested that I am an ethnicity different from Korean	1.91	1.07
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	.92	1.09
14. Discover that I'm adopted and ask intrusive personal questions	1.69	1.04
15. Felt that I am expected to be aware of Korean customs/traditions	1.81	.89
16. Been pressured to date or form friendships within my racial/ethnic group	.91	.98
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	2.41	.82
18. Avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me	1.49	1.06
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences because of my adoption	2.16	.90
20. Felt that I am not "Korean enough" or "Asian enough"	2.05	1.00
21. Felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace	1.08	1.00

Table 3

Exploratory Factor Analysis Correlation Matrix for IMC with 21 Items

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	
1	1.0																					
2	.58	1.0																				
3	.47	.30	1.0																			
4	.58	.46	.56	1.0																		
5	.51	.57	.46	.53	1.0																	
6	.51	.57	.42	.54	.57	1.0																
7	.40	.32	.46	.44	.34	.31	1.0															
8	.54	.43	.53	.51	.46	.57	.49	1.0														
9	.37	.35	.51	.50	.36	.49	.38	.61	1.0													
10	.46	.37	.50	.50	.36	.44	.37	.69	.52	1.0												
11	.33	.37	.51	.49	.41	.44	.36	.54	.59	.50	1.0											
12	.23	.32	.40	.35	.33	.39	.21	.35	.45	.43	.44	1.0										
13	.35	.26	.50	.50	.35	.39	.35	.36	.55	.44	.54	.48	1.0									
14	.45	.43	.50	.50	.51	.42	.35	.49	.58	.45	.52	.50	.57	1.0								
15	.38	.32	.47	.42	.40	.50	.33	.51	.49	.51	.49	.49	.47	.48	1.0							
16	.40	.32	.58	.50	.35	.37	.49	.42	.43	.54	.56	.44	.56	.46	.56	1.0						
17	.37	.31	.36	.35	.42	.38	.30	.36	.52	.33	.44	.39	.37	.48	.60	.38	1.0					
18	.23	.18	.25	.19	.25	.25	.16	.26	.30	.24	.28	.29	.19	.29	.47	.19	.53	1.0				
19	.23	.13	.23	.25	.21	.27	.19	.24	.34	.24	.31	.30	.26	.25	.49	.29	.65	.56	1.0			
20	.32	.23	.42	.39	.30	.30	.24	.35	.46	.31	.45	.39	.39	.36	.58	.40	.76	.58	.67	1.0		
21	.34	.23	.49	.39	.37	.27	.25	.33	.42	.39	.43	.32	.43	.35	.51	.41	.54	.50	.63	.66	1.0	

Table 4

Values for the Determinant, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, and the KMO for the IMC with

21 Items

<u>Test</u>	<u>Value</u>
Determinant	2.44E-006
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	$\chi^2 = 1953.82^*$
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy	.92

*Significant at <.001 level

Table 5

Eigenvalues for the Initial EFA PAF Extraction for a 5 Factor Solution

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Initial Eigenvalues</u>			<u>Extraction of Sums of Squared Loadings</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Variance</u>	<u>Cumulative %</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Variance</u>	<u>Cumulative %</u>
1	9.34	44.48	44.48	8.96	42.65	42.65
2	2.17	10.33	54.81	1.82	8.65	51.30
3	1.28	6.10	60.91	.87	4.16	55.46
4	.94	4.48	65.39	.60	2.86	58.32
5	.83	3.95	69.34	.47	2.22	60.54

Table 6

Communalities for the Final Version of the IMC

<u>Item</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Extraction</u>
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	.48	.40
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way	.55	.53
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	.57	.56
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	.53	.41
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	.53	.45
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	.66	.57
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	.61	.54
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian despite my own wishes	.58	.51
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	.54	.51
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	.53	.44
14. Discover that I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions	.56	.50
16. Been pressured to date/form friendships within my racial/ethnic group	.53	.46
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	.71	.68
18. Avoided environments in which people are the same race/ethnicity as me	.44	.45
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences	.61	.67

20. Felt that I am not “Korean enough” or “Asian enough”	.73	.78
21. Felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace	.61	.57

Table 7

Final Oblimin Rotated Pattern Matrix with Factor Loadings

<u>Item</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	.80	-.08
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	.78	-.06
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my own wishes	.74	-.06
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way	.72	.02
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	.69	-.03
14. Discover that I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions	.68	.05
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	.65	-.02
16. Have been pressured to date/form relationships within my racial/ethnic group	.65	.05
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	.65	.15
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	.65	.12
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	.63	.01
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	.63	.06
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences	-.12	.88
20. Felt that I am not "Korean enough" or "Asian enough"	.06	.85
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	.16	.73

18. Avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me	-03	.69
21. Felt unable to freely explore my race/ethnic identity at my own pace	.19	.63

Table 8

Final Oblimin Rotated Structure Matrix with Factor Loadings

<u>Item</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	.75	.37
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	.75	.37
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	.73	.51
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress/look a certain way	.73	.42
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my own wishes	.71	.35
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	.71	.47
14. Discover that I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions	.71	.43
16. Been pressured to date/form friendships within my racial/ethnic group	.67	.41
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	.67	.35
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	.66	.41
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	.64	.36
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	.64	.34
20. Felt that I am not “Korean enough” or “Asian enough”	.53	.88
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians’ experiences	.37	.82
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	.56	.81

21. Felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace	.54	.74
18. Avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me	.34	.67

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics for the Final Entire IMC Scale, External Subscale, and Internal

Subscale

<u>Scale</u>	<u># of Items</u>	<u>M (SD)</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Standardized M (SD)</u>	<u>Skewness (Standard Scores)</u>	<u>Kurtosis (Standard Scores)</u>	<u>Cronbach's α</u>
IMC	17	27.56 (14.57)	63.00	.00 (1.00)	.23	-.65	.92
External	12	17.23 (10.86)	46.00	.00 (1.00)	.34	-.76	.91
Internal	5	10.34 (5.42)	20.00	.00 (1.00)	.07	-.88	.88

Table 10

Principal Components Analysis Correlation Matrix for External IMC Subscale with 12 Items

	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>
1	1.0											
3	.44	1.0										
4	.58	.53	1.0									
5	.51	.44	.55	1.0								
6	.52	.41	.55	.58	1.0							
8	.52	.52	.52	.47	.58	1.0						
9	.37	.51	.51	.36	.50	.62	1.0					
10	.45	.50	.50	.37	.44	.69	.52	1.0				
11	.32	.51	.47	.40	.43	.52	.59	.50	1.0			
13	.33	.51	.48	.34	.38	.35	.54	.43	.55	1.0		
14	.43	.51	.48	.50	.41	.48	.58	.45	.52	.58	1.0	
16	.38	.59	.48	.34	.36	.41	.43	.53	.56	.56	.47	1.0

Table 11

Communalities for the Final Version of the External IMC Subscale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Extraction</u>
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	1.0	.45
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way	1.0	.56
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	1.0	.59
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	1.0	.45
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	1.0	.50
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	1.0	.60
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	1.0	.57
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my own wishes	1.0	.55
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	1.0	.54
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	1.0	.48
14. Discover that I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions	1.0	.54
16. Have been pressured to date or form friendships within my racial/ethnic group	1.0	.50

Table 12

Component Matrix for Principal Components Analysis Final External IMC Subscale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Component 1</u>
8. Feel the need to teach me about Korean culture	.77
4. Assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do	.77
9. Have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted	.76
3. Have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way	.75
10. Have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my own wishes	.74
14. Discover that I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions about my experiences	.74
11. Assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity	.73
6. Assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language	.71
16. Have been pressured to date or form friendships within my racial/ethnic group	.70
13. Make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like	.69
5. Make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name	.67
1. Assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values	.67

Table 13

Principal Components Analysis Correlation Matrix for Internal IMC Subscale with 5 Items

	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>
17	1.0				
18	.52	1.0			
19	.66	.55	1.0		
20	.76	.58	.68	1.0	
21	.54	.51	.63	.66	1.0

Table 14

Communalities for the Final Version of the Internal IMC Subscale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Extraction</u>
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	1.0	.72
18. Avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me	1.0	.56
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences	1.0	.73
20. Felt that I am not "Korean enough" or "Asian enough"	1.0	.80
21. Felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace	1.0	.64

Table 15

Component Matrix for Principal Components Analysis Final Internal IMC Subscale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Component 1</u>
20. Felt that I am not “Korean enough” or “Asian enough”	.90
19. Felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians’ experiences	.85
17. Felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity	.85
21. Felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace	.80
18. Avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me	.75

Table 16

Results from Simple Regression Analyses for the Main Effect of Intraethnic Microaggressions and Psychological and Emotion Outcomes

IV	DV	Unstandardized Coefficient		Standardized Coefficient	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²	95% CI for B	
		<i>b</i>	SE	β				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Int	Dep	.16	.06	.21	2.90	.01**	.04	.04	.28
Ext	Dep	.01	.03	.03	.41	.69	.00	-.05	.08
Int	Anx	.18	.05	.30	3.74	<.001***	.09	.09	.28
Ext	Anx	.03	.03	.11	1.33	.19	.01	-.02	.08
Int	Str	.27	.07	.31	3.91	<.001***	.10	.13	.40
Ext	Str	.05	.03	.12	1.47	.14	.02	-.02	.12
Int	Genneg	.24	.09	.23	2.79	.01**	.05	.07	.42
Ext	Genneg	.13	.04	.25	3.08	.002***	.06	.05	.21
Int	PosAd	-.92	.17	-.40	-5.25	<.001***	.16	-1.26	-.57
Ext	PosAd	-.30	.09	-.27	-3.38	.001***	.07	-.48	-.13
Int	NegAd	.26	.07	.31	3.87	<.001***	.09	.13	.39
Ext	NegAd	.08	.03	.19	2.34	.02*	.04	.01	.15

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; SE, standard error; β , standardized coefficient; *t*, *t* statistic for entire equation; *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; dep, depressive symptoms; anx, anxiety symptoms; str, stress symptoms; genneg, general negative affect; posad, positive affect about adoption; negad, negative feelings about adoption. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction).

Table 17

External and Internal Intraethnic/Intraethnic Microaggressions Respective Correlations with Depressive Symptoms, Anxiety Symptoms, Stress Symptoms, Participant Age, Engagement Coping, Disengagement Coping, Ethnic Identity, Stigma Consciousness, Parental REC Socialization, and Level of Interaction with Other Asians

	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>1</u>	160	17.23	10.86	1												
<u>2</u>	160	10.34	5.42	.56**	1											
<u>3</u>	150	3.85	4.07	.03	.21*	1										
<u>4</u>	145	3.19	3.24	.11	.30**	.71**	1									
<u>5</u>	146	5.88	4.54	.12	.31**	.76**	.75**	1								
<u>6</u>	146	15.41	5.67	.25**	.23**	.60**	.65**	.66**	1							
<u>7</u>	146	39.52	12.24	-.27**	-.40**	-.37**	-.27**	-.33**	-.24**	1						
<u>8</u>	146	12.30	4.43	.19*	.31**	.30**	.21*	.23**	.19*	-.65**	1					
<u>9</u>	146	32.56	8.69	.24**	.02	-.10	-.09	-.03	-.03	-.23**	.08	1				
<u>10</u>	146	44.64	12.24	.39**	.13	-.09	.10	.04	.04	.15	-.18*	.12	1			
<u>11</u>	146	35.95	10.33	.36**	.52**	.46**	.37**	.46**	.34**	-.43**	.37**	-.05	.18*	1		
<u>12</u>	146	20.73	6.23	.33**	-.07	.02	.03	.01	.14	-.01	.03	.06	.29**	-.07	1	
<u>13</u>	146	25.75	8.44	.39**	.37**	.32**	.29**	.44**	.34**	-.30**	.46**	.03	.19*	.40**	.21*	1
<u>14</u>	146	14.12	5.96	-.07	-.16	-.01	-.07	-.05	-.01	.43**	-.27**	-.26**	.02	-.17*	.15	-.14
<u>15</u>	146	3.75	1.12	.23**	-.004	-.11	-.10	-.08	.08	.10	-.13	-.09	.26**	-.14	.41**	.05

Note: n, Sample size; *M*, Mean for variable; *SD*, Standard deviation for variable; 1, External IMAs; 2, Internal IMAs; 3, Depressive symptoms; 4, Anxiety symptoms; 5, Stress symptoms; 6, General negative affect; 7, Positive affect about adoption; 8, Negative feelings about adoption; 9, Participant age; 10, Engagement coping; 11, Disengagement coping; 12, Ethnic identity; 13, Stigma consciousness; 14, Parental REC socialization; 15, Level of interaction with other Asians; * Correlation significant at the .05 level; ** Correlation significant at the .01 level.

Table 18

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Direct Effect of Internal and External Microaggression's Respective Prediction of Depressive Symptoms Controlling for Moderating Variables

IV	Direct Main Effect			Moderator	Direct Main Effect, Controlling for Moderators			<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
	Unstandardized		Standardized		Unstandardized		Standardized			
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient		Coefficient	SE	Coefficient			
	<i>b</i>		β		<i>b</i>	SE	β			
Int	.17**	.06	.23	Age	-.05	.04	-.10	6.72	.01	.04
Ext	.02	.03	.06	Age	-.05	.04	-.12	.93	.40	.01
Int	.17**	.06	.23	Eng	-.04	.03	-.13	4.46	.01	.06
Ext	.03	.03	.08	Eng	-.04	.03	-.12	.91	.41	.01
Int	.01	.07	.02	Dis	.16***	.04	.40	14.38	<.001	.17
Ext	-.05	.03	-.13	Dis	.18***	.03	.45	15.23	<.001	.18
Int	.15*	.06	.19	Eth	.02	.06	.03	2.77	.07	.04
Ext	.00	.03	.00	Eth	.01	.06	.01	.01	.99	.00
Int	.08	.07	.10	Sti	.15***	.04	.30	9.91	<.001	.12
Ext	-.04	.03	-.11	Sti	.18***	.04	.37	9.36	<.001	.12
Int	.16**	.06	.21	Rec	.03	.06	.05	3.16	.05	.04
Ext	.01	.03	.01	Rec	.00	.06	.01	.01	.99	.00
Int	.18**	.06	.24	Lev	-.39	.29	-.11	5.16	.01	.06
Ext	.03	.03	.08	Lev	-.48	.31	-.14	1.42	.24	.02

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; SE, standard error; β , standardized coefficient; *F*, *F* statistic for entire equation (IV+mod); *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; Eng, Engagement coping; Dis, Disengagement coping; Eth, Ethnic identity; Sti, Stigma consciousness; Rec, Parental REC socialization; Lev, Level of interaction with other Asians. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction).

Table 19

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Direct Effect of Internal and External Microaggression's Respective Prediction of Anxiety Symptoms Controlling for Moderating Variables

IV	Direct Main Effect			Moderator	Direct Main Effect, Controlling for Moderators			<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
	Unstandardized		Standardized		Unstandardized		Standardized			
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient		Coefficient	SE	Coefficient			
	<i>b</i>		β		<i>b</i>		β			
Int	.18***	.05	.23	Age	-.04	.03	-.10	7.50	.001	.10
Ext	.04	.03	.13	Age	-.05	.03	-.13	1.73	.18	.03
Int	.18***	.05	.29	Eng	.02	.02	.06	7.22	.001	.09
Ext	.03	.03	.09	Eng	.09	.03	.06	1.14	.32	.02
Int	.09	.06	.15	Dis	.10***	.03	.30	13.09	<.001	.16
Ext	-.01	.03	-.03	Dis	.12***	.03	.38	11.08	<.001	.13
Int	.17***	.05	.28	Eth	.03	.04	.06	6.11	.003	.08
Ext	.02	.03	.07	Eth	.00	.05	.00	.33	.72	.01
Int	.13*	.05	.21	Sti	.09**	.03	.23	11.09	<.001	.13
Ext	.00	.03	-.01	Sti	.11***	.03	.29	6.64	.002	.08
Int	.17***	.05	.28	Rec	.00	.04	.01	6.13	.003	.08
Ext	.02	.03	.07	Rec	-.03	.05	-.05	.54	.58	.01
Int	.21***	.05	.36	Lev	-.23	.22	-.08	10.85	<.001	.13
Ext	.05	.02	.18	Lev	-.38	.24	-.14	2.92	.06	.04

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; SE, standard error; β ; standardized coefficient; *F*, *F* statistic for entire equation (IV+mod); *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; Eng, Engagement coping; Dis, Disengagement coping; Eth, Ethnic identity; Sti, Stigma consciousness; Rec, Parental REC socialization; Lev, Level of interaction with other Asians. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction).

Table 20

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Direct Effect of Internal and External Microaggression's Respective Prediction of Stress Symptoms Controlling for Moderating Variables

IV	Direct Main Effect			Moderator	Direct Main Effect, Controlling for Moderators			<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
	Unstandardized	Standardized	Moderator		Unstandardized	Standardized	Moderator			
	Coefficient	Coefficient			Coefficient	Coefficient				
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>β</i>				
Int	.28***	.07	.32	Age	-.02	.04	-.04	7.97	.001	.11
Ext	.06	.04	.13	Age	-.04	.05	-.07	1.31	.27	.02
Int	.27***	.07	.31	Eng	.00	.03	.00	7.59	.001	.10
Ext	.05	.04	.12	Eng	.00	.03	.00	1.07	.34	.02
Int+	.01	.07	.02	Dis+	.16***	.04	.41	15.54	<.001	.17
Ext	-.02	.03	-.04	Dis	.21***	.04	.46	17.66	<.001	.20
Int	.25***	.07	.30	Eth	.03	.06	.04	6.74	.002	.09
Ext	.03	.04	.08	Eth	-.01	.06	-.01	.43	.66	.01
Int	.15*	.07	.17	Sti	.20***	.04	.37	19.59	<.001	.21
Ext	-.03	.03	-.06	Sti	.25***	.04	.46	17.58	<.001	.20
Int	.25***	.07	.30	Rec	.01	.06	.02	6.73	.002	.09
Ext	.03	.04	.08	Rec	-.02	.06	-.02	.49	.61	.01
Int	.29***	.07	.34	Lev	-.35	.43	-.09	9.98	<.001	.12
Ext	.07*	.04	.17	Lev	-.46	.34	-.12	2.44	.09	.03

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; *SE*, standard error; *β*; standardized coefficient; *F*, *F* statistic for entire equation (IV+mod); *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; Eng, Engagement coping; Dis, Disengagement coping; Eth, Ethnic identity; Sti, Stigma consciousness; Rec, Parental REC socialization; Lev, Level of interaction with other Asians. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction); + interaction between variables significant at *p* <.05.

Table 21

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Direct Effect of Internal and External Microaggression's Respective Prediction of General Negative Affect Controlling for Moderating Variables

IV	Direct Main Effect			Moderator	Direct Main Effect, Controlling for Moderators			<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
	Unstandardized		Standardized		Unstandardized		Standardized			
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient		Coefficient	SE	Coefficient			
Int	.25**	.09	.24	Age	-.02	.05	-.04	4.24	.02	.06
Ext	.13*	.04	.24	Age	-.06	.06	-.09	4.08	.02	.06
Int	.24**	.09	.22	Eng	.01	.04	.01	3.86	.02	.05
Ext	.15	.05	.27	Eng	-.03	.04	-.07	5.01	.01	.07
Int	.05	.10	.05	Dis	.20***	.05	.35	12.08	<.001	.14
Ext	.07	.04	.13	Dis	.19***	.05	.33	13.25	<.001	.16
Int	.26***	.08	.24	Eth	.14	.08	.16	6.22	.003	.08
Ext	.11*	.05	.21	Eth	.08	.08	.08	4.62	.01	.06
Int	.12	.09	.11	Sti	.21***	.06	.31	10.85	<.001	.13
Ext	.07	.05	.13	Sti	.20***	.06	.30	11.07	<.001	.13
Int	.24**	.09	.22	Rec	.03	.08	.04	3.53	.03	.05
Ext	.12**	.04	.23	Rec	.01	.08	.01	3.98	.02	.05
Int	.28***	.08	.43	Lev	.43	.40	.09	6.04	.003	.08
Ext	.14***	.04	.28	Lev	.09	.41	.02	6.27	.002	.08

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; SE, standard error; β , standardized coefficient; *F*, *F* statistic for entire equation (IV+mod); *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; Eng, Engagement coping; Dis, Disengagement coping; Eth, Ethnic identity; Sti, Stigma consciousness; Rec, Parental REC socialization; Lev, Level of interaction with other Asians. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction).

Table 22

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Direct Effect of Internal and External Microaggression's Respective Prediction of Positive Affect about Adoption Controlling for Moderating Variables

IV	Direct Main Effect			Moderator	Direct Main Effect, Controlling for Moderators			<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
	Unstandardized Coefficient	SE	Standardized Coefficient		Unstandardized Coefficient	SE	Standardized Coefficient			
	<i>b</i>		β		<i>b</i>		β			
Int	-.85***	.17	-.38	Age	-.31**	.11	-.22	16.37	<.001	.19
Ext	-.25**	.09	-.23	Age	-.23	.12	-.17	7.50	.001	.10
Int	-.97***	.17	-.43	Eng	.21**	.08	.20	17.91	<.001	.20
Ext	-.43***	.09	-.38	Eng	.29***	.09	.29	11.98	<.001	.14
Int	-.65***	.20	-.28	Dis	-.28**	.11	-.23	18.26	<.001	.20
Ext	-.16	.09	-.15	Dis	-.38***	.10	-.32	13.48	<.001	.16
Int	-.88***	.18	-.38	Eth	-.06	.15	-.03	11.99	<.001	.14
Ext	-.31***	.10	-.28	Eth	.19	.17	.10	5.18	.01	.07
Int	-.77***	.19	-.34	Sti	-.25*	.12	-.17	16.26	<.001	.18
Ext	-.21*	.10	-.18	Sti	-.31**	.12	-.22	9.23	<.001	.11
Int	-.77***	.16	-.34	Rec	.76***	.15	.37	28.88	<.001	.29
Ext	-.27***	.08	-.24	Rec	.84***	.15	.41	22.15	<.001	.24
Int	-.90***	.18	-.39	Lev	1.14	.10	.10	14.07	<.001	.17
Ext	-.34***	.09	-.30	Lev	1.87*	.88	.17	7.72	.001	.10

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; SE, standard error; β , standardized coefficient; *F*, *F* statistic for entire equation (IV+mod); *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; Eng, Engagement coping; Dis, Disengagement coping; Eth, Ethnic identity; Sti, Stigma consciousness; Rec, Parental REC socialization; Lev, Level of interaction with other Asians. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction).

Table 23

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Direct Effect of Internal and External Microaggression's Respective Prediction of Negative Feelings about Adoption Controlling for Moderating Variables

IV	Direct Main Effect			Moderator	Direct Main Effect, Controlling for Moderators			<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient			Unstandardized Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient				
	<i>b</i>	SE	β		<i>b</i>	SE	β			
Int	.23***	.07	.28	Age	.04	.04	.07	6.19	.003	.08
Ext	.07*	.04	.17	Age	.02	.04	.04	2.48	.09	.04
Int	.28***	.07	.33	Eng	-.08**	.03	-.22	11.65	<.001	.14
Ext	.13***	.04	.31	Eng	-.11***	.03	-.30	9.09	<.001	.11
Int	.16*	.08	.20	Dis	.11**	.04	.25	12.61	<.001	.15
Ext	.04	.03	.09	Dis	.14***	.04	.32	11.11	<.001	.14
Int	.24***	.07	.29	Eth	.03	.06	.05	6.27	.002	.08
Ext	.07	.04	.17	Eth	-.03	.06	-.04	1.78	.17	.02
Int	.13*	.06	.16	Sti	.22***	.04	.41	22.11	<.001	.24
Ext	.01	.03	.01	Sti	.24***	.04	.45	19.25	<.001	.21
Int	.22***	.07	.26	Rec	-.16**	.06	-.22	10.86	<.001	.13
Ext	.06	.03	.15	Rec	-.19***	.06	-.25	6.95	.001	.09
Int	.25***	.06	.30	Lev	-.53	.32	-.13	8.76	<.001	.11
Ext	.10**	.03	.24	Lev	-.77*	.33	-.19	5.46	.01	.07

Note: *b*, unstandardized regression coefficient; SE, standard error; β ; standardized coefficient; *F*, *F* statistic for entire equation (IV+mod); *p*, significance level for entire equation; *R*², variance for entire equation; Eng, Engagement coping; Dis, Disengagement coping; Eth, Ethnic identity; Sti, Stigma consciousness; Rec, Parental REC socialization; Lev, Level of interaction with other Asians. **p* <.05, ***p* <.01, ****p* <.004 (Bonferroni correction).

FIGURES

Figure 1

Conceptual Figure for Moderator Variables

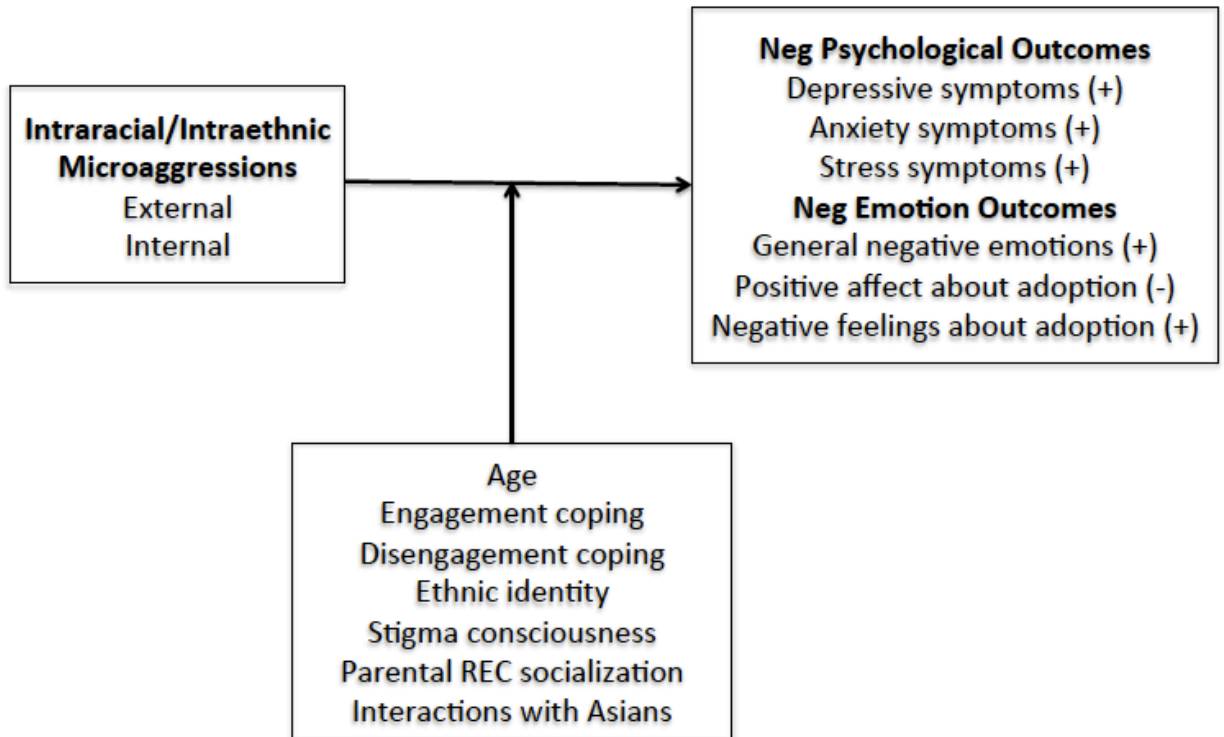


Figure 2

Figure with Data Analysis Relationships for Moderator Variables

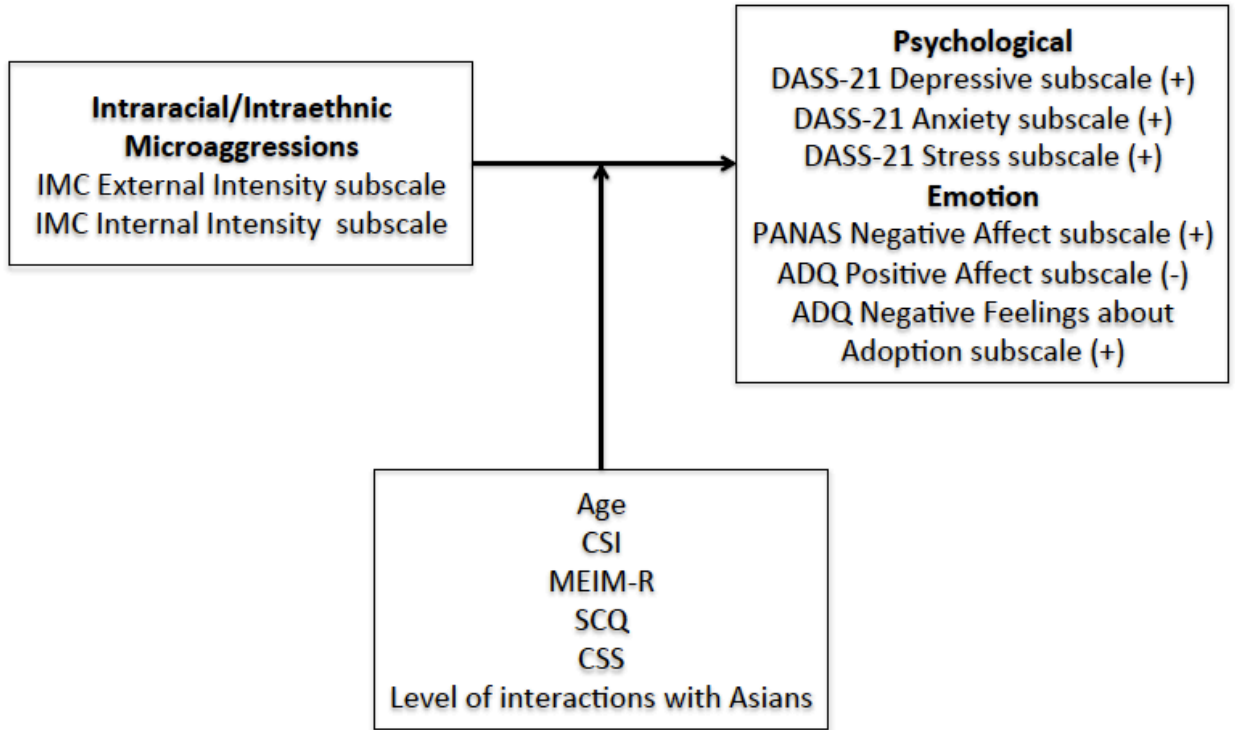


Figure 3

Conceptual Map of Study 1 Intraracial and Intraethnic Themes and Subthemes

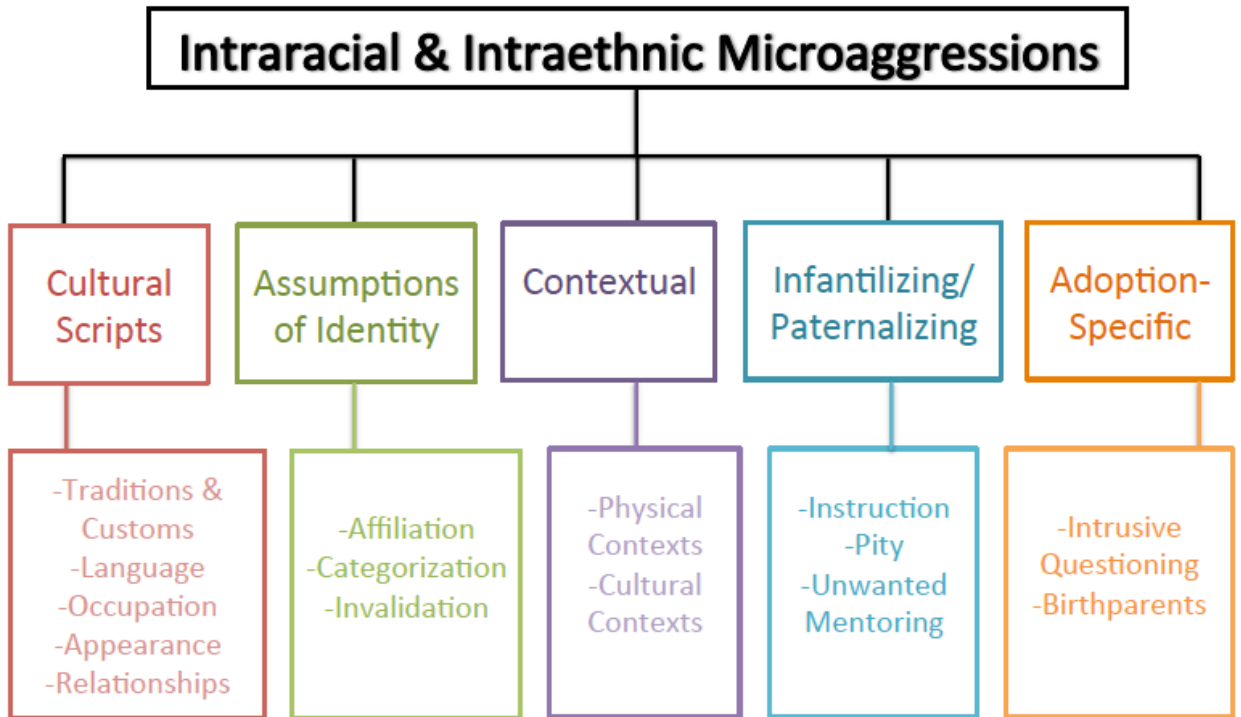


Figure 4

Scree Plot for the Initial Exploratory Factor Analysis Using Principal Axis Factoring

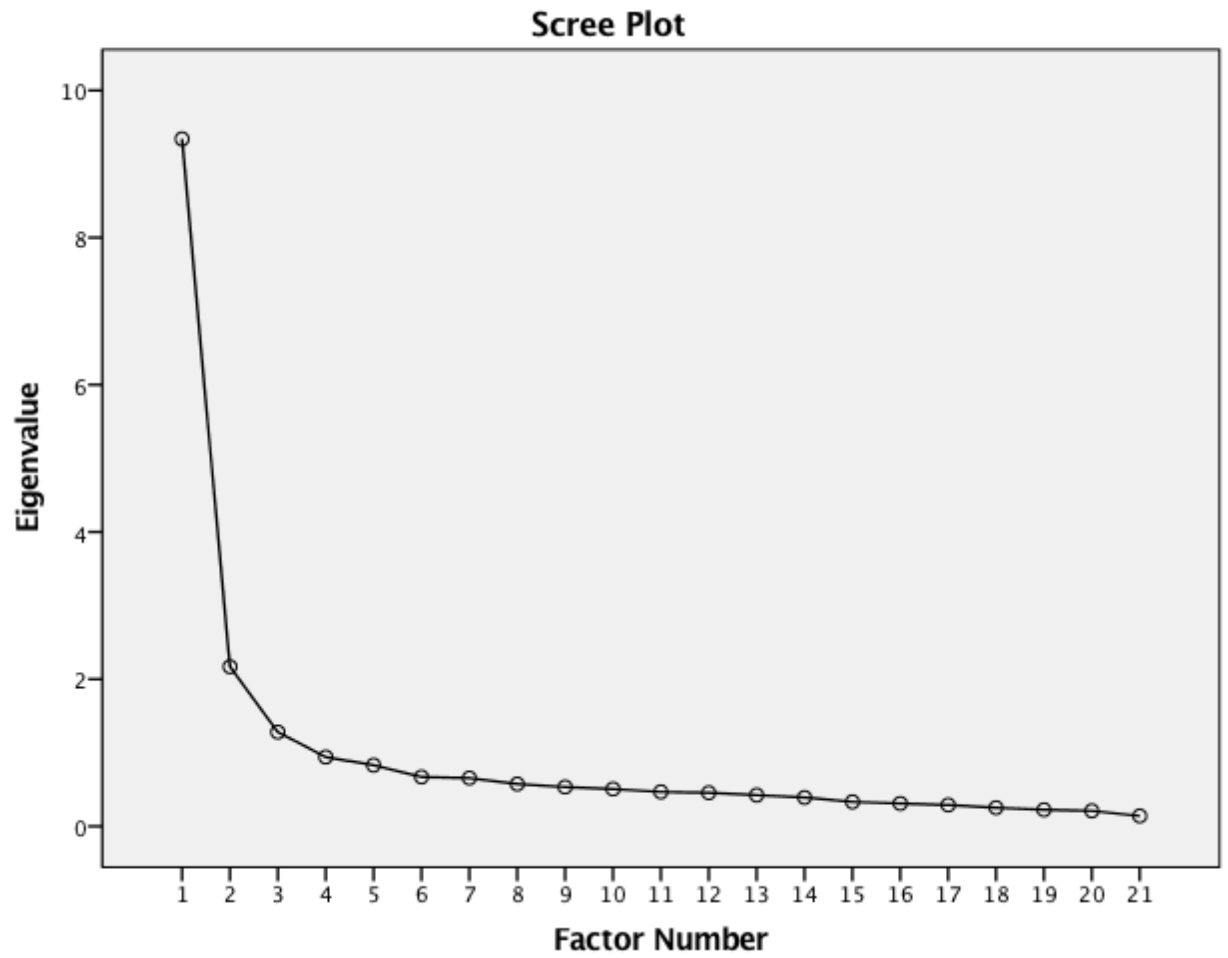


Figure 5

Scree Plot for the External IMC Subscale Using Principal Components Analysis

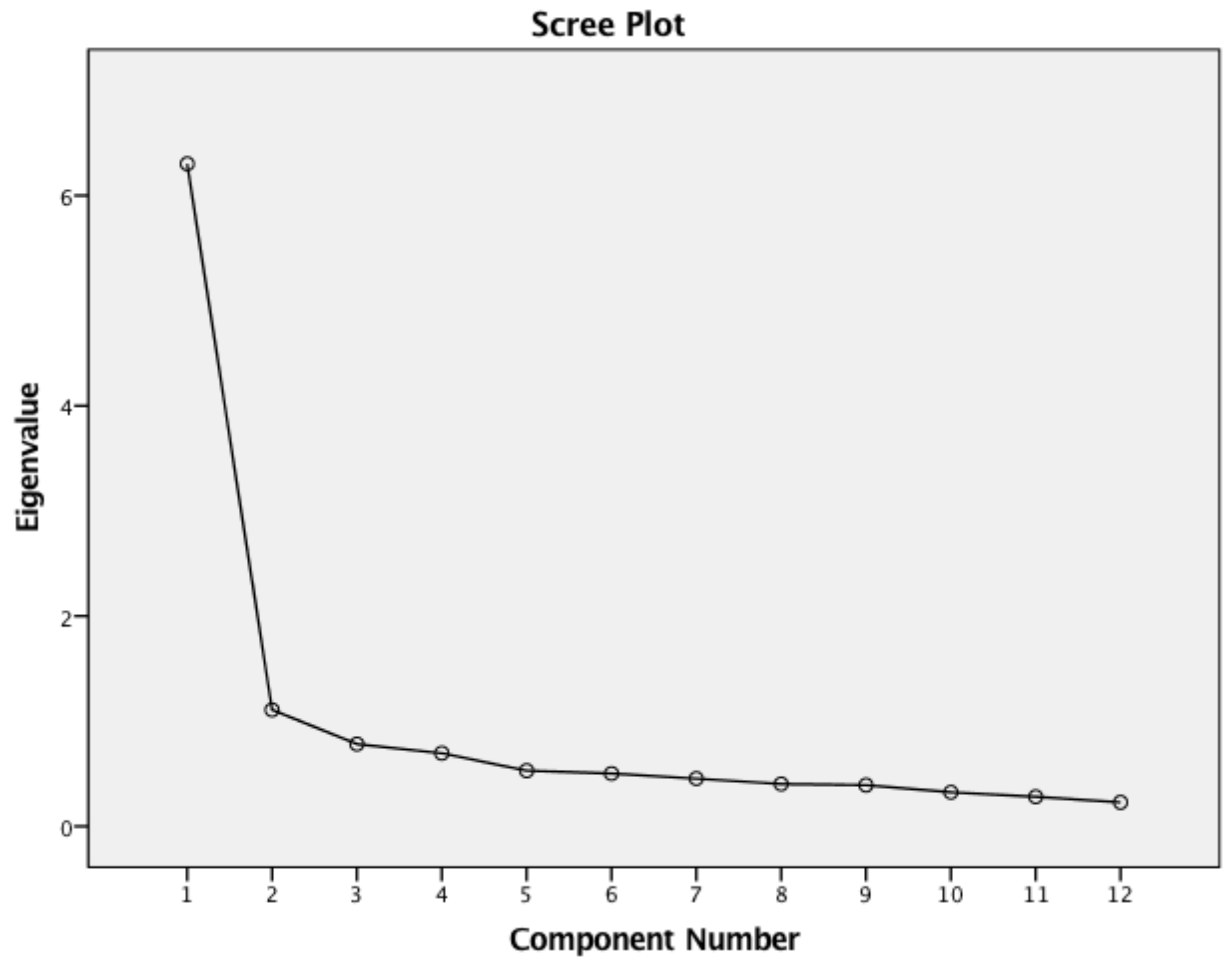


Figure 6

Scree Plot for the Internal IMC Subscale Using Principal Components Analysis

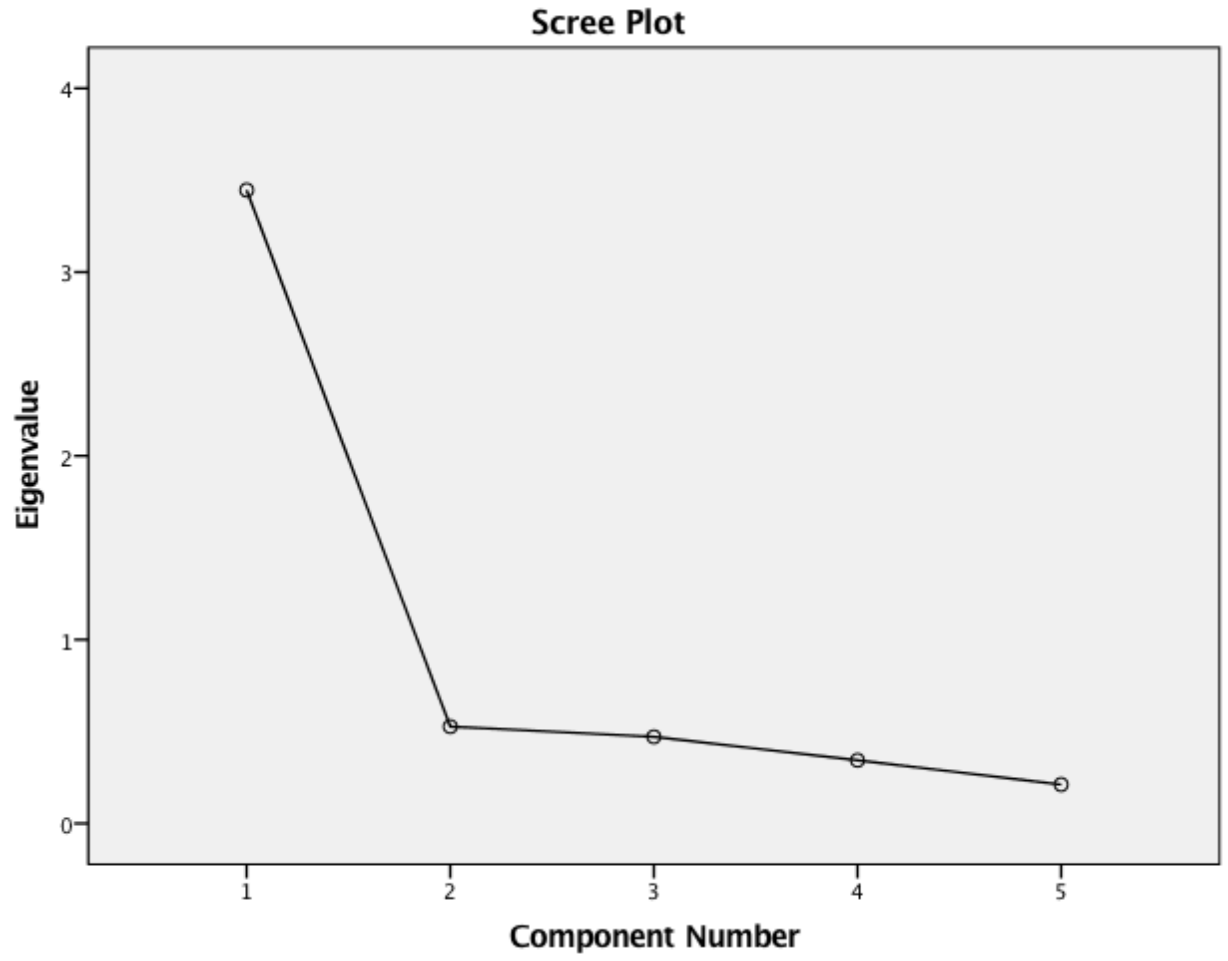
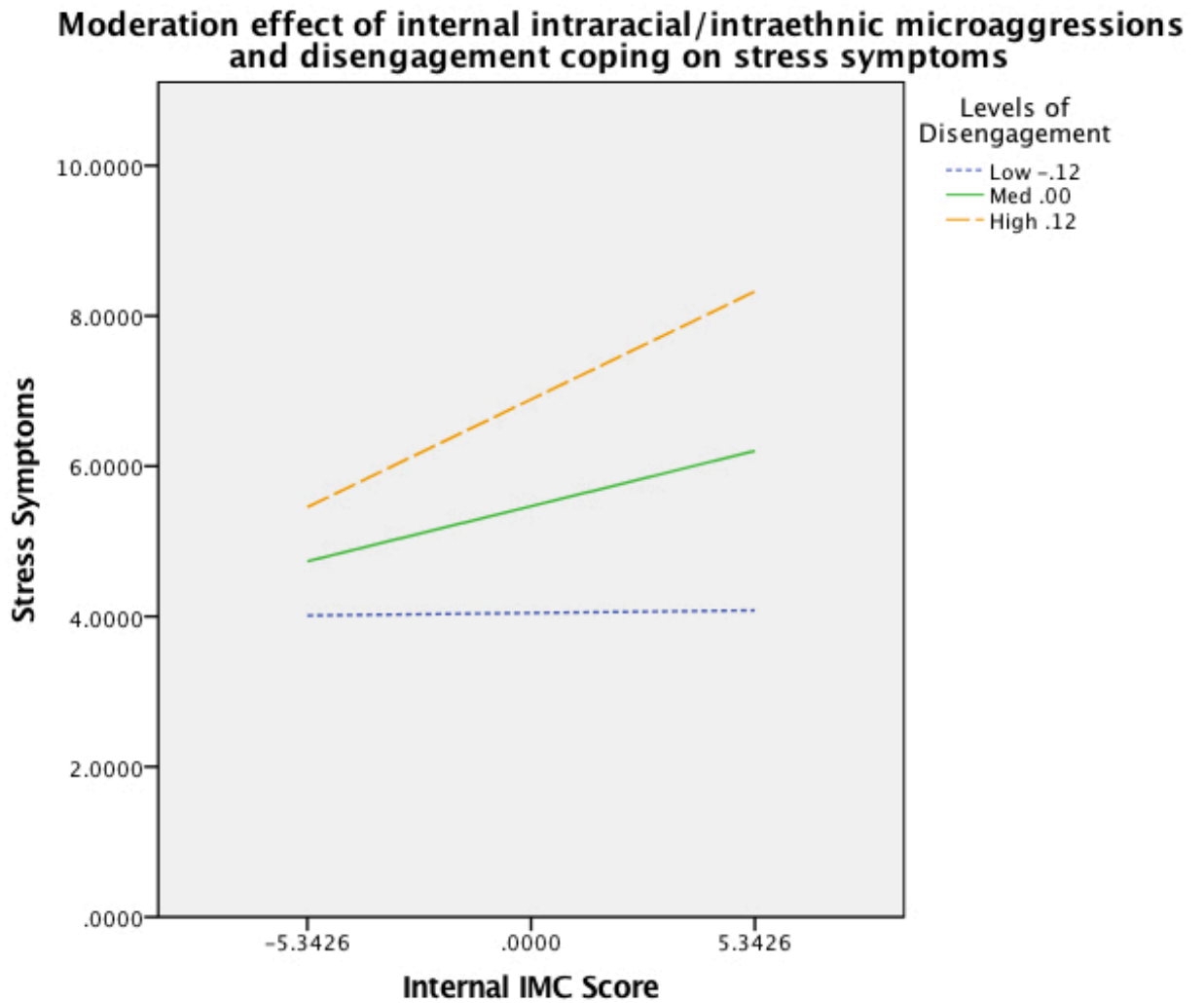


Figure 7

Moderation Effect of Internal Intraethnic Microaggressions and Disengagement Coping on Stress Symptoms



APPENDIX A

SCRIPT FOR FACILITATOR FOR FOCUS GROUP ON KOREAN AMERICAN ITAP INTRARACIAL/INTRAETHNIC MICROAGGRESSIONS

Adapted from Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007b

Hi, my name is Karin. Thank you for coming here today to participate in this focus group. The purpose of this group is to gain a better understanding of day-to-day discrimination and experiences of subtle prejudice. Today I am interested in hearing about your experiences of subtle acts of being discriminated against because of your race *by people of your same race/ethnicity*. These experiences may have occurred in any setting or at anytime in your life. I will be asking you some questions that I encourage you to answer to the best of your ability and I recognize that many of you will have unique experiences of being subtly discriminated against by those of your same race/ethnicity. There are no wrong answers.

I am going to give everyone a form now, which basically states that your participation in this group is entirely voluntary and that you may decline to participate and leave the group at any time. Please read this sheet carefully before signing it. It discusses potential risks to you as members of this group as well as the use of audiotaping during this session. I'd like to give everyone the opportunity to ask any questions they may have before we begin the group. *Question/Answer...*

Statement of Confidentiality

We will be audiotaping this session in an effort to maintain the integrity of your dialogue. However, your identities will not be revealed to anyone, and only the researchers will have access to this tape. This discussion is to be considered confidential,

and we would hope that you will all respect each other's rights to privacy by not repeating any portion of this discussion outside of this session.

Opening Question

At this time I would like for each of you to say your first initial, your occupation, and why you are interested in participating in this study.

General Question

Korean American adopted individuals often have experiences in which they are subtly, invalidated, discriminated against, and made to feel uncomfortable by others of the same race/ethnicity. In thinking about your daily experiences, could you describe a situation in which you witnessed or were personally subtly discriminated against by someone of your same race/ethnicity? About how long ago did this experience happen? How intense was the experience for you during the time? How intense is recalling the experience for you now? About how frequently would you say these experiences occur?

Interview Questions (if necessary)

- What are some subtle ways that people of the same race/ethnicity treat you differently?
- Describe a situation in which you felt uncomfortable, insulted, or disrespected by a comment made by someone of your same race/ethnicity.
- Think of some of the stereotypes that exist about Korean American adoptees. How have others of the same race/ethnicity subtly expressed their stereotypical beliefs about you?
- In what ways have others of the same race/ethnicity made you feel “put down” because of your cultural values or communication style?

- In what ways have people subtly expressed that your way of being Korean is “wrong”?
- In what subtle ways have others of the same race/ethnicity expressed that they think you’re a second-class citizen or inferior to them?
- How have people of your same race/ethnicity suggested that you do not belong?
- What have people of your same race/ethnicity done or said to invalidate your experiences of being discriminated against?

Transition Questions

- What are some of the ways that you dealt with these experiences?
- What do you think the overall impact of your experiences have been on your lives?

Ending Questions

- So today you shared several experiences of subtle discrimination. Some of you said...
- There were several themes that were consistent across many of your experiences. These themes include...
- Does that sound correct? If not, what themes might you add?

APPENDIX B

THEMATIC ANALYSIS ESSENTIAL METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS

Several necessary conceptual and epistemological decisions must be reasoned and explicitly stated when using thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) outline such relevant decisions in their paper on thematic analysis. My stance on these decisions is elucidated below.

The first decision to consider was determining what comprises a theme. Boyatzis (1998) described a “desirable” unit as one that has “parsimony” while also fulfilling the main purpose of the research. Braun and Clarke (2006) posited no specific rubric for quantitatively how many units must be present in order to comprise a “theme.” They precaution that researchers should use their own judgment in deciding if instances, subthemes, and themes capture the research objective, although they added the caveat that some conventions have considered themes to be present if the “majority” of the participants in a sample mention it; this was the main rubric in the current research for the majority of themes. However there were a minority of subthemes (such as *appearance* and *cultural contexts*) where there were qualitatively unique themes that recurred in a minority of the participants that emphasized an important idea from the data.

Another decision to be mindful of was the level of detail used in describing participants’ experiences. One major way of doing this is to analyze the data in a broader way that summarizes the sample as a whole, while the other option is to provide a more idiosyncratic and intricate view of one or a few themes in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the case of the phenomenon of interest, because there is not a large literature on intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions yet, providing a description of the entire data set

seemed to be a judicious way of presenting the data. If only a few themes were analyzed in depth, then an entire set of experiences would be altogether omitted from this new budding literature, which could lead to a potentially more biased data set.

Many qualitative methods will use either inductive or deductive reasoning to analyze patterns. Inductive, or, “bottom up” methods require that researchers become familiarized with their data after reading through the dataset several times, and then begin a continual process of comparing themes that slowly arise and develop from the data set (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). With inductive reasoning, the theories are built more around the data as opposed to a theory or structure imposed by the researcher. Deductive reasoning, or, “top down” methods require using previous theories or findings in the literature to inform the theories in the current study (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). In this study, inductive reasoning was primarily used in order to thoroughly explore and investigate intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions. Using the data as the foundation for creating the typology was important because it guarded against automatically superimposing assumptions from other groups and their experiences with microaggressions onto this population that may be not a be appropriate, realistic, or accurate. Deductive reasoning was used in the study as well in informing hypotheses and research questions with past literature on interracial microaggressions. Deductive reasoning was also used after findings were obtained, so that themes and subthemes in the current study were compared to previous theoretical and empirical microaggressions literature for points of convergence and divergence. Thus, while themes were analyzed in their own right in the beginning stages of analysis, they were eventually compared to established theoretical frameworks later in the process.

The level of study at which themes should be studied is also a major decision (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes can be analyzed at a “semantic/manifest” or “latent” level. Boyatzis (1998) noted that both manifest and latent content can produce valuable insights, but both can also have ramifications of which the researcher must be cautious. Manifest content, or, themes identified from the participants and taken at face value may lead to an oversimplified version of the data. However, latent content, or themes that emerge from “underlying assumptions” may become overly complex and unwieldy and can divert from the original research objective (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). For this study, the manifest content was of primary concern because there is scant previous literature on intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions to inform hunches or “assumptions” about the latent content of the data. Furthermore, in terms of the main research objective, I was more interested in the perception that participants had about instances of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, and therefore felt it was more beneficial to err on the side of the manifest content for this particular study. Forming a more in-depth theory about the latent complexities of this phenomenon should be studied in the future, although with appropriate methods for supporting the data. While manifest data was the main lens in this study, both descriptive and interpretive methods were used to represent the data so that patterns of instances and themes could be analyzed, and larger implications could be drawn (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The last major procedural decision that must be considered is the “method” or viewpoint in which the researcher is operating (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis can be framed from within an essentialist, constructionist, or contextualist viewpoint (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For the purposes of this study, I chose a contextualist

method, leaning more towards the essentialist side of the spectrum. Braun and Clarke (2006) posit that essentialism and constructionism are polarized ideologies on a spectrum with contextualism more towards the middle as a method that integrates concepts from both extremes. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe an essentialist method in thematic analysis as summarizing the reality of participants' experiences, while a constructionist method is related to considering how meaning stemming from experiences are influenced by larger societal systems or more broad social issues. The contextualist method acknowledges aspects of both essentialism and constructionism. Contextualism takes into account "critical realism"- the idea that individuals actively originate and develop meaning based on their environment and their lived experiences. Contextualism hones in on the "limits of reality" although always within a "broader social context;" therefore, it recognizes that people perceive their own realities while also having to operate within their societies (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This particular method was appropriate for this study because it was important to emphasize ITAP's reported experiences with this understudied phenomenon of intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions, yet it was also imperative to reflect on how systems, parental REC socialization processes, worldviews, and ideology in society could permeate the meanings, reactions, and emotions that ITAPs had about race, ethnicity, culture, and adoption.

APPENDIX C

INSTRUMENTS

Depression Anxiety Stress Scale (DASS-21)

Adapted from Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995a

Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2, or 3 which indicates how much the statement applies to you right now. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:

0 = Did not apply to me at all – NEVER

1 = Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time – SOMETIMES

2 = Applied to me a considerable degree, or a good part of time – OFTEN

3 = Applied to me very much, or most of the time – ALMOST ALWAYS

	N	S	O	AA
1. I am finding it hard to wind down	0	1	2	3
2. I am aware of dryness of my mouth	0	1	2	3
3. I can't seem to experience any positive feeling at all	0	1	2	3
4. I am experiencing breathing difficulty (e.g., excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)	0	1	2	3
5. I am finding it difficult to work up the initiative to do things	0	1	2	3
6. I am tending to over-react to situations	0	1	2	3
7. I am experiencing trembling (e.g., in the hands)	0	1	2	3
8. I feel that I am using a lot of nervous energy	0	1	2	3

9. I am worrying about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself	0	1	2	3
10. I feel that I have nothing to look forward to	0	1	2	3
11. I am finding myself getting agitated	0	1	2	3
12. I am finding it difficult to relax	0	1	2	3
13. I am feeling down-hearted and blue	0	1	2	3
14. I am feeling intolerant of anything that keeps me from getting on with what I need to do	0	1	2	3
15. I feel close to panic	0	1	2	3
16. I am unable to feel enthusiastic about anything	0	1	2	3
17. I feel I am not worth much as a person	0	1	2	3
18. I feel that I am rather touchy	0	1	2	3
19. I am aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (e.g., sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)	0	1	2	3
20. I feel scared without any good reason	0	1	2	3
21. I feel that life is meaningless	0	1	2	3

The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

Watson et al., 1988

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions.

Read each item and then list the number from the scale below next to each word. **Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment.**

1	2	3	4	5
Very slightly/ Not at all	A Little	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Extremely
_____ 1. Interested				_____ 11. Irritable
_____ 2. Distressed				_____ 12. Alert
_____ 3. Excited				_____ 13. Ashamed
_____ 4. Upset				_____ 14. Inspired
_____ 5. Strong				_____ 15. Nervous
_____ 6. Guilty				_____ 16. Determined
_____ 7. Scared				_____ 17. Attentive
_____ 8. Hostile				_____ 18. Jittery
_____ 9. Enthusiastic				_____ 19. Active
_____ 10. Proud				_____ 20. Afraid

Adoption Dynamics Questionnaire (ADQ)

Adapted from Benson, Sharma, & Roehlkepartain, 1994

Answer these questions according to how you feel right now, in this moment:

Positive Affect about Own Adoption Subscale

1. I'm glad my parent(s) adopted me.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

2. I like the fact that I'm adopted.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

3. I feel good that I'm adopted.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

4. Being adopted makes me feel loved.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

5. I feel proud that my parent(s) adopted me.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

6. Being adopted makes me feel special.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

7. Being adopted makes me feel angry. (Reverse coded)

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

In this moment, does the fact that you are adopted...?

8. Make any difference to you? (Reverse coded)

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

9. Make you feel good?

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

10. Make you feel sad? (Reverse coded)

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

11. Make you feel special?

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

12. Make you feel angry? (Reverse coded)

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

13. Make you feel confused about yourself? (Reverse coded)

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

14. Make you feel loved or wanted?

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

15. When you were in grades 6, 7, or 8 did you feel good about your family?

1	2	3
No	Not Sure	Yes

16. It hurts to know I was adopted. (Reverse coded)

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

Negative Experience with Own Adoption Subscale

1. I get teased about being adopted.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

2. I wish people did not know that I was adopted.

1	2	3	4	5
Not true	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Very true

3. I get tired of having to explain adoption to people.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

4. I find it easy to talk about adoption. (Reverse coded)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

5. I like to tell people I'm adopted. (Reverse coded)

1
Strongly
Disagree

2
Moderately
Disagree

3
Neither Agree
nor Disagree

4
Moderately
Agree

5
Strongly
Agree

Coping Strategies Inventory Short Form 32 (CSI)

Adapted from Tobin, 1985

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out the kinds of situations that trouble people in their day-to-day lives and how people deal with them.

Take a few moments and think about the situations that you just listed related to same race interactions. Take a few minutes to think about these events. As you read through the following items please answer them based on how you generally handle these events.

Please read each item below and determine the extent to which you used it in handling your chosen event.

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = A Little
- 3 = Somewhat
- 4 = Much
- 5 = Very Much

	Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Much	Very Much
1. I worked on solving the problems in the situations.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I looked for the silver lining, so to speak; I tried to look on the bright side of things.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I let out my feelings to reduce the stress.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I found somebody who was a good listener.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I went along as if nothing were happening.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I hoped a miracle would happen.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I realized that I was personally responsible for my difficulties and really lectured myself.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I spent more time alone.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I made a plan of action and followed it.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I looked at things in a different light and tried to make the best of what was available.	1	2	3	4	5

11. I let my feelings out somehow.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I talked to someone about how I was feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I tried to forget the whole thing.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I blamed myself.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I avoided my family and friends.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I tackled the problem head on.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I asked myself what was really important, and discovered that things weren't so bad after all.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I let my emotions out.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I talked to someone that I was very close to.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I didn't let it get to me; I refused to think about it too much.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I wished that the situation had never started.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I criticized myself for what happened.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I avoided being with people.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts and tried harder to make things work.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I convinced myself that things aren't quite as bad as they seem.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I got in touch with my feelings and just let them go.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I asked a friend or relative I respect for	1	2	3	4	5

advice.					
29. I avoided thinking or doing anything about the situation.	1	2	3	4	5
30. I hoped that if I waited long enough, things would turn out OK.	1	2	3	4	5
31. Since what happened was my fault I really chewed myself out.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I spent some time by myself.	1	2	3	4	5

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Revised (MEIM-R)

Phinney & Ong, 2007

The following questions ask you questions about your ethnic identity. Remember there are no right or wrong answers, just answer as accurately as possible. Use the scale below to answer the questions. If you strongly agree with the statement write down 5; if you strongly disagree write down 1. If the statement is more or less true of you, find the number between 1 and 5 that best describes you.

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neutral

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly Agree

- _____ 1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
- _____ 2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
- _____ 3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
- _____ 4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.
- _____ 5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.
- _____ 6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire

Adapted from Pinel, 1999

Please read and answer the following statements in correspondence with your agreement toward each item. Each items is answered on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Stereotypes about adoptees have affected me personally							
I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as a stereotypical adoptee							
When interacting with people who aren't adopted, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am an adoptee							
Most people who aren't adopted judge adoptees on the basis of their being adopted							
My being adopted influences how people who are not adopted act with me							

I almost never think about the fact that I am adopted when I interact with people who aren't adopted							
Most people who aren't adopted have a lot more prejudice against adoptees than they actually express							

Cultural Socialization Scale

Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013

Please answer the questions below related to your family's experiences with race and culture:

1 = Definitely False

2 = Probably False

3 = Probably True

4 = Definitely True

_____ 1. My parent(s) try to help me find out about my own racial group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

_____ 2. My parent(s) try to participate in cultural practices of my own racial group, like eating food, listening to music, or celebrating holidays/learning the language.

_____ 3. My parent(s) try to help me meet people from my own race so I can learn more about it.

_____ 4. My parent(s) try to find out about my own racial group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

_____ 5. My parent(s) try to meet people from my own race so they can learn more about it.

_____ 6. My parent(s) hardly ever encourage me to participate in cultural practices of my own racial group, like eating food, listening to music, or celebrating holidays/learning the language. (Reverse coded)

Coping Strategies Inventory Short Form 32 (CSI)

[Original Form]

Tobin, 1985

[For participants who did not report any intraracial/intraethnic microaggressions]

Take a few moments and think about an event or situation that has been very stressful for you during the last month. By stressful, I mean a situation that was troubling you, either because it made you feel bad or because it took effort to deal with it. As you read through the following items, please answer them based on how you generally handle these events.

Please read each item below and determine the extent to which you used it in handling your chosen event.

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = A Little
- 3 = Somewhat
- 4 = Much
- 5 = Very Much

	Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Much	Very Much
1. I worked on solving the problems in the situations.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I looked for the silver lining, so to speak; I tried to look on the bright side of things.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I let out my feelings to reduce the stress.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I found somebody who was a good listener.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I went along as if nothing were happening.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I hoped a miracle would happen.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I realized that I was personally responsible for my difficulties and really lectured myself.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I spent more time alone.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I made a plan of action and followed it.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I looked at things in a different light and	1	2	3	4	5

tried to make the best of what was available.					
11. I let my feelings out somehow.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I talked to someone about how I was feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I tried to forget the whole thing.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I blamed myself.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I avoided my family and friends.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I tackled the problem head on.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I asked myself what was really important, and discovered that things weren't so bad after all.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I let my emotions out.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I talked to someone that I was very close to.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I didn't let it get to me; I refused to think about it too much.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I wished that the situation had never started.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I criticized myself for what happened.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I avoided being with people.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts and tried harder to make things work.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I convinced myself that things aren't quite as bad as they seem.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I got in touch with my feelings and just let them go.	1	2	3	4	5

28. I asked a friend or relative I respect for advice.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I avoided thinking or doing anything about the situation.	1	2	3	4	5
30. I hoped that if I waited long enough, things would turn out OK.	1	2	3	4	5
31. Since what happened was my fault I really chewed myself out.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I spent some time by myself.	1	2	3	4	5

Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS)

Nadal, 2011

Think about your experiences with race. Please read each item and think of how many times this event has happened to you in the PAST SIX MONTHS.

0 = I did not experience this event.

1 = I experienced this event 1 time in the past six months.

2 = I experienced this event 2 times in the past six months.

3 = I experienced this event 3 times in the past six months.

4 = I experienced this event 4 times in the past six months.

5 = I experienced this event 5 or more times.

1. I was ignored at school or at work because of my race.
2. Someone's body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race.
3. Someone assumed that I spoke a language other than English.
4. I was told that I should not complain about race.
5. Someone assumed that I grew up in a particular neighborhood because of my race.
6. Someone avoided walking near me on the street because of my race.
7. Someone told me that she or he was colorblind.
8. Someone avoided sitting next to me in a public space (e.g., restaurants, movie theaters, subways, buses) because of my race.
9. Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race.
10. I was told that I complain about race too much.
11. I received substandard service in stores compared to customers of other racial groups.
12. I observed people of my race in prominent positions at my workplace or school.
13. Someone wanted to date me only because of my race.
14. I was told that people of all racial groups experience the same obstacles.
15. My opinion was overlooked in a group discussion because of my race.
16. Someone assumed that my work would be inferior to people of other racial groups.
17. Someone acted surprised at my scholastic or professional success because of my race.
18. I observed that people of my race were the CEOs of major corporations.
19. I observed people of my race portrayed positively on television.
20. Someone did not believe me when I told them I was born in the US.
21. Someone assumed that I would not be educated because of my race.
22. Someone told me that I was "articulate" after she/he assumed I wouldn't be.
23. Someone told me that all people in my racial group are all the same.
24. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in magazines.
25. An employer or co-worker was unfriendly or unwelcoming toward me because of my race.
26. I was told that people of color do not experience racism anymore.
27. Someone told me that they "don't see color."
28. I read popular books or magazines in which a majority of contributions featured

- people from my racial group.
29. Someone asked me to teach them words in my “native language.”
 30. Someone told me that they do not see race.
 31. Someone clenched her/his purse or wallet upon seeing me because of my race.
 32. Someone assumed that I would have a lower education because of my race.
 33. Someone of a different racial group has stated that there is no difference between the two of us.
 34. Someone assumed that I would physically hurt them because of my race.
 35. Someone assumed that I ate foods associated with my race/culture every day.
 36. Someone assumed that I held a lower paying job because of my race.
 37. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies.
 38. Someone assumed that I was poor because of my race.
 39. Someone told me that people should not think about race anymore.
 40. Someone avoided eye contact with me because of my race.
 41. I observed that someone of my race is a government official in my state
 42. Someone told me that all people in my racial group look alike.
 43. Someone objectified one of my physical features because of my race.
 44. An employer or co-worker treated me differently than White co-workers.
 45. Someone assumed that I speak similar languages to other people in my race.

APPENDIX D

INTRARACIAL/INTRAETHNIC MICROAGGRESSIONS CHECKLIST

Garber, 2016

[Completed by participants in the KAAPS]

The purpose of this survey is to find out the types of prejudice and discrimination that Korean American adopted individuals experience from others of their same race (i.e., Asians, Asian Americans) and same ethnicity (i.e., Koreans, Korean Americans).

Below are different experiences that may have occurred to you. Please take a moment to read each item and check off all of the following experiences you have had. Indicate how many times this experience has occurred to you, as well as generally how intense the experience(s) was for you.

The scale for the **frequency** with which you have had an experience is:

- 0 = I never have this experience
- 1 = I rarely have this experience
- 2 = I sometimes have this experience
- 3 = I frequently have this experience

The scale for **general intensity** of these experiences is:

- 0 = No Intensity
- 1 = Slightly Intense
- 2 = Somewhat Intense
- 3 = Very Intense
- 4 = Extremely Intense

If you have not experienced a particular event, please mark never for the frequency and leave intensity blank.

	Frequency				Intensity				
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Freq	No	Slightly	Somewhat	Very	Ext
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values (e.g., obey parents, provide for parents, etc.)									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that my parents are the same									

race/ethnicity as I am.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way (e.g., clothing, fashion, body type, make up, etc.)									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted believe that my career choice is based on cultural pressures.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted feel the need to teach me about Korean culture.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my own									

wishes.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have asked or suggested that I am an ethnicity that is separate or different from being Korean (i.e., labeled me as Chinese, Japanese, Thai, or another ethnic group).									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like.									
Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted discover I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions about my experiences.									
Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt that I am expected to be aware of Korean customs/traditions (e.g., holidays, foods, values).									
Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have been pressured to date or form friendships within my racial/ethnic group.									
Due to other Asian/Korean people									

who are not adopted, I have felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity.									
Due to other Asian/Koran people who are not adopted, I have avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me.									
Due to other Asian/Koran people who are not adopted, I have felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences because of my adoption.									
Due to other Asian/Koran people who are not adopted, I have felt that I am not "Korean enough" or "Asian enough."									
Due to other Asian/Koran people who are not adopted, I have felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace.									

Intraracial/Intraethnic Microaggressions Checklist

Garber, 2016

[Finalized items for External and Internal IMC subscales]

Factor 1 – Assumptions of the KAD Experience (External)

1. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I was raised to follow certain Korean/Asian family values (e.g., obey parents, provide for parents, etc.)
3. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have indicated to me that I should dress or look a certain way (e.g., clothing, fashion, body type, make up, etc.)
4. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I have the same beliefs and values as they do.
5. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted make assumptions about my race/ethnicity when they hear my name.
6. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I can speak Korean or another Asian language.
8. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted feel the need to teach me about Korean culture.
9. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have expressed sadness or pity towards me for being adopted.
10. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have insisted upon teaching me how to be Korean/Asian, despite my own wishes.
11. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that I do not have a sense of my own identity.

13. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted make negative assumptions about what my birth parents are like.
14. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted discover I am adopted and ask intrusive personal questions about my experiences.
16. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have been pressured to date or form friendships within my racial/ethnic group.

Factor 2 – Experience of Adopted Diaspora Identity (Internal)

17. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt like an outsider amongst others of my same race/ethnicity.
18. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have avoided environments in which most people are the same race/ethnicity as me.
19. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt it is difficult to relate to other Asians' experiences because of my adoption.
20. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt that I am not “Korean enough” or “Asian enough.”
21. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt unable to freely explore my racial/ethnic identity at my own pace.

Discarded Items

2. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted assume that my parents are the same race/ethnicity as I am.
7. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted believe that my career choice is based on cultural pressures.

12. Other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted have asked or suggested that I am an ethnicity that is separate or different from being Korean (i.e., labeled me as Chinese, Japanese, Thai, or another ethnic group).
15. Due to other Asian/Korean people who are not adopted, I have felt that I am expected to be aware of Korean customs/traditions (e.g., holidays, foods, values, etc.)

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