

Running Head: EXPLORING THE MODEL MINORITY

EXPLORING THE MODEL MINORITY: VIEWS OF ASIAN AMERICAN
STUDENTS ON SCHOOL CLIMATE WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR
SCHOOL PROFESSIONALS

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ABSTRACT

When Asian students are seen as the model minority, pressures to conform and meet high expectations combined with discrimination and harassment may serve to negatively influence how Asians view their school climate. The current study seeks to examine views of the school climate by Asians as a function of their majority/minority status in their schools, as well as variability within Asian subgroups. By examining the students' perceptions of overall school climate, student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' shaping of their environment, and student support and care by staff, this study seeks to empirically examine the notions that have been demonstrated largely theoretically and anecdotally. In addition, this study seeks to examine the moderating effects of ethnic composition of the school on Asian students' perception of school climate. Data were collected from completion of the Developing Safe and Civil Schools *School Community Survey* (Elias, 2009), a self-report questionnaire. Participants consist of 10,401 sixth to twelfth grade students from 25 New Jersey public schools who were enrolled in the Developing Safe and Civil Schools (DSACS) Project, directed by Maurice J. Elias, Ph.D., during the years 2006-2007. A series of ANCOVA analyses were used to examine differences on aspects of school climate based on ethnicity, Asian subgroup, and ethnic composition of the school, while controlling for the effects of DFG. Asians held higher views than Blacks and Latinos on overall school climate, student friendship and belonging, and student respect. Asians had higher perceptions of students' shaping their environment than Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. Asians had lower perceptions of student support and care by staff than Whites. Southeast Asians held higher views than East Asians on student support and care by staff. With regard to ethnic composition of school,

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non-White dominant schools had higher perceptions of overall school climate than White dominant schools. Asian dominant schools had higher views of student respect than White dominant schools. In non-White dominant schools, Asians held higher views on overall school climate than Asians in White dominant schools. Relationship of findings to the literature, limitations, and implications of the current study for practice and research are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem and Review of the Literature

Asian Americans have been labeled as the “model minority” for over four decades, despite empirical research that provides evidence to refute the label. Multiple negative implications have resulted for Asian Americans who have been subjected to the label of model minority. Sounding complimentary, the model minority label has elevated the status of Asian Americans as the “good” minority, causing other minority groups and Whites to resent Asian Americans. The racial label homogenizes Asian Americans to portray all Asian ethnicities as sharing a common panethnic experience of success (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Zhao & Qiu, 2009). Asian Americans have attained varied levels of socioeconomic status and academic achievement, yet aggregated statistics support the label to portray the illusion that all Asian ethnicities experience socioeconomic and academic success. By muting the existence of intraethnic differences, the economic struggles and academic underachievement of some Asian Americans are made invisible, rendering Americans to remain unsupportive of government policies that help Asian Americans (Chao, Chu, & Lee, 2010; Suzuki, 2002; Wong & Halgin, 2006).

When Asian American students are viewed through the model minority stereotype, perceptions held by teachers, parents, and students, including Asian American self-perceptions, are clouded by high expectations for academic success (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Wong, 1980; Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998). Asian Americans who

have internalized the positive traits of the stereotype face pressure at home and in school to conform and perform to the label's expectations (Chae, 2004; Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Kao, 1995; Kao, 2000; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, & Polifroni, 2008; Museus, 2008). Not all Asian American students are able to meet these prescribed levels of academic excellence, leaving underachieving Asian Americans at a distinct disadvantage. In addition to peer harassment for their perception as "geeks," the internalized stereotype has Asian Americans blaming themselves for academic struggles (Chae, 2004) while they refuse to seek academic help to conform to the stereotype (Lee, 1996; Museus, 2008). Underachieving Asian Americans are at-risk for academic failure, disengagement with eventual drop out from school, gang membership, depression, isolation, and peer alienation.

Research on school climate has indicated that Asian Americans, both academically high achieving and underachieving, face peer discrimination and victimization in school (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). Students who lack caring relationships with teachers and peers are associated with lowered psychological well-being (Jia, Way, Ling, Yoshikawa, Chen, Hughes, Ke, & Lu, 2009), including feelings of anxiety and social isolation in school (Alva, 1993). Students who have reported support from teachers, peer belongingness, and involvement with school activities are positively associated with self-esteem and academic achievement and negatively associated with absenteeism and depressive symptoms (Alva, 1993; Grossman & Liang, 2008; Jia et al., 2009; Nichols, 2008; Way & Robinson, 2003).

The current study seeks to examine views of the school climate by the Asian American student in secondary education as a function of their majority/minority status in

their schools, as well as variability within Asian American subgroups. By examining the students' perceptions of student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' shaping of their environment, and student support and care by staff, this study seeks to empirically examine the notions that have been demonstrated largely theoretically and anecdotally. To date, few studies have examined the influence of students' gender and the ethnic composition of the school on Asian American students' perception of school climate. This study seeks to examine the impact of these variables on student perceptions to extend existing school climate literature.

Background of the Problem

Asian Americans were first characterized as a model minority in 1966 in a *New York Times Magazine* article by William Peterson entitled, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style." Since this publication, the mass media have reflected the changing views of Asian Americans from opposing the "Yellow Peril" to praising Asian Americans as a super minority. Reports in popular publications such as *Time*, *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, and *New Republic* endorsed the model minority label. Many Asian Americans embraced the complimentary aspects of the model minority label while others have devoted much time and effort to expose its problems and to provide evidence to refute the label.

The model minority is characterized as the Asian American "geek" who is quiet, uncomplaining, intelligent, hardworking, and conforming (Zia, 2000); an individual who is self-reliant and not dependent on government assistance for survival (Lee, 1996) but who is awkward on a social level (Chou & Feagin, 2008). Labeled the model minority, Asian Americans are viewed as an exemplary minority who have been able to succeed

both academically and economically, despite experiencing similar social discrimination and economic adversities that other minorities have faced.

Through hard work, perseverance, and cultural values that emphasize education, Asian American students are seen as a homogenous group of individuals who have succeeded in obtaining the highest Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores of all minorities, outperforming Whites (Fong, 2008). Educational excellence has allowed them to obtain prized admission slots to prestigious colleges (Takaki, 1989) at enrollment levels that often exceed other groups, including Whites (Chou & Feagin, 2008). Interviews performed by Kao (2000) with high school students have shown that Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites believe Asian American students are academically gifted. In addition, Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, and Lin (1998) found that among students, Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Whites perceived Asian Americans to be more prepared, motivated, and more likely to have greater career success than Whites. These studies demonstrate that perceptions of Asian Americans as the model minority continue to persist among students.

Research has looked at the perceptions held by teachers regarding Asian American students. Teachers in Chang and Demyan's study (2007) perceived Asians as intelligent, rule compliant, and introverted, traits that endorse the model minority stereotype. In their study, Qin, Way, and Rana (2008) found that teachers explicitly showed preference for teaching Chinese American over non-Chinese students. Similarly, Rosenbloom and Way (2004) found that teachers who held a preference for Asian American students over Blacks and Hispanics believed Asian Americans were hardworking and successful students. Teacher preference for Asian American students

over students of other ethnicities based on perceptions of academic success and compliance illustrate the pervasive influence of the model minority label.

Negative Implications of the Model Minority Stereotype

Panethnic Asian Label of Success

The model minority label homogenizes Asian Americans and portrays all Asian American ethnicities as sharing a common panethnic experience of success. This stereotype makes invisible any ethnic, cultural, gender, language, social-class, generational, and achievement differences (Lee, 1996) and fails to recognize evidence of underachievement, dropout, and variations in socioeconomic status (Li & Wang, 2008). In the “Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Minorities” report published by the National Center for Education Statistics, KewalRamani, Gilbertson, Fox, and Provasnik (2007) report that in 2005, 10.4% of Asian families have children under the age of 18 who live in poverty, compared to 10% of white families, with Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese ethnicities holding the largest percentages and Asian Indians and Filipinos holding the lowest percentages. This statistic serves to discount the illusion that all Asian ethnicities experience socioeconomic success and emphasizes that intraethnic differences exist. Lew (2006) argues that although recent studies have moved in the right direction to include immigration history and economic context, little is known about how variations in class among Asian American communities impact academic achievement.

KewalRamani et al. (2007) report that based on the American Community Survey given in 2005, 67.8% of 12.3 million Asians in the United States were foreign-born. This is the largest proportion of foreign-born among all racial/ethnic groups reported,

surpassing the next highest group (Hispanics, 40.2%). In addition, of Asians under the age of 18 in the United States, 22.6% were foreign-born, again surpassing the next largest proportion of foreign-born (Hispanics, 11.5%). In relation to the Asian American student, these statistics imply that roughly one in five Asian students, under the age of 18, are foreign-born in 2005. Immigrant and refugee students face distinct disadvantages in school including peer discrimination and harassment by both Asian and non-Asian students (Qin et al., 2008a; Qin et al., 2008b), a language barrier which negatively influences academic help seeking behavior (Lee, 1994), financial struggles that lead to school dropout (Lew, 2004), trauma prior to arrival in the United States, and contrasting cultural values that may not promote the completion of school (Ngo & Lee, 2007).

The U.S. Department of Education has acknowledged an overrepresentation of Asian American students as limited English proficient (LEP), based on their percentage in the population (Fong, 2008). Similarly, according to KewalRamani et al. (2007), the Asian/Pacific Islander category of students in 2005, when compared to whites, had higher percentages of students at the “below basic” or “at basic” reading achievement levels at 4th, 8th, and 12th grade, on the National Assessment of Educational Progress. These statistics highlight difficulties in academic achievement that do not support the model minority stereotype of academic excellence. In the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s, as cited in Fong (2008), an investigation revealed that the needs of Asian American LEP students were dramatically underserved. This oversight in provision of services is also shared by school counselors and teachers in classrooms who have ignored difficulties faced by many Asian Americans since they do not fit the success stereotype (Eng, Kanitkar, Cleveland, Herbert, Fischer,

& Wiersma, 2008; Lee, 1996). It is evident that the panethnic experience of academic success of students from well-educated, middle-class and above families is not shared by all Asian Americans. The hardships of LEP Asian American immigrants and refugee students who struggle with educational and acculturation challenges are made invisible by the model minority stereotype.

Uba, in her book *Asian Americans: Personality Patterns, Identity, and Mental Health* (1994), illustrates an example of a Vietnamese boy who dropped out of school because he was unable to quickly learn the English language. Failing to meet his mother's academic expectations, the Vietnamese boy suffered from feelings of anxiety and frustration and eventually dropped out of school from his despair. The isolation faced by Asian adolescent immigrants and refugees is significant since parental support cannot be obtained. Oftentimes, immigrant parents are dealing with their own struggles for survival and are unable to lend support to their children.

Asian American Racism

The model minority label has pitted other minority groups against Asian Americans. The label implies that Asian Americans have been able to succeed despite experiencing similar social discrimination and economic adversities that other minority groups have faced. By implying that Asian Americans possess certain characteristics that other minorities do not have, this label portrays Asian Americans as a "model" to which other minority groups should strive to emulate. Should other minority groups uphold the values of education, hard work, and a nuclear family, values that the label suggests Asians prize, the label suggests that they should be able to achieve academically too (Lew, 2006). The model minority label has served to elevate the status of Asian

Americans as the “good” minority that has managed to get ahead; a minority to stand in contrast to the “bad” minority that is “burning the cities and seeking to live off handouts” (Zia, 2000, p. 117).

In school, Asian American students face verbal and physical harassment, victimization, and alienation from their peers. Qin et al. (2008a; 2008b) found discrimination was based upon beliefs about superior academic ability, differences in physical appearance, and students’ language barrier. A study by Rosenbloom and Way (2004) found that low expectations by teachers for Blacks and Hispanics coupled with resentment of teacher preference for Asian American students contributed to a hostile school environment where Asian American students were physically and verbally harassed. Alienation of Asian American students is further exacerbated by the pervasive view of Asian Americans as foreigners. In descriptions provided by students, general characteristics of Asians in Asia were given as opposed to descriptions of clothing styles or musical tastes that were used to describe Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites (Kao, 2000).

Perceptions of Asian Americans as the model minority cause indifference and even denial when Asians Americans are victims of racism (Wallitt, 2008; Wong, 2006; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Belief in the model minority stereotype has caused Asian American students to be perceived as academically competent and emotionally sound. Asian American students who may exhibit internalizing symptoms of depression are not referred for additional services since teachers tend to refer for externalizing behaviors (Doan, 2006).

Unrealistic Expectations and Perceptions

The model minority label implies that all Asian American students are compliant, hard-working students who achieve global academic success. Teachers and peers perceive Asian American students to be academically competent and hold high expectations without regard for the student's individual academic capability. Asian American students who have internalized the perceptions and expectations of the model minority stereotype face extreme pressures to conform to the label (Chae, 2004; Museus, 2008). Asian American students have sacrificed hours of studying to maintain the perception of easy attainment of academic excellence (Wing, 2007). Cheryan and Bodenhausen (2000), in examining the pressure caused from the model minority stereotype, found that fear of failing to confirm a positive stereotype adversely affected performance. This study illustrates the burden that Asian American students carry as a member of a stereotyped group. When not conforming to the stereotype of genius, Asian American students report feeling "awkward" and like a "low achiever." Students also report being viewed strangely by peers for not conforming to the model minority stereotype (Lee, 1994). When Lee and Ying (2001) examined essays from Asian American adolescents regarding academic achievement, they found students suffered from tremendous pressures to attain academic success, with symptoms suggesting psychological dysfunction.

In an ethnographic study by Lee (1996), the experiences of high and low achieving Asian Americans were documented to further understand the implications from the model minority stereotype. Lee discovered that low achieving Asian Americans refused to get tutoring, despite acknowledgement of impending academic failure, due to

embarrassment in revealing their academic difficulties. Wanting to remain within the model minority stereotype, Lee found that low achieving Asian Americans do not seek help because they do not want their peers to know about their academic weaknesses. When academic difficulties are due to limited English proficiency, the discomfort with verbally interacting in English makes seeking tutoring more distasteful.

Negative School Climate

School climate is comprised of students' views on student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' ability to shape their environment, and student support and care by staff. Students' perception of school climate has been associated with self-esteem, psychological well-being, and academic achievement (Way & Robinson, 2003). When Asian American students are seen as the model minority, pressures to conform and meet expectations combined with discrimination and harassment may serve to negatively influence how Asian American students view their school climate.

Student Respect

Endorsement of the model minority label has caused Asian American students to face verbal and physical harassment, victimization, and alienation by their peers. The discrimination experienced by Asian Americans has been documented to come from both Asian and non-Asian peers (Qin et al. 2008a). When positive traits associated with a group present competition for limited resources, a realistic threat is produced that results in negative attitudes and evaluations for that group (Maddux et al., 2008). Due to the presence of limited academic resources, views of Asian Americans as the overachieving minority produce negative attitudes in the form of disrespect and discrimination by peers.

Student Friendship and Belonging

The model minority label asserts Asian Americans as the “model” to which other minorities should follow. This perception serves to reduce peer belonging and promote alienation of Asian Americans by their minority peers. In addition, pervasive views of Asian Americans as foreigners further segregate Asian Americans from peers resulting in bullying and social exclusion. Jia et al. (2009) found peer support to be negatively associated with depressive symptoms and positively associated with academic adjustment, further emphasizing the negative influence of peer rejection. Asian Americans who reported feeling isolated in school were shown to demonstrate lower levels of academic achievement (Alva, 1993).

Students’ Ability to Shape Their Environment

The model minority stereotype masks the academic struggles and pressures faced by Asian Americans. Through the perception of panethnic success, Asian American students in need of services are underreferred or denied services (Doan, 2006). Unable to meet expectations held by teachers and peers, Asian American students may experience internalizing symptoms of anxiety and depression (Alva, 1993) and may drop out from school due to academic failure, language barriers, and despair (Uba, 1994).

Student Support and Care by Staff

Perceptions of Asian Americans as the successful minority cause indifference and even denial when Asians Americans are victims of racism (Wallitt, 2008; Wong, 2006; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Rosenbloom and Way (2004) found that failure to acknowledge discrimination and poor teacher-student relationships led to a hostile school climate where Asian American students did not feel safe. In addition, Asian American students

who left school cited feeling invisible and uncared for by counselors and teachers (Lew, 2004; Wallitt, 2008). Jia et al. (2009) found teacher support to be positively associated with student self-esteem and academic achievement to underscore the importance of student support by staff.

Limitations on Previous Research on Asian American Students

Existing research has examined the impact of student perceptions of school climate on academic and social adjustment however; few studies have examined the influence of student sex and ethnic composition of the school on Asian American students' perception of school climate. In addition, most studies on Asian American students have used data that aggregate across Asian subgroups, thereby ignoring the diversity present among different Asian ethnicities. This study seeks to address this issue by examining intraethnic differences of Asian American students on school climate, specifically students' views on student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' ability to shape their environment, and student support and care by staff.

Statement of the Problem

Perceptions implied by the model minority stereotype remain prevalent among students and teachers. Endorsement of the model minority label has caused Asian American students to face verbal and physical harassment, victimization, and alienation by peers reducing peer belonging and promoting peer alienation. Academic struggles and pressures faced by Asian Americans are rendered invisible under this stereotype stifling access to necessary academic supports. Existing research has examined the impact of student perceptions of school climate on academic and social adjustment however; few studies have examined the influence of students' sex and the ethnic composition of the

school on Asian American students' perception of school climate. The current study seeks to examine views of the school climate by the Asian American student in grades six through twelve. Given the high expectations and perceptions and negative implications associated with the model minority label, this study seeks to determine interethnic and intraethnic differences in perceptions of school climate by Asian American students. By examining the student's perception of student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' ability to shape their environment, and student support and care by staff, this study seeks to confirm existing findings. In addition, this study seeks to examine the moderating effects of ethnic composition of the school on Asian American students' perception of school climate in an effort to extend existing school climate literature.

Hypotheses

On the basis of prior research, four hypotheses were tested. First, when examining interethnic differences, based upon the pervasive perception of Asian Americans as the high achieving and self-sufficient minority, it is hypothesized that Asian American students will endorse lower scores than White students on the students' ability to shape their environment subscale, after controlling for DFG. It is also hypothesized that Asian American students will endorse lower scores than White students on the student respect and student friendship and belonging subscales due to persistent views of Asian Americans as foreigners and overachievers by peers, after controlling for DFG.

Second, when examining intraethnic differences, it is hypothesized that Southeast Asians will endorse lower school climate scores on student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' ability to shape their environment, and student support and care by staff than South and East Asians, after controlling for DFG. Research has often cited

Southeast Asian Americans as underachieving Asian Americans (Kim, Rendon, & Valadez, 1998; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Wallitt, 2008). Comprised of immigrants and refugees, Southeast Asian Americans face distinct disadvantages in school.

Third, when examining sex differences, Jia et al. (2009) found that female Chinese American students endorsed higher peer support than males. In addition, Qin et al. (2008b) documented pressure by Asian American males to conform to images of masculinity despite stereotypic perception of Asian American males as weak and small. Based on previous research, it is hypothesized that East Asian males will endorse lower levels of student respect and student friendship and belonging than East Asian females.

Fourth, Rosenbloom and Way (2004) found that when Whites are not the dominant population in the school, positive perceptions and preferences for Asian American students, held by teachers, created a negative school climate where Blacks and Hispanics harassed Asian American students. In addition, Maddux et al. (2008) found that when positive traits associated with a group present competition for limited resources, a realistic threat is produced that results in negative attitudes and evaluations for that group. Based on these studies, it is hypothesized that in a school where Whites are not the dominant population Asian American students will endorse lower climate scores on student respect and student friendship and belonging than Blacks or Hispanics due to attributed negative attitudes and evaluations from other minority groups. In addition, in a school where Asian American students are the dominant population and Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites are not the dominant population, it is hypothesized that intraethnic differences will be present such that Southeast Asians will endorse lower

climate scores on student respect and student friendship and belonging than South and East Asians.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants in this study consist of 10,401 students from New Jersey schools who were enrolled in the Developing Safe and Civil Schools (DSACS) Project, directed by Maurice J. Elias, PhD, during the years 2006-2007. DSACS was one of three ongoing projects housed at Rutgers University's Center for Applied Psychology to promote social-emotional and character development and safe and drug-free schools. Participants are from 25 public schools dispersed throughout New Jersey and come from 6 different district factor groupings (DFG): A (5.7%; n=575), B (10.8%; n=1090), CD (22.1%; n=2240), FG (16.2%; n=1637), GH (22.9%; n=2319), and I (22.3%; n=2259). DFG information was not available for 2.7% of participants (n=281). The DFG provides an estimate of the student's relative community socioeconomic status.

The student's grade, sex, and ethnicity were collected from the Developing Safe and Civil Schools *School Community Survey* (Elias, 2009) that was administered to students in grades three through twelve from participating schools throughout New Jersey. The *School Community Survey* and DFG will be discussed in detail below.

Participants are from grades 6 (10.5%; n=1016), 7 (15.8%; n=1533), 8 (18.6%; n=1804), 9 (18.3%; n=1775), 10 (12.4%; n=1198), 11 (12.1%; n=1173), and 12 (12.3%; n=1193). Grade was not reported for 6.8% of participants (n= 709). Sex was based on participant self-report on the *School Community Survey*. The sample consisted of 50.8%

females ($n = 5268$) and 49.2% males ($n = 5108$). Sex was not reported for .2% of participants ($n = 25$).

The ethnicity categories used in this study correspond with the labels used by the New Jersey Department of Education (NJDOE). Participants who endorsed the White ethnicity included European American, Caucasian, and/or Middle Eastern American (46.2%). The Black ethnicity included participants who endorsed Black/African-American/Caribbean/West Indies (14.6%). Asian included participants who endorsed Chinese/Japanese/Korean American, Indian/Pakistani American, and/or Vietnamese/Thai/Malaysian/Southeast Asian/Other Asian American (7.3%). The ethnicity category of Hawaiian Native is reported as a distinct category by the NJDOE to represent .14% of all NJ students based on the “DOE Data for 2006-2007 Enrollment” report. These students were not explicitly identified by the *School Community Survey* and were captured by the “Other Asian American” ethnicity found within the Asian ethnicity category of this study. Hispanic included student endorsement of Latino/Latina/Hispanic-American (7.3%). Native American included participants who endorsed American Indian or Alaska Native (.6%). Participants who endorsed multiple ethnicities from different ethnicity categories (17.8%), participants who endorsed “None of these” ethnicities (5.4%), and participants who had missing ethnicity endorsements on their survey (.8%) were not included in ethnicity-based analyses.

Procedure

All participants of this study completed The Developing Safe and Civil Schools *School Community Survey* (Elias, 2009) anonymously either by paper format using Scantrons or online through use of the SurveyMonkey website. Participants were

explained the directions of the survey and provided with ample time to complete all questions asked. Scantrons were processed using Scantron reading machines which exported the responses to Microsoft Excel for analyses. Online responses were exported to Microsoft Excel directly from the website for analyses.

Measures

School Climate

The Developing Safe and Civil Schools *School Community Survey* (Elias, 2009) is a self-report questionnaire that was administered to students grades three through twelve. The questionnaire consists of two sections: a demographics section in multiple-choice format (grade, sex, race/ethnicity) and a school climate section of 16 items where students rated agreement to given statements using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Disagree A LOT! to 5 = Agree A LOT!). These questions were adapted from the School as A Caring Community Profile-II (SCCP-II; Lickona & Davidson, 2004). An overall rating of school climate and ratings on items from the 4 subscales were used in this study. See Table 1 for individual items and subscales found in the school climate section of the *School Community Survey*.

The student respect subscale is composed of three items to measure how respectful students perceive other students to be in the school environment, including interactions with peers and teachers (e.g., “Students treat classmates with respect”).

The student friendship and belonging subscale consists of five items that measure how inclusive, cooperative, welcoming, and friendly students are perceived to be to each other (e.g., “Students work well together”).

The students' ability to shape their environment subscale contains four items that measure of how much students are involved in solving school problems, improving the school environment, and effectively resolving interpersonal conflicts (e.g., "Students are involved in helping to solve school problems").

The support and care by staff subscale is composed of four items that measure how supportive and caring staff are perceived to be to students (e.g., "Teachers go out of their way to help students who need extra help").

The student climate score is a measure of the student's overall perception of the school climate that includes all 16 items from the four subscales. Lickona and Davidson (2004) report that all subscales and the total score have acceptable alpha coefficients.

District Factor Grouping

The student's socioeconomic status is approximated by the district factor grouping (DFG) of school districts which is used by the New Jersey Department of Education. The DFG provides an estimate of the student's relative community socioeconomic status based on a calculation of six variables: percent of adults with no high school diploma, percent of adults with some college education, occupational status, unemployment status, percent of individuals in poverty, and median family income (New Jersey Department of Education, 2011). The DFG groups together similar districts for comparison of performance on statewide assessments. The average student performance is expected to increase from DFG A to DFG J.

Ethnic Composition of School

The ethnic composition of the school is determined by using the ethnicity endorsed by students on the *School Community Survey*. Schools where more than half of

participants endorsed the White ethnicity were categorized as White dominant schools. Schools where more than half of participants endorsed ethnicities other than White were categorized as Non-White dominant. Schools were categorized as Asian dominant if the combined percentage of Asian ethnicities was the largest ethnic group by percentage, based on the endorsement of students in a given school.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Reliability

The reliabilities for the four climate subscales and total climate score of the *School Community Survey* were examined to see if those for the present sample, which is only based on middle and high schools, is the same as those in the validation studies, which covered all grade levels. Based upon responses from participants of this study, the reliability for the overall student climate score was acceptable ($\alpha = .80$). The reliability for the student respect subscale was low ($\alpha = .54$), with items having modest, significant intercorrelations, and it was determined that subsequent analyses should be run using the individual items that compose the subscale to provide a more accurate measure of student respect. Similarly, reliabilities for the students' ability to shape their environment subscale ($\alpha = .61$) and the support and care by staff subscale ($\alpha = .62$) suggest that both subscales did not reliably measure participants' perceptions in this study. As with the student respect subscale, individual items within the students' ability to shape their environment subscale and the support and care by staff subscale were chosen based on modest, significant intercorrelation to provide a more accurate measure on those aspects of the school climate. Finally, on the student friendship and belonging subscale, a question was omitted from the subscale to increase reliability to $\alpha = .68$. All subsequent analyses were run using the total student climate score, three items for a measure of student respect, two items for a measure of students' ability to shape their environment,

three items for a measure of the support and care by staff, and the revised student friendship and belonging subscale (“Students help each other, even if they are not friends,” “Students work well together,” “Students help new students feel accepted,” and “Students are willing to forgive each other.”)

A descriptive analysis was performed to examine frequencies for DFG, ethnicities, and sex of participants (see Table 2). In addition, the intercorrelation for the overall student climate score, revised student friendship and belonging scale, and selected items from the student respect, the students’ ability to shape their environment, and the support and care by staff subscales was performed (see Table 3). Items chosen to measure the student respect aspect of school climate had a strong positive correlation with the student respect subscale ($r = .68$ to $.75$, $p < .005$). Similarly, the two items selected to measure the students’ ability to shape their environment had a strong positive correlation with the students’ ability to shape their environment subscale ($r = .70$ to $.71$, $p < .005$). The three items chosen to measure the support and care by staff had a strong positive correlation with the support and care by staff subscale ($r = .69$ to $.73$, $p < .005$). These relationships suggest that findings from the individual item analyses will be comparable to findings in the literature using summary scores for the same constructs.

Interethnic Differences

Participants who endorsed White (61.3%), Black (19.3%), Latino (9.7%), or Asian (9.6%) on the *School Community Survey* were selected to examine interethnic differences in mean scores on different aspects of school climate ($n=10,401$). Interethnic differences were examined utilizing a series of one-way between-groups analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with DFG level as a covariate and ethnicity (White, Black,

Latino, Asian) as the independent variable. Through a series of ANCOVA analyses, the relationship between ethnicity and the student climate score, the student friendship and belonging subscale, and items from the students' ability to shape their environment and student respect were examined. Use of ANCOVA analyses allowed for the effect of DFG to be controlled.

On the overall student climate score, there was a significant difference between ethnicities with Whites having significantly higher mean scores than Blacks and Asians having significantly higher mean scores than Blacks and Latinos ($F(3, 10112) = 16.44, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .005).

Asians had significantly higher mean scores than Whites, Blacks and Latinos on the two items which measured student shaping their environment, "When students do something hurtful, they try to make up for it" ($F(3, 10067) = 18.82, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .006) and "Students try to get other students to follow school rules" ($F(3, 10065) = 7.54, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .002). On the reverse coded item measuring student respect, "Students pick on other students" and the item "Students treat classmates with respect," Asians held higher mean scores than Blacks and Latinos suggesting that Asians perceived greater respect in their schools amongst the minority ethnicities ($F(3, 10016) = 6.06, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .002); ($F(3, 10081) = 13.94, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .004) respectively).

Whites and Asians had significantly higher mean scores than Blacks and Latinos on the friendship and belonging subscale ($F(3, 10110) = 5.71, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .003). Whites had significantly higher mean scores than Asians on two items measuring support and care by staff, "Students can talk to their teachers about problems that are

bothering them” ($F(3, 10032) = 3.30, p = .02, \text{partial eta squared} = .001$) and “In this school you can count on adults to try to make sure students are safe” ($F(3, 10009) = 35.88, p = .00, \text{partial eta squared} = .011$) suggesting that Whites felt higher levels of staff-related support than their Asian classmates.

Intraethnic Differences

Asian participants who endorsed East Asian (71.2%), South Asian (15.2%), or Southeast Asian (13.7%) on the *School Community Survey* were selected to examine intraethnic differences in mean scores on different aspects of school climate ($n=1,003$). Intraethnic differences were examined utilizing a series of one-way ANCOVA with DFG level as the covariate and Asian ethnicity (East Asian, South Asian, and Southeast Asian) as the independent variable. The relationships between Asian subgroup and student climate score, student respect, student friendship and belonging, students’ ability to shape their environment, and support and care by staff were examined.

There were no significant differences on the overall student climate score between Asian ethnicities ($F(2, 995) = 1.39, p = .25, \text{partial eta squared} = .003$). There was a significant difference between Southeast Asians and East Asians on two items measuring support and care by staff. On the item, “Students can talk to their teachers about problems that are bothering them,” Southeast Asians had significantly higher means than East Asians ($F(2, 991) = 14.71, p = .00, \text{partial eta squared} = .018$). Similarly, on the item “Teachers go out of their way to help students who need extra help,” Southeast Asians had significantly higher means than East Asians ($F(2, 991) = 5.16, p = .04, \text{partial eta squared} = .007$), suggesting that Southeast Asians felt higher levels of staff-related support than their East Asian classmates. In addition, on the item “In this school you can

count on adults to try to make sure students are safe,” South Asians perceived higher levels of staff support than East Asians ($F(2, 988) = 9.62, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .019).

The same sample of Asian participants was used to examine sex differences in mean scores among the three Asian ethnicities on different aspects of school climate. This sample was composed of 51.3% females and 48.7% males. Sex differences in this sample were examined using a series two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) framework with the sex of the participant and Asian subgroup as the independent variables. The relationship between sex of the participant, Asian ethnicity, and the interaction effect of sex and Asian ethnicity on student climate score, student respect, and student friendship and belonging were examined. There were no significant sex differences on the overall student climate score between Asian ethnicities ($F(1, 988) = .06, p = .81$, partial eta squared = .00). Similarly, there were no significant sex differences found on the items measuring student respect, “Students treat classmates with respect” ($F(1, 985) = .30, p = .59$, partial eta squared = .00), the reverse coded item “Students are disrespectful toward their teachers” ($F(1, 983) = 1.90, p = .17$, partial eta squared = .002) and the reverse coded item, “Students pick on other students” ($F(1, 978) = 2.06, p = .15$, partial eta squared = .002). In addition, there were no significant sex difference on the student friendship and belonging subscale ($F(1, 988) = .04, p = .84$, partial eta squared = .00).

Interethnic and Intraethnic Differences by School Composition

Of the 25 schools used in this study, 6 schools were selected based upon the ethnic composition of the school. Twelve schools were eliminated from the original sample since they had 10 or fewer students who endorsed an Asian ethnicity. Of the

remaining 13 schools, 9 schools were White dominant, 2 schools were non-White dominant, and 2 schools were Asian dominant. Of the 9 White dominant schools, 2 schools were selected which best represented the ethnic breakdown of New Jersey, based upon demographic information provided by the Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics based on the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau (Evans, 2001). The resulting sample ($n=3044$) consisted of 2 White dominant schools ($n=1434$), 2 non-White dominant schools ($n=479$), and 2 Asian dominant schools ($n=1131$) with an ethnic breakdown of Whites (58.7%), Blacks (12%), Latinos (8.5%), and Asians (20.8%). Interethnic differences in mean scores on various aspects of school climate from students in different school compositions were explored utilizing an ANCOVA framework with DFG level as the covariate and ethnicity, school composition, and the interaction of ethnicity and school composition as the independent variables. The relationships between ethnicity, school composition, and the interaction of ethnicity and school composition on student climate score, student respect, and student friendship and belonging were examined. Also tested, but not significant, was the interaction of the covariate with the independent variables, and so these are excluded from the analyses that follow.

On the overall student climate score, there was a main effect for ethnic composition of the school ($F(2, 3031) = 3.51, p = .03$, partial eta squared = .002) where non-White dominant schools held higher views on school climate than White dominant schools. On the item, "Students treat classmates with respect," there was a main effect for ethnic composition of the school ($F(2, 3022) = 4.38, p = .01$, partial eta squared = .003) where students in Asian dominant schools endorsed higher views on peer respect than students from White dominant schools. In addition, there was a main effect for ethnic

composition of the school on the reverse coded student respect item, “Students pick on other students” ($F(2, 2993) = 14.02, p = .00$, partial eta squared = .009), where both non-White dominant and Asian dominant schools held higher mean scores than White dominant schools to suggest that students from White dominant schools perceive higher levels of teasing by peers. On the same student respect item, there was also a significant interaction effect ($F(2, 2993) = 2.34, p = .03$, partial eta squared = .005) where Blacks in Asian dominant schools perceived lower levels of teasing than Blacks in White and non-White dominant schools. In addition, higher means by Latinos in non-White dominant schools suggest that they also perceive lower levels of teasing than Latinos in White dominant schools. Finally, Asians in Asian dominant schools had higher means than Asians in White dominant schools to suggest a perceived lower level of teasing.

Asians were selected from this sample of participants to explore intraethnic differences in mean scores on various aspects of school climate in different school compositions ($n=632$). This sample consisted of East Asians (84.6%), South Asians (7%), and Southeast Asians (8.4%). A series of ANCOVAs were used with DFG level as the covariate and ethnicity, school composition, and the interaction of ethnicity and school composition as the independent variables. The relationships between ethnicity, school composition, and the interaction of ethnicity and school composition on student climate score, student respect, and student friendship and belonging were examined.

On the overall student climate score, there was a main effect for ethnic composition of the school ($F(2, 622) = 3.10, p = .046$, partial eta squared = .01) where non-White dominant schools held higher views on school climate than White dominant

schools. There were no main effects found for the three items measuring student respect and on the student friendship and belonging subscale.

A series of three by four chi-square tests were conducted to complement the ANCOVA analyses. This non-parametric statistic was used to explore the proportion of cases within a specific ethnicity that fell into various categories of school climate and compared these proportions with hypothesized values. The mean scores of the various climate score variables (student climate score, revised student friendship and belonging, and three items on student respect) were first categorized into negative ($0 \leq \text{mean} \leq 2.24$), neutral ($2.24 < \text{mean} \leq 3.74$), and positive ($\text{mean} > 3.74$) based on a priori ranges of scores determined by those applying the survey in field settings. The three categories of the climate score variables were crosstabulated with the four ethnicities (White, Black, Latino, Asian) examined in this study.

There was a significant difference in the distribution of ethnicities across all three school climate categories on the overall school climate score by students in White dominant schools ($\chi^2(6, n = 1434) = 18.06, p < .01$). Whites were overrepresented in the neutral climate category and underrepresented in the negative climate category. In addition, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians were less neutral and overrepresented in the negative school climate category. There were no significant differences found in the distribution of ethnicities across all three climate groups on the overall school climate score in non-White dominant schools. Overrepresentation of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in the negative school climate category illustrates why students from White dominant schools held more negative views on overall school climate when compared to students from non-White dominant schools. These results complement the findings from both the

interethnic and intraethnic ANCOVA analyses on overall school climate where White dominant schools were found to have lower perceptions on overall school climate than students of non-White dominant schools.

In Asian dominant schools, there was a significant difference in the distribution of ethnicities across all three school climate categories on the student respect item, “Students treat classmates with respect” ($\chi^2 (6, n = 1129) = 13.59, p < .05$). The distribution for Whites was as expected; however, Blacks were less neutral and overrepresented in the negative climate category, Latinos were less neutral and overrepresented in the positive climate category, and Asians were less positive and overrepresented in the neutral climate category. These results serve to illustrate the distribution of ethnicities across this student respect item in Asian dominant schools to highlight more positive views held by Latino students on peer respect

In Asian dominant schools, there was a marginal significant difference in the distribution of ethnicities across all three school climate categories on the reverse coded student respect item, “Students are disrespectful toward their teachers” ($\chi^2 (6, n = 1125) = 12.43, p = .053$). The distribution for Blacks was as expected; however, Whites were less neutral and overrepresented in the positive climate category, Latinos were less negative and overrepresented in the neutral climate category, and Asians were less positive and overrepresented in the neutral climate category. There were no significant differences found in the distribution of ethnicities across all three climate groups on this student respect item in White dominant and non-White dominant schools.

There were no significant differences found in the distribution of ethnicities across all three climate groups in White dominant, non-White dominant, and Asian dominant schools on the student respect item, “Students pick on other students.”

In Asian dominant schools, there was a significant difference in the distribution of ethnicities across all three school climate categories on the student friendship and belonging subscale ($\chi^2(6, n = 1131) = 16.07, p < .05$). The distribution for Blacks was as expected; however, Whites were less positive and overrepresented in the neutral climate category, Latinos were less neutral and positive and overrepresented in the negative climate category, and Asians were less negative and neutral and overrepresented in the positive climate category. There were no significant differences found in the distribution of ethnicities across all three climate groups on this student friendship and belonging subscale in White dominant and non-White dominant schools.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study examined the views of the school climate by Asians as a function of their majority/minority status in their schools, as well as variability within Asian subgroups. By exploring the students' perceptions of overall school climate, student respect, student friendship and belonging, students' shaping of their environment, and student support and care by staff, this study sought to empirically examine notions that have been demonstrated largely theoretically and anecdotally. In addition, this study also examined the moderating effects of ethnic composition of the school on Asian students' perception of school climate.

Hypotheses for this study regarding interethnic differences proposed that Asians would endorse lower perceptions of school climate than Whites with regard to students' ability to shape their environment, student respect, and student friendship and belonging. Findings from this study did not support the proposed hypotheses since no significant differences were found between Whites and Asians on overall school climate, student respect, and student friendship and belonging. Instead, Asians held lower perceptions of student support and care by staff than Whites. Specifically, Asians found teachers to be less approachable with problems and staff to be less dependable in ensuring the safety of students. In viewing the influence of the model minority label, pervasive views of Asians as an exemplary minority may place unrealistic expectations and perceptions upon the academic achievement of the Asian student. A pressure to conform to the label may

prevent Asians from approaching teachers with problems in an attempt to hide academic weakness from peers (Lee, 1996). An Asian approaching a teacher for assistance does not conform to the internalized stereotype and peers may view him/her negatively. Teachers may therefore be perceived as less approachable due to reluctance by Asians to seek staff support. Still, further research is required to better understand the specific reasons Asian students may not view teachers as a source of support.

With respect to the perception of staff as being less dependable in ensuring the safety of students, this may be related to the minimization of difficulties that Asians face in school. If Asians are seen as panethnically successful and emotionally sound, there may be indifference and even denial when Asians Americans are victims of racism or other difficulties (Wallitt, 2008; Wong, 2006; Wong & Halgin, 2006). It is possible that these positive views of success may have minimized outreach of staff to Asians, with regard to both academic support and referral for additional services (Doan, 2006). Those Asians who are in need of services may be reluctant to seek help and may view staff as less dependable in providing for their needs.

Examination of interethnic differences in this study also found that Asians held more positive views than Blacks on aspects of student respect, student friendship and belonging, and overall school climate. The model minority label has pitted other minority groups against Asians to create a competitive situation where Asians are seen as overachieving and Blacks as underachieving. According to a study by Lee (1996), Blacks and Asians were seen as outsiders who try to join Whites in their position as insiders in school. Asians were perceived to attain insider status through academic success however Blacks continued to be underrepresented in top ranks in school. This perception serves to

elevate peer respect towards Asians since it supports the model minority stereotype by portraying Asians as academically successful. Ability to gain “insider status” through academic success allows Asians to feel a higher sense of acceptance and belonging among peers. On the other hand, Blacks’ perceived inability to attain acceptance academically, as seen through continued underrepresentation of Blacks in top ranks in school, serves to lower perceived levels of respect from peers. In addition, inability to attain “insider status” creates a climate where Blacks experience lower levels of acceptance and belonging from peers.

Hypotheses regarding intraethnic differences proposed that Southeast Asians would endorse lower perceptions of school climate than both South and East Asians on student respect, student friendship and belonging, students’ ability to shape their environment, and student support and care by staff. Results did not support the proposed hypotheses. Hypothesized intraethnic sex differences were also not found.

Instead, results from this study indicate that there are no systematic differences among the groups. Contrary to expected findings, Asians, as a collective group, presented with similar views on all aspects of school climate examined. This could be due to internalization of the model minority label where both high achieving and underachieving Asians attempt to conform to expectations inherent in the label. In addition, peers and school staff may view Asians as panethnically successful and treat them accordingly, without regard to individual difference in background and ethnicity.

It was expected that in non-White and Asian dominant schools, Asians would endorse lower perceptions of student respect and student friendship and belonging than Blacks and Latinos. In addition, it was proposed that in Asian dominant schools,

Southeast Asians would endorse lower perceptions of student respect and student friendship and belonging than South and East Asians. Results found did not support the hypotheses. Instead, students in White dominant schools held lower views on overall school climate and peer respect. Further, in White dominant schools, Blacks and Asians held higher perceptions of students getting picked on by other students when compared to Asian dominant schools. This may be explained by the presence of “racial busting,” the use of racial slurs directed towards Asians and Blacks that leave White students untouched and at the top of the social hierarchy (Lee, 1996). Racial busting is rarely challenged by those targeted by the racial comments and is often laughed off in an attempt to gain acceptance. These jokes are reported to be hurtful yet are sometimes used by Blacks and Asians themselves in attempts to relate to other students. When left unchallenged or when used in collusion with Whites by Blacks and Asians, the existence of racial busting continues and serves to lower student views on student respect and overall school climate.

Results from the chi-square tests indicate that Latinos in Asian dominant schools, held more favorable perceptions of peer and teacher respect than expected whereas in White dominant schools, Latinos held more negative views of overall school climate. These findings suggest that Asian dominant schools may be more attentive to servicing the needs of non-White students, particularly Latinos.

In addition, results from the chi-square tests suggest that Asians in Asian dominant schools perceived less peer respect than expected. As discussed above, Asians who have internalized the model minority label experienced increased pressure to conform to the perceptions and expectations of that role. In an Asian dominant school

where Asians are the largest ethnic group by percentage, peers who seek support and additional assistance from teachers and staff may be viewed with less respect.

Implications for Practice

School professionals should provide more opportunities for peer support and informal systems of assistance since Asians who have internalized the pressures of conforming to the model minority label will remain hesitant to approach staff with problems. Provision of opportunities for Asians to receive support without making the help-seeking behavior obvious to peers may increase the views that Asians have regarding student support and care by staff.

Because of the subtlety of this bias, staff and educators must remain vigilant to identify and address issues of racism against Asians. In addition, educators should recognize the need to actively approach Asians to offer academic support when warranted. The pervasive view of Asians attaining global academic success is untrue. Increased support by school professionals will enable Asians to feel more supported in school, recognizing that there will be reluctance to be seen as receiving that support, at least initially.

In White dominant schools, students held more negative views on overall school climate. In addition, Blacks and Asians perceived higher levels of teasing by peers. To address these issues, school professionals must be alert to examples of racial busting and slurring and have a zero-tolerance policy toward such actions. This is necessary to communicate a clear norm of unacceptability of these kinds of remarks in the school. Educators should also work to create more student community in the classroom through increased cooperative group work and “mix it up” lunch days that require students to

mingle with those of different ethnic and gender backgrounds. A study conducted by Smith, Boulton, and Cowie (1993) found that when cooperative group work is used throughout the year, it led to reductions in negative stereotypes. Increased interaction with those of other ethnicity and gender allow previously held misconceptions about other groups to be challenged and adjusted.

Limitations of the Current Study

Several limitations should be noted for this study. Although the sample size was large, results from this study may have geographic restrictions. Since all participants are students from New Jersey schools, findings may not generalize to states such as California or Hawaii which have larger Asian populations. In addition, only two schools of each ethnic composition were used to determine the effects of school composition on school climate due to the availability found in the participant sample. Use of a larger sample size may provide results which are more representative of the effect of different ethnic school compositions.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should examine interethnic differences on student support and care by staff and students' shaping their environment in different ethnic school compositions. Since this study found Latinos to have more favorable views on student respect in Asian dominant schools, it would be interesting to explore if that finding were robust across more schools and in other geographic contexts. Also, focus groups should be run in schools to understand why Latinos might be feeling more supported by the climate in Asian-dominant schools.

The stability of findings in this study is best examined by using a wider range of schools of varied ethnic composition. Of particular interest are intraethnic Asian differences. This study found Southeast Asians and South Asians to endorse higher perceptions of student support and care by staff. This and other intraethnic differences could be examined by adding focus groups to the present methodology, toward the goal of both verifying survey data findings and, more generally, discerning the reasons behind students' perceptions.

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Table 1

School Climate Survey with Cronbach's Alpha Reliability

Subscale Question	Cronbach's Alpha
Student Respect	0.54
Students treat classmates with respect	
Students are disrespectful toward their teachers ^a	
Students pick on other students ^a	
Student Friendship and Belonging	0.68
Students exclude those who are different ^{a,b}	
Students help each other, even if they are not friends	
Students work well together	
Students help new students feel accepted	
Students are willing to forgive each other	
Students' Ability to Shape Their Environment	0.61
When students do something hurtful, they try to make up for it	
Students try to get other students to follow school rules	
Students resolve conflicts without fighting, insults, or threats ^b	
Students are involved in helping to solve school problems ^b	
Student Support and Care by Staff	0.62
Students can talk to their teachers about problems that are bothering them	
Teachers go out of their way to help students who need extra help	
In this school you can count on adults to try to make sure students are safe	
Teachers are unfair in their treatment of students ^{a,b}	
Student Climate Score	0.80

^a Questions are reverse coded. ^b Questions used for Student Climate Score only.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics

Variable	%	n
Ethnicity		
White	46.2	6376
Black	14.6	2012
Latino	7.3	1010
Asian	7.3	1003
DFG		
A	5.7	575
B	10.8	1090
CD	22.1	2240
FG	16.2	1637
GH	22.9	2319
I	22.3	2259
Sex		
Female	50.8	5268
Male	49.2	5108
Grade		
6	10.5	1016
7	15.8	1533
8	18.6	1804
9	18.3	1775
10	12.4	1198
11	12.1	1173
12	12.3	1193

Table 3

Intercorrelations Among School Climate Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4 ^a	5 ^a	6	7	8	9	10
1. Overall Student Climate	-									
2. Friendship and Belonging Subscale	.77 [†]	-								
3. Students treat classmates with respect.	.58 [†]	.49 [†]	-							
4. Students are disrespectful toward their teachers ^a	.42 [†]	.19 [†]	.22 [†]	-						
5. Students pick on other students ^a	.43 [†]	.19 [†]	.24 [†]	.37 [†]	-					
6. Students can talk to their teachers about problems that are bothering them.	.50 [†]	.27 [†]	.16 [†]	.07 [†]	.07 [†]	-				
7. Teachers go out of their way to help students who need extra help.	.45 [†]	.25 [†]	.13 [†]	.06 [†]	.02	.33 [†]	-			
8. In this school you can count on adults to try to make sure students are safe.	.54 [†]	.34 [†]	.21 [†]	.10 [†]	.07 [†]	.33 [†]	.40 [†]	-		
9. When students do something hurtful, they try to make up for it.	.58 [†]	.46 [†]	.35 [†]	.17 [†]	.21 [†]	.18 [†]	.16 [†]	.21 [†]	-	
10. Students try to get other students to follow school rules	.56 [†]	.36 [†]	.31 [†]	.17 [†]	.21 [†]	.22 [†]	.14 [†]	.21 [†]	.37 [†]	-

^aQuestions are reverse coded. [†]p < .001.