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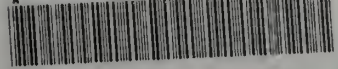
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ATTITUDES TOWARD ASIAN AMERICANS:
DEVELOPING A PREJUDICE SCALE

A Thesis Presented

by

MONICA H. LIN

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

MASTER OF SCIENCE

February 1999

Psychology

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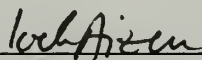
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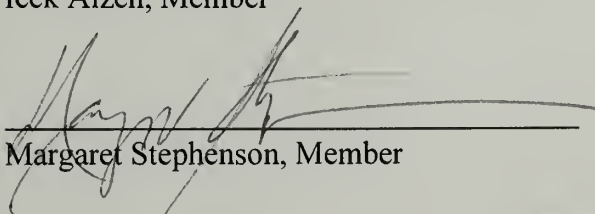
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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES TOWARD ASIAN AMERICANS: DEVELOPING A PREJUDICE SCALE

FEBRUARY 1999

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Four studies addressed the development and validation of the Anti-Asian American Prejudice Scale (AAAPS), a scale that measures levels of ambivalent prejudice against Asian Americans. The main hypothesis was that differential expressions of anti-Asian American prejudice relate to two stereotype dimensions: (excessive) competence and (lack of) sociability. Thus, the anti-Asian American profile was presumed to differ from sexism and anti-Black racism, which depict the targets as incompetent and socially skilled.

Study 1 initiated scale construction and involved 296 respondents to a 131-item racial attitudes questionnaire. Studies 2 and 3, which contributed to further scale development and validation, included 684 respondents to a focused 25-item version of the AAAPS. Eighty-five White American participants completed the final 25-item AAAPS in Study 4, which tested the scale's predictive power in two ways: (1) by examining whether respondents' scores could predict actual social distance behaviors toward Asian Americans; and (2) by experimentally investigating how the situational context might influence high- and low-prejudice individuals' evaluative judgments of an Asian American target.

Altogether the studies demonstrate the validity of the AAAPS and also provide meaningful insight into the ambivalent nature of anti-Asian American prejudice. Besides its practical and social utility, this scale assesses, for the first time, prejudice against Asian Americans, which contrasts with the most-often studied form of racial prejudice (against Black Americans).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Because racial prejudice can create intergroup conflicts that weaken the positive race relations society would ideally like to maintain, it has been the subject of ongoing social psychological inquiry (e.g., see Brewer & Brown, 1998; Fiske, 1998). Yet despite the accumulated knowledge on prejudice, the scope of our understanding of it is limited. The majority of psychological theories on racial prejudice in the U.S. have stemmed from studies of White Americans' stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination against Black Americans only.¹ Such dichotomous racial theorizing precludes investigations using other racial target groups that could provide added insight into the components and mechanisms of prejudice. Thus, the current body of research along Black and White lines leaves open to debate whether issues of racial stereotyping and prejudice have been fully explored.

In view of the narrow focus of previous prejudice studies, the present research investigated the types of attitudes non-Asian people have about Asian Americans, a group not expressly recognized within social psychology as the possible target of racial prejudice.² The main aims were to construct and validate the Anti-Asian American Prejudice Scale (AAAPS), a racial attitudes scale that assesses beliefs and attitudes about Asian Americans, as no such scale exists. Importantly, the creation of this attitude measure marks a first step in acknowledging the true complexity of racial categorization and evaluation by moving beyond conceptualizations of prejudice as solely a White-Black concern.

Chapter 1 argues the need to expand the study of prejudice, explains theories of ambivalence that illuminate anti-Asian American prejudice, and then presents a survey of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors toward Asian Americans that further implicates the concept of ambivalence as a key element of prejudice against this racial group. In Chapters 2 through 4, the focus turns to the research methods and findings of four studies conducted to develop and validate the AAAPS. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the implications and possible future directions of this particular line of research.

Broadening the Study of Prejudice

That the research findings of White Americans' racial beliefs and attitudes toward Blacks can generalize to other racial target groups is a dubious presumption, especially when regarding the issue of attitudinal specificity. Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) argued that attitude measures and behavioral criteria must sufficiently correspond with each other to demonstrate their degree of relationship. In other words, because a single act toward a target is subject to multiple influences specific to the act and the situational context, the general attitude toward the target is not suitable to predict any single act with substantial accuracy. As they suggested, greater accuracy can be expected when considering a more specific attitude toward the behavior.

Based on such reasoning the attitude measures derived from analyses of Whites' stereotypic beliefs about Blacks should best predict their response tendencies toward no other racial group but Blacks. Given the range of racial minority group experiences with the dominant society, and the divergent histories of racial minority populations, we can logically assume that different beliefs will underlie various kinds of prejudice against various racial groups. Shifting research attention to other racial target groups in addition

to Blacks could advance the understanding of the complicated dynamics of prejudice and raise new investigative questions. One such question, to be addressed next, relates to the topic of which theoretical framework viably explains variations in stereotype content and displays of prejudice when Asian Americans are the targets of racial bias.

Theories of Ambivalence: Implications for Anti-Asian American Prejudice

Images of numerous Asian American groups have run the spectrum, from that of the mid-nineteenth century “coolie” and the World War II era “enemy race,” to the post-1965 educated immigrant and the present “model minority” (Marger, 1994). How the dominant group regards Asian Americans as a whole depends upon situational (i.e., historical) factors, among others, which produce variations of these extremely negative and “positive” images. Because major fluctuations have occurred, it is likely that the contemporary image of Asian Americans entails negativity along with positivity. The suspected ambivalence toward this racial group makes compelling the study of anti-Asian prejudice because of the implications for already established theories of ambivalence.

In the broadest sense, the concept of ambivalence describes the degree of evaluative dissimilarity or inconsistency of beliefs, such that ambivalent images include desirable as well as undesirable attributes (Scott, 1969). The view that prejudice may be ambivalent, or multidimensional, holds much significance, namely because it challenges the unidimensional perspectives, such as Allport’s (1954), which refer to prejudice as either a felt or expressed antipathy. Without completely dismissing the unidimensional outlook, the ambivalence framework instead posits that the incongruity of positive and negative beliefs is an important structural property characterizing stereotype content and influencing the mechanisms of attitude expression.

One approach to racial ambivalence is the ambivalence-amplification theory, which proposes that many White Americans possess two contradicting racial attitudes about Blacks, one favorable and the other hostile (Katz, 1981; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986). These attitudes presumably are grounded in two core value systems of U.S. society: humanitarianism-egalitarianism, which engenders a sincere sympathy and concern for the well-being of Blacks; and the Protestant ethic, which gives way to critical beliefs about Blacks who are perceived to diverge from the central values of self-reliance, devotion to work, and achievement (Katz & Hass, 1988; Katz et al., 1986). The theory states that when Whites encounter Blacks, relevant target information discredits either the positive or negative aspect of their ambivalent attitudes. In turn, Whites amplify one pole of the attitude through displays of extremely positive or extremely negative behaviors toward Blacks, depending on the situational context (e.g., Katz, Cohen, & Glass, 1975; Katz, Glass, & Cohen, 1973; cf. Carver, Glass, Snyder, & Katz, 1977).

In short, the ambivalence-amplification conception emphasizes Blacks as the target of racial ambivalence, but leaves unknown whether the exact sources of ambivalence toward Blacks also apply to other racial target groups, such as Asian Americans. Nevertheless, the theory prompts special consideration of possible conflicts within contemporary racial attitudes, and explicates the role of ambivalence in maintaining a certain kind of racial prejudice.

Along a similar vein, Glick and Fiske's (1996) ambivalent sexism theory posits two simultaneously held sexist attitudes toward women: sexist antipathy, otherwise referred to as hostile sexism; and subjectively positive (for the sexist) attitudes labeled as benevolent sexism. These two theoretical constructs are positively correlated, which

differentiates this formulation of ambivalence from others premised on the necessarily conflicting nature of ambivalent attitudes. Sexist ambivalence can be manifested in an “unconflicted” version wherein different subtypes of women evoke extremely negative or extremely positive responses. Alternatively, it can appear in a “conflicted” form wherein generic female targets trigger both hostile and benevolent attitudes.

As the dimensions of hostile and benevolent sexism ultimately tap into opposing evaluative orientations toward women, they represent a unique variety of ambivalence, whose roots lie in structural power, gender identity, and heterosexuality (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Specifically, ambivalent sexists tend to engage in the power dynamics of both dominative paternalism and protective paternalism; differentiate the genders in competitive as well as complementary trait or behavioral terms; and are motivated to gain male sexual dominance or seek heterosexual intimacy. Further complicating ambivalence toward women is the tendency for sexist men to identify women as either the likable but incompetent traditional type, or the competent but dislikable nontraditional type (Glick, Diebold, Bailey, & Zhu, 1997).

Because the targets of ambivalence in this case are women, it may seem at first glance that the ambivalent sexism approach is not markedly pertinent to conceptions of racial ambivalence. However, the features of opposing evaluative orientations of correlated attitude dimensions, and group polarization along the dimensions of likability and competence, both point out that ambivalent sexism theory may possess some relevance to the conceptualization of anti-Asian American prejudice. This would be particularly true if perceptions of Asian Americans indeed revolve around cultural stereotypes of their high competence and low sociability.

This two-dimensional scheme denoting competence and sociability (likability) matches a set of principles that potentially explains the content of certain outgroup stereotypes (Fiske, 1998; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, in press). A careful review of generic group stereotypes reveals the existence of two clusters of outgroups: those who achieve liking but are disrespected because of perceived incompetence (e.g., traditional women, Blacks, the elderly, the disabled), and those who gain respect because of perceived high competence but are disliked and envied (e.g., Asian Americans, Jews, nontraditional women). According to recent findings, whether a group is stereotyped as competent or likable will depend on the structural relationships (i.e., relative group status and cooperative or competitive interdependence) between groups (Fiske et al., in press). As for Asian Americans, they fit in with the cluster that is respected but disliked most likely because of their perceived competence in education and their demonstrations of relative economic success (see Hurh & Kim, 1989; Kitano & Sue, 1973; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). The respect they may receive from others, however, is oftentimes accompanied by feelings of envy, which renders the respect itself ambivalent.

It is not entirely a surprise that the dimensions of competence and sociability appear to describe the content of stereotypes underpinning racial attitudes toward Asian Americans. Previous person perception research on the structure of personality impressions has reported that multidimensional scaling analyses of people's trait ratings result in a two-dimensional configuration. One dimension is represented by socially positive (sociable, popular, honest) and socially negative (cold, humorless, dominating) traits, and another dimension is marked by intellectually positive (intelligent, determined,

scientific) or intellectually negative (unimaginative, foolish, irresponsible) traits (Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968; see also, Asch, 1946).

In sum, the theoretical formulations discussed in this section clarify the subtle and complex ways in which attitudes toward Blacks and women can be conveyed, and also indicate that the complementary dimensions of sociability and competence could serve as a useful framework for analyzing ambivalent attitudes. Note, however, that these two groups fall into the potentially likable but incompetent cluster, whereas Asian Americans fall into the dislikable but competent cluster. In light of such, the theoretical applicability of existing ambivalence perspectives to the conceptualization of prejudice against Asian Americans deserves further examination. The following section on the historical development and current patterns of anti-Asian stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination provides additional evidence for ambivalent perceptions and treatments of Asian Americans.

Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination against Asian Americans

The history of Asian American experiences, which includes over 600 pieces of anti-Asian legislation between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shifting racial stereotypes, and recent anti-Asian activity, makes it clear that members of this racial group have had to confront extreme forms of prejudice and discrimination (Chan, 1991; Espiritu, 1992; Takaki, 1989). Over time, though, the status of Asian Americans has varied, pointing to the many contradictions in the ways they have been characterized and treated (Ancheta, 1998; Espiritu, 1997; Hurh & Kim, 1989; Sue & Kitano, 1973). As such, the concept of ambivalence may help decipher the conflicting messages regarding the dominant White group's attitudes and behaviors toward Asian Americans.

In a renowned racial stereotype study by Katz and Braly (1933), many different stereotypes were associated with Asians. Specifically, Japanese were seen as intelligent, industrious, progressive, shrewd, shy, and quiet, while Chinese were stereotyped as superstitious, sly, conservative, tradition loving, and loyal to family ties. According to Sue and Kitano (1973), portrayals of Asians in the mass media were overwhelmingly negative during the time the study was conducted. Yet participants listed relatively positive stereotypes together with the negative ones, offering an early indication of a mixed view on Asians.

Similar stereotypes prevailed during later decades, with Chinese and Japanese Americans, especially, being thought of as intelligent, industrious, loyal to family, quiet, and shy (Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Maykovich, 1972). Though seemingly positive, these stereotypes bear the kernels of ambivalence: lack of sociability with the dominant group (loyal to family, quiet, shy) but competent (intelligent and industrious). Such images also undercut the diversity among Asian Americans and prescribe stereotype-consistent thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, thus limiting and controlling members of the group (see Fiske, 1993). In subsequent years, the “model minority” stereotype of being successful, intelligent, and hardworking was eventually attributed to the entire racial groups on account of the relative economic and educational attainments of some subgroups of Asian Americans (see Kitano & Sue, 1973). Most recently, Asian Americans have been categorized on one hand as more self-disciplined and more traditional than Whites (again, relatively competent), and on the other hand, less popular, less lazy, less sexually loose, and less materialistic than Whites (again, relatively unsociable) (Jackson et al., 1996). Together, the varying patterns of stereotypes have led

to the popular opinion that Asian Americans have overcome prejudice and discrimination (cf. Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990; Hurh & Kim, 1989; Tan, 1994). However, negative representations of Asian Americans linger in the media, and anti-Asian violence still occurs (Hamamoto, 1992; Takaki, 1989; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1992).

The more accurate depiction is that nowadays attitudes toward Asian Americans consist of positive as well as negative aspects. Such is implied in the widespread “model minority” stereotype, which assumes Asian Americans are intelligent and self-disciplined, but unsociable and unpopular. If the majority of beliefs about Asian Americans indeed lie high on the dimension of competence and low on the dimension of sociability, non-Asian individuals will likely associate both positive and negative attributes with Asian Americans. As the competent but disliked outgroup, Asian Americans would be prime targets of ambivalence.

The simultaneous positive and negative views of Asian Americans speak to the historical transformation of culturally defined Asian American stereotypes that have reflected many of the developments in this group’s racial experiences. It can be expected, then, that the instances of prejudice and discrimination that Asian Americans face are qualitatively different from those faced by other racial target groups. Arguably, it would be most appropriate to define anti-Asian American prejudice on its own terms, but certainly in light of extant theories that may contribute to its more solid conceptual formation.

Ambivalent Prejudice against Asian Americans

Three specific and interrelated reasons explain why anti-Asian American prejudice might be ambivalent. First, the recent shifts toward explicit egalitarian norms

(see Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 1991) belie the sometimes implicit prejudice and discrimination still being directed against Asian Americans. As such, Whites may be motivated to dissociate their overt behaviors toward Asian Americans from their covert thoughts and feelings of resentment against a racial group perceived to adhere perhaps "too" fervently to the Protestant ethic. Stereotypes of Asian Americans as highly self-reliant and disciplined place this racial outgroup on par with the White ingroup, and may challenge Whites' desires to make fair-minded evaluations of Asian Americans.

Aversions to being equivalent with (or surpassed by) this racial outgroup, coupled with the social desirability to appear nonprejudiced, could foster ambivalence.

Along related lines, White Americans may view certain social or cultural characteristics positively when they are either linked to their ingroup or evaluated without reference to any particular group. When such characteristics become associated with beliefs about an outgroup, however, Whites may change how they view those characteristics (Hurr & Kim, 1989). From the perspective of Whites, then, positive characteristics are assets only when they reflect well upon oneself and one's ingroup (see Brewer & Brown, 1998, for a review of the ingroup favoritism literature). If they instead reflect well upon an outgroup, the outgroup suddenly engenders a threat. Group-level threats extend to situations at the individual level as well. For example, specific outgroup members can be seen as hindering a perceiver's goals through direct competition or simply through the pursuit of different goals. Unattained or interrupted goals then generate negative emotions that the perceiver casts onto the outgroup (Fiske & Ruscher, 1993).

In relating these findings to attitudes toward Asian Americans, it may be the case that associating the Asian outgroup with many positive attributes along the dimension of

competence poses a threat to White ingroup goals. Suspicions of Asian interference in such goals might then become seeds for envy, signs of threat, or symbols of competition (see Insko & Schopler, 1998, for a discussion of assumed intergroup competition). As a consequence, the positive attributes supposedly embodied by the Asian outgroup then undergo a transformation in which they lose their original meaning. That is, positive attributes become imbued with negativity and are denounced when identified with the Asian outgroup, even though these very attributes are what the White ingroup privately respects and promotes. Thus, group threat based on the stereotype of high competence would create a negative orientation toward Asian Americans that causes outgroup derogation and contention. Following directly from the high competence stereotype and the accompanying perceptions of outgroup competition is the stereotype of insufficient sociability. If Asian Americans are stereotyped as perpetual hard workers, then naive logic would suggest that the presumed industrious behavior of this group leads to high (or excessive) competence but leaves little room for sociability. The low levels of sociability associated with Asians additionally reinforce tendencies toward either outgroup derogation or heightened White favoritism. Therefore, anti-Asian American prejudice possible involves two correlated sets of attitudes that nonetheless represent opposite evaluative directions (high competence versus low sociability) that lead to ambivalence. Recent research on the dimensions of ambivalent stereotypes supports the notion that relative competence and unsociability go hand in hand, for correlations ranging from $-.57$ to $-.30$ were found between competence and likability (sociability) measures (Fiske et al., in press).

Third, Asian Americans are seen as the “model minority” because certain Asian ethnic subgroups enjoy relative success, but also as “the other,” based on salient “non-normative” physical characteristics. These contradictory images reinforce the idea that Asian Americans are highly competent but not likable. Moreover, because one cannot easily justify disparaging a competent outgroup’s efforts and intellectual abilities, Asian Americans instead tend to be derogated for a presumed deficiency in interpersonal skills or human attributes such as compassion and integrity (see Fiske, 1998). Consequently, Asian Americans become the targets of racial ambivalence under certain circumstances, as they may be admired or envied for their perceived competence, or they may be favored or denigrated for their perceived lack of sociability.

It appears that the principal sources of ambivalence toward Asian Americans are related to stereotype content – specifically, the simultaneously contrasting and complementary attitudes of Whites that follow the dimensions of competence and sociability – and not the instability of racial attitudes or extreme responses within differing situational contexts. In short, the outlined reasons together imply that prejudice against Asian Americans is linked to ambivalent stereotypes and attitudes. The construction and validation of the attitude measure intended to elucidate the role of ambivalence in prejudice against this racial group are presented in the following chapters.

Overview

The main goals were to develop the Anti-Asian American Prejudice Scale (AAAPS) and ascertain its predictive validity in light of ambivalence theory. Study 1 concentrated on the initial phases of scale construction and first addressed the issue of whether differential expressions of prejudice might relate to the hypothesized stereotype

dimensions of competence and sociability. Studies 2 and 3 tested the construct validity of a focused version of the AAAPS to confirm the competence and sociability dimensions. Study 4 analyzed the predictive power of the final 25-item AAAPS in two ways: (1) by examining whether respondents' scores could predict social distance behaviors involving Asian Americans; and (2) by investigating experimentally how the situational context can influence high- and low-prejudice individuals' evaluations of an Asian American target. In combination, the studies illustrate the scale's validity and provide important insight into the nature of prejudice against Asian Americans.

Studies 1, 2, and 3 are reported together in Chapter 2 for maximal clarity and comparative purposes. The results from each are compiled in terms of the conceptual and empirical topics addressed during the multiple stages of scale development and validation. Chapter 3 describes a pilot study that served as the basis for designing Study 4. Study 4 is presented separately in Chapter 4, as it specifically tested the predictive validity of the AAAPS in an experimental setting.

Notes

¹I acknowledge and respect the different terminologies people use to describe social groups in the U.S. that have historically been distinguished according to the social construct of race. However, to convey the racialized identities, as opposed to the cultural identities, of the three social groups most relevant in the case of this research, I use the terms “Asian American,” “Black American,” and “White American” interchangeably with “Asian,” “Black,” and “White.”

²Because the present research investigated the nature of anti-Asian American prejudice, an attitude that typically extends more to this racial group as a whole and less to specific Asian ethnicities, reference is made to Asian Americans as a single, broad group. The reader should be aware, however, that this group certainly embodies much cultural and experiential diversity. In fact, the term “Asian American” refers to members of over 25 groups that have been categorized in the U.S. as a singular group on account of their common ancestral origins in Asia and the Pacific Islands, seemingly common resemblance in physical appearance, and similar cultural beliefs and values (Uba, 1994). Subsuming a diversified population under one label has served over the years to emphasize the racialization of individuals with Asian ethnic origins and their shared experience of anti-Asian sentiments and activity. This racial grouping has also encouraged pan-ethnic ties that have helped foster a sense of Asian American solidarity and social identity.

CHAPTER 2

STUDIES 1 THROUGH 3: SCALE DEVELOPMENT AND INITIAL VALIDATION

Generating Scale Items

To obtain baseline measures of current widespread beliefs about Asian Americans, 76 undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst freely listed any Asian American stereotypes they could call into mind, regardless of personal endorsement. After grouping the lists according to content similarity, the majority of expressed stereotypes clearly fell along the dimensions of sociability (i.e., lacking thereof), competence (i.e., possessing a competitive work ethic), and foreignness (i.e., not fitting into mainstream U.S. culture). A 131-item version of the scale was devised with regard to these three dimensions, and scale items for each dimension reflected either identifying or ascribed stereotype elements concerning Asian Americans (see Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). Identifying stereotype elements referred to cues one might use to mark someone as an instance of the category label "Asian American" (e.g., Asian Americans have a foreign appearance). In contrast, ascribed stereotype elements referred either to personal feelings aroused by the category label, or to expected patterns of behavior for members of the target group (e.g., Asian Americans are motivated to obtain too much power in our society). In the end, 131 scale items, with approximately 45 items per dimension, constituted the preliminary prejudice scale, which was administered in Study 1. Further scale development (discussed in detail in subsequent sections) created a restricted version of the AAAPS that participants in Studies 2 and 3 completed.

Participants and General Procedure

The three studies together included a total of 980 individuals. In all cases, participants were guaranteed confidentiality of responses. Complete anonymity, however, could not be granted because the samples consisted of undergraduate students participating either in exchange for course credit (Study 1) or in a general prescreening session for all introductory psychology students (Studies 2 and 3). Instead, participants were at least assured that an assigned code number, rather than their names, would be used to identify their response data. Although recruitment procedures varied, administration of the 131-item scale and the abbreviated 25-item version was consistent across samples; participants were always in a group environment and were instructed to respond to each of the scale items.

All respondents reported their opinions on the item statements using a 6-point rating scale, ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). To control for acquiescence bias, approximately half of the statements on the 131-item version, and almost one third of the statements on the 25-item version, were phrased as reverse-scored scale items.¹ After reversing those items, higher numbers indicated a more prejudiced response.

Sample 1

In Study 1, 296 undergraduate students (237 women and 59 men) from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst were recruited and received extra course credit for their participation. Mean age of the students was 20.4 years. The racial breakdown revealed there were 231 White Americans, 32 non-Asian people of color, and 27 Asian Americans. Six students did not specify their racial identity. A White female research

assistant ran participants in small groups of up to ten, and explained that the 131-item questionnaire they would receive was part of a large series of questionnaires being administered to assess the variety of social groups. Once respondents had completed the questionnaire, they reported on a separate form their age, gender, and racial identity. Responses to the 131 items were used in the first stage of scale development.

Samples 2 and 3

Studies 2 and 3 tested the validity of the AAAPS. These studies involved only White American undergraduates at the University of Massachusetts enrolled in introductory psychology classes who took part in two different general subject-pool prescreening sessions. The age range of participants resembled that of the previous sample. Sample 2 was composed of 429 students (248 women, 178 men, and 3 unspecified sex), and Sample 3 was composed of 255 students (158 women, 96 men, and 1 unspecified sex). Both respondent samples completed the 25-item AAAPS, which was included in the prescreening questionnaire among a series of scales submitted by other researchers interested in using the prescreen data for subsequent participant selection. All answers were indicated on computerized optical scan forms.

Exploratory Factor Analysis of Sample 1

Because scale items presumably reflected levels of anti-Asian prejudice, the exploratory factor analysis of Sample 1 excluded responses from the 27 Asian American participants and the 6 participants who did not disclose their racial identities. Furthermore, based on Sample 1, 8 of the original 131 item statements were identified as unlikely to distinguish between high- and low-prejudice individuals because they showed

low variances and extreme means ($M \leq 1$ or $M \geq 4$). These eight items were eliminated before any data analyses were conducted.

After deleting the relevant items from Sample 1, 123 items were factor analyzed using a principal components model with varimax rotation. The two strongest emerging factors matched two of the three hypothesized dimensions. A sociability factor (Factor 1) with an eigen-value of 29.77 accounted for 24.2% of the variance, and a competence factor (Factor 2) with an eigen-value of 5.49 accounted for 4.5% of the variance. Factor 3 (eigen-value = 4.35, accounting for 3.5% of the variance) slightly resembled the hypothesized dimension of foreignness, as it contained five items tapping into views on Asian Americans' physical appearance (e.g., Asian Americans do not reflect an ideal beauty). Factor 4 (eigen-value = 4.08, accounting for 3.3% of the variance) included three items capturing perceptions of Asian Americans in relation to U.S. culture (e.g., Asian Americans do not fully comprehend American culture), and thus appeared to reflect the foreignness dimension as well. But because too few of the items on Factors 3 and 4 met a .50 criterion for rotated factor loadings during this first stage of scale development, further versions of the AAAPS do not contain a foreignness dimension.

None of the remaining 29 factors with eigen-values greater than 1.00 included enough items loading at least .50 to be considered as additional factors. Moreover, these minor factors offered no substantial theoretical input to the scale's development (each accounted for less than 1.7% of the variance), and as such, are not reported.

Item Selection for the Restricted Scale Version

The initial exploratory analysis of Sample 1 provided some basis on which the original item pool could be condensed to create a focused version of the scale. Of the

123 factor-analyzed items, those not cross-loading on other factors and loading .50 or higher on the dominant sociability factor or the secondary competence factor were retained. Using these criteria, the selection process yielded a total of 12 competence items and 13 sociability items (see Appendix A for the complete AAAPS). Further exploratory factor analyses of the 25-item set with Samples 2 and 3 were then performed to obtain similar two-factor solutions.

Factor Structure Verification

Samples 2 and 3 were used in independent principal components factor analyses with varimax rotation. With Sample 2, three factors emerged: a strong sociability factor (Factor 1, eigen-value = 11.41) accounting for 45.6% of the variance; a secondary competence factor (Factor 2, eigen-value = 3.09) accounting for 12.4% of the variance; and a much less pronounced reversed-item factor (Factor 3, eigen-value = 1.25) accounting for 5.0% of the variance (see Table 2.1, Sample 2). For the first two factors, item loadings were in the expected direction and were moderately high (.55 or greater). Except for one competence item that loaded lowest on the sociability factor, and one sociability item that loaded second lowest on the competence factor, all three factors were unambiguous in terms of the pertinent items composing each.

Turning to Sample 3, a nearly equivalent factor solution emerged. In this case, a dominant sociability factor (Factor 1, eigen-value = 11.36) accounted for 45.4% of the variance; a secondary competence factor (Factor 2, eigen-value = 3.13) accounted for 12.5% of the variance; and a much less pronounced reversed-item factor (Factor 3, eigen-value = 1.15) accounted for 4.6% of the variance (see Table 2.1, Sample 3). Once again, for the first two factors, the factor loadings were in the direction expected and were of at

least moderate strength (ranging from .45 to .79). All nine non-reversed sociability items as well as five non-reversed competence items constituted the first factor. The second factor contained the other five non-reversed competence items, and the third factor contained all six reverse-worded items.

Across the three samples, the factor solutions display the observable pattern that at least one factor reflected more a sociability dimension and another reflected more a competence dimension. Because of their loading on a third minor factor with Samples 2 and 3, the reversed items evidently did not work as well as the non-reversed ones did, but they still contributed to the scale by controlling for acquiescence bias, as discussed below. Given such a picture, the 12 competence items and 13 sociability items originally identified for the restricted item set were viewed as constituting, respectively, the competence and sociability subscales of the AAAPS.

Properties of the Sociability and Competence Subscales

Reliability

Internal reliability tests were conducted only on Samples 2 and 3 because these respondents had completed the focused version of the AAAPS. The two groups demonstrated respectably high alpha coefficients for total scores on the competence subscale (alphas = .91 and .90, respectively), the sociability subscale (alpha = .88 for both), and the scale as a whole (alpha = .94 for both). The high reliabilities within subscales indicate that the items forming each do measure related concepts. Likewise, the strong alpha coefficients for the entire AAAPS suggest that even though an orthogonal rotation was used to construct two subscales, scores on the subscales may be correlated, especially as indicated by the factor solution for Sample 3.

Correlations between Subscale Scores

In light of the reliability findings, and also the overlap of sociability and competence items with Sample 3, respondents' score totals on each subscale were used to examine the extent to which the subscales might be related operationally. Correlational analyses pointed out that for Sample 2, total scores on the competence ($\underline{M} = 27.05$) and sociability ($\underline{M} = 28.95$) subscales were significantly and positively correlated, $r = .79$, $p < .001$. A similar positive correlation was detected between total competence scores ($\underline{M} = 27.51$) and total sociability scores ($\underline{M} = 28.52$) for Sample 3, $r = .81$, $p < .001$.

If acquiescence bias was contributing to these high correlations between subscales, then prior to any reverse scoring, the reversed and non-reversed items should show an unexpected strong, positive relationship to each other. Such was found not to be the case for Samples 2 and 3, for each sample's mean score of the 19 non-reversed items ($\underline{M}s = 2.11$ and 2.12 , respectively) was significantly and negatively correlated ($r_s = -.17$ and $-.18$, $ps < .004$, respectively) with the mean score of the 6 reversed items ($\underline{M}s = 2.35$ and 2.58 , respectively). This would be the case only if no measurement biases stood in the way of the true negative relation between these two types of items. Thus, acquiescence bias cannot reasonably account for the positively correlated subscore scales because it appears the respondents were indeed mindful of the difference between reverse- and non-reverse-scored items. But the negative correlations were not 1.00, which implies that the reverse-scored items captured something else, perhaps a general positivity, as these were item statements worded to be the opposite of the negative stereotypes about Asian Americans' competence and sociability.

Initial Indications of Validity

Even in the face of correlated subscale scores, respondents differed somehow in their perceptions of Asian Americans along the dimensions of competence and sociability, for the two strongest factors emerging in the factor analyses of Samples 2 and 3 plainly comprised either more sociability than competence items, or vice versa. As such, the analysis proceeded to discover whether the differences were grounded in people actually believing Asian Americans are highly competent but unsociable, as hypothesized.

Properties of Mean Subscale Scores

Prejudiced respondents would presumably differ from relatively nonprejudiced respondents on both subscales of the AAAPS, but an independent measure of prejudice was not gathered from all participants of the three studies. Because Samples 2 and 3 completed other prejudice scales besides the 25-item AAAPS, their results are discussed in the next section. As for Sample 1 who completed only the 131-item AAAPS, they had responded to the competence and sociability subscale items within the context of 131 item statements. Nevertheless, we can defensibly obtain an accurate view of where these respondents fell, as a whole, on the proposed dimensions of the restricted 25-item set by examining their group means.

Sample 1's average scores for the two subscales were tested separately against the scale's negative endpoint (0 = strongly disagree). Results from paired t-tests showed that average competence ($M = 2.24$) and sociability ($M = 1.85$) scores were significantly higher than the negative endpoint, $t_s(262) > 34.46$, $ps < .001$. Respondents, therefore, did not disagree with the scale items to the point of indicating the least amount of prejudice.

Moreover, paired t-test comparisons of the subscale scores against each other found that the respondents as a group scored significantly higher on the competence subscale ($M = 2.24$) than they did on the sociability subscale ($M = 1.85$), $t(262) = 8.73$, $p < .001$.

Hence, regarding differences in where Sample 1 stood on one dimension relative to the other, respondents indicated greater agreement with the envious competence items as opposed to the lack of sociability ones.

Construct Validity of the AAAPS

Positive correlations between attitudes to various outgroups have repeatedly been documented, thereby empirically supporting the notion that individuals prejudiced against one group will also be prejudiced against others (see, e.g., the studies reviewed by Duckitt, 1992; see also Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein, 1969). Given this likelihood, it was predicted that participants in Studies 2 and 3 would respond differentially on the 25-item AAAPS according to their levels of prejudice, as determined by two independent measures of prejudice that were included in each of the prescreening questionnaires administered.

Along with the AAAPS, participants in Study 2 completed the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), which contains hostile and benevolent sexism subscales that may be combined to form an overall measure of ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). As Glick and Fiske have maintained, sexist ambivalence polarizes responses to women along the dimensions of likability (or sociability) and competence. Considering the similarity between their assertion and the belief here that responses to Asian Americans also fall along these two dimensions (but instead in the direction of high competence versus low sociability), participants' overall ASI and AAAPS scores

were submitted to a correlational analysis with the expectation that a low to moderate positive correlation would be obtained. The results indicated that the AAAPS and ASI correlated rather highly, $r = .54$, $p < .001$. The relative strength of this correlation suggests that prejudiced attitudes against Asian Americans and women yield more convergence than divergence, in part, because the nature of ambivalence toward these two target groups is comparable. Ambivalent prejudice among sexist individuals, then, may well generalize to racial target groups.

In Study 3, participants completed both the AAAPS and the 10-item Subtle Prejudice Scale (SPS), with "Blacks" substituted as the target category (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The SPS captures the underlying components of subtle prejudice, which include (1) the defense of the ingroup's traditional cultural values, (2) the overstatement of cultural group differences, and (3) the denial of positive emotions about the target group. The AAAPS is not being proposed as a subtle prejudice measure per se; however, as Pettigrew and Meertens remind us, most of the old-fashioned racial prejudices have transformed into a modern form in which views against racial minorities remain forcefully intact although they are conveyed much more indirectly. Consequently, anti-Asian prejudice, which is posited as ambivalent, may share characteristics with subtle prejudice against Blacks because both are, theoretically speaking, modern types of racism.

Because both attitude measures involved racial target groups, a positive correlation of a magnitude higher than that of the ASI and AAAPS was predicted. Indeed, the correlational analysis of participants' total scores from the two scales showed the anticipated moderately high correlation, $r = .57$, $p < .001$, indicating that the AAAPS

measures a type of racial prejudice related to, but not precisely the same as, subtle prejudice against Blacks. These findings illustrate that the degree of endorsement of item statements intended to represent prejudice against Asian Americans would clearly predict levels of prejudice against Black Americans, thus presenting additional robust evidence for the construct validity of the AAAPS.

Discussion

In the beginning phase of scale construction, the findings showed that at least 25 of the items generated for the initial item pool distinguished the hypothesized dimensions of sociability (13 items) and competence (12 items). These 25 items were subsequently factor analyzed using two other large samples to replicate the basic factor structure and establish preliminary evidence for the construct validity of the final AAAPS. The three-factor solution for Sample 2 showed a pattern of differentiation between the first and second factors that resembled the proposed dimensions. Specifically, the dominant first factor comprised all non-reversed sociability items (and one non-reversed competence item), and the more modest second factor comprised all non-reversed competence items (and one non-reversed sociability item). A basically equivalent three-factor solution presented itself with Sample 3, except the dominant sociability factor also contained five non-reversed competence items, and the secondary factor contained only non-reversed competence items.

A careful look at the items constituting the first two factors for Sample 3 better explains why a subset of competence items loaded with all the non-reversed sociability items on a single factor. The dominant first factor, while obviously capturing the dimension of sociability, also implied a general feeling of resentment toward seemingly

flaunted Asian outgroup achievement over others. Thus, if the perception is that Asian Americans are attempting to gain superiority (e.g., think they are smarter, motivated to obtain too much power), then as compensation, this racial outgroup must be seen as inferior (in some respect) by lacking at least sociability (e.g., have less fun, do not interact with others smoothly). In contrast, the other subset of competence items loading on the second factor appeared to reflect the view that the Asian American outgroup is exceedingly cutthroat (e.g., overly competitive, working all the time).

For Samples 2 and 3, the first two factors accounted for nearly 60% of the variance in scale items, and a third emergent factor accounted for a considerably smaller portion of the variance (approximately 5%). Noticeably, this third factor contained all the reversed items. In analyzing the relationship between these items and the rest of the scale prior to any reverse scoring, significant negative correlations confirmed that respondents in both samples were aware of the true negative relation between reversed and non-reversed scale items. Because the negative correlations were not 1.00, the reversed items were picking up on another characteristic that may relate to the reversed items' reflection of positivity. Specifically, the reverse-coded, stereotype-inconsistent item statements referred to more agreeable levels of competence or sociability compared to all the non-reversed, stereotype-consistent item statements that instead referred to excessive competence or lack of sociability. Perhaps because the reversed items did not serve as well as the others as statements reflecting negative beliefs, they loaded with each other on a minor third factor, rather than on the respective factor representing competence or sociability.

Although some variation in scale structure was apparent across the studies, one relative consistency was observable. Namely, the factor solutions produced at least one dominant sociability factor and a secondary competence factor in each case, with the original sociability and competence items loading more often than not on their corresponding factors. Importantly, internal reliability analyses of the two subscales yielded high alpha coefficients across Samples 2 and 3, which affirmed that the scale dimensions consist of associated concepts tapping into perceptions of competence and sociability. When combining the subscales, the alpha reliability coefficients remained exceptionally high, suggesting that the two dimensions both may assess a single theoretical construct, even though the factor analyses identified two main factors underlying the restricted scale.

The high correlation between subscales may question the need for maintaining their distinction and also seems to contradict the notion that the AAAPS truly captures ambivalence. If ambivalence is conceived in the traditional terms of evaluative dissimilarity or incompatibility of beliefs, then the correlational and reliability findings point out that the 25 items might actually formulate a unified scale that measures an unambivalent form of anti-Asian prejudice. Because the majority of scale items refer to either a lack of sociability or excessiveness in competence, endorsement of these items would signify an overall negative evaluation. With no significant incongruency between responses for each dimension, there is reason to suspect that ambivalence may not lie firmly at the core of the scale.

In addressing the issue of whether the AAAPS demonstrates ambivalence, the evaluative orientations of the subscales must be considered. This is especially important

given that targets of ambivalence are thought to possess both desirable and undesirable attributes, and that each subscale of the AAAPS intended to represent one of these sets of attributes. To tap into the undesirable attributes associated with Asian Americans, the sociability subscale appropriately consists of items all aimed at encapsulating the negative belief that this racial group is low in sociability. Hence, this subscale adequately represents one component of the hypothesized ambivalence underlying anti-Asian prejudice.

The other component that deals with desirable attributes relating to Asian Americans' competence is more problematic because of the complication involved in devising a separate subscale that measures the positive complement to the negative stereotype of unsociability. Even if Whites do hold an ambivalent image of Asian Americans as highly competent and not sociable, the mere association of desirable attributes with the Asian outgroup could disrupt the nature of ambivalence in that the desirable attributes might be interpreted by the racially biased perceiver as subjectively undesirable. Recalling that positive characteristics are typically viewed as assets only when they reflect well upon the White ingroup, it is quite probable that a subset of the White ingroup may feel threatened by or may envy the Asian outgroup for acquiring certain desirable attributes. Given the ambivalence in associating positive characteristics with the Asian outgroup, the competence subscale attempts to account for both the positivity and negativity of perceiving Asian Americans as highly competent. That is, the subscale consists of several items that carry some negative overtones by tapping into the conception that Asian American competence (which reflects desirable attributes) can mean excessive competence (which reflects undesirable attributes).

Not every one of the competence items, however, conveys the belief that Asian Americans are “too” competent and threatening or unfair. At least half of the competence items undoubtedly communicate an excess of Asian American competence by emphasizing extreme competition or arrogance (e.g., overly competitive, acting too smart, aim to achieve too much, think they are smarter, motivated to obtain too much power), but the other items are more ambiguous with respect to the extent of Asian outgroup competence they represent. Possibly, the mix of items that connote excessive competence and items that do not (at least not as definitively) created an evaluative context in which all of the non-reversed competence items became tinged with negativity. As such, the potential decreased for ambivalence to be detected by differential responses on the competence and sociability dimensions. Rather, the tendency was for responses to appear more related than they might have been otherwise if fewer excessive competence items were included on the scale.

Because all samples yielded at least two emergent factors reflecting perceptions of competence or sociability, the possibility remains that some differences in respondents’ views about Asian Americans existed along the proposed dimensions. The contrast between dimensions may not have been in their overall valences but in the discrepancy between extremely high characterizations of Asian American competence on the one hand, and unusually low characterizations of Asian American sociability on the other. Depending on the situational context, then, perceivers may admire or envy the perceived competence of the Asian outgroup, or they may dispute or accept unquestioningly the outgroup’s perceived lack of sociability. Those individuals relatively higher in anti-Asian prejudice would be most likely to experience a continual fluctuation

between these response tendencies. Theoretically speaking, the simultaneously held attitudes toward Asian Americans as both competent (even excessively so) and unsociable serve as the central underpinnings of ambivalent anti-Asian American prejudice.

To substantiate the hypothesis that White Americans' anti-Asian attitudes are indeed grounded in their views on Asian Americans' competence or sociability, the mean subscale scores for Sample 1 were analyzed for their representation of more or less prejudiced responses. Although respondents tended to disagree with the items conveying prejudice against Asian Americans, some disagreed less than others did. Specifically, one third of respondents possessed mean competence scores falling above the midpoint, and one fifth possessed mean sociability scores also above the midpoint. This is a moderate range of respondents who demonstrated anywhere between slight to strong agreement with the prejudice item statements. As a whole, the respondents did not disagree with the items to the extent that they would show the least amount of prejudice, for mean sociability and competence scores landed significantly above the scale's negative endpoint. These findings imply that if a subset actually did believe that Asian Americans are highly competent but unsociable, the respondents as a group tended to stand on more neutral grounds that would reveal neither blatantly strong agreement nor blatantly strong disagreement with the scale items. Provided that item endorsement is equivalent to holding stereotypic beliefs, such a moderate position might be anticipated because appearing nonprejudiced is what society considers socially desirable (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

To be clearer on what respondents' item endorsement signified, independent measures of prejudice served as a means for testing the construct validity of the AAAPS. With Sample 2, a moderately high positive correlation existed between the AAAPS and ASI, which suggests that prejudiced attitudes against these two target groups are based in similar types of ambivalence that may cause the mechanisms of attitude expression to be influenced in similar ways. In particular, the basic premises of each ambivalent prejudice theory include claims that the stereotype dimensions of competence and sociability guide the ambivalent perceptions of either women (incompetent, socially skilled) or Asian Americans (highly competent, unsociable). The generalization of ambivalent prejudiced attitudes was plainly demonstrated by high ambivalent sexists' display of much stronger agreement with AAAPS item statements compared to low ambivalent sexists. Hence, the findings provide support for construct validity of the AAAPS.

An even higher positive correlation was found between the AAAPS and SPS with Sample 3, which illustrates that differential levels of subtle prejudice may extend to differential responses on the AAAPS. Specifically, the AAAPS assesses a type of racial prejudice that is analogous, yet not identical, to subtle anti-Black prejudice. This empirical evidence again matches the established finding of a positive relationship between measures of prejudice against different outgroups. However, it would be a mistake simply to regard the AAAPS and SPS as completely compatible or interchangeable racial prejudice measures because the commonality they share is more in their typology as scales capturing modern forms of racism and not in their theoretical underpinnings. Nevertheless, the prejudice group differences in AAAPS scores additionally verify the construct validity of the scale.

Altogether, these multiple phases of AAAPS development offer supportive, preliminary findings confirming the scale's validity as an instrument that can assess prejudice against Asian Americans. Subsequent validation checks will clarify whether the competence and sociability subscales are perhaps closely and sufficiently related to be considered as a single dimension. But at the least, the correlation between the two dimensions tapping into complementary high and low expectations of Asian Americans' competence and sociability, respectively, adds to the theoretical basis for conceptualizing anti-Asian prejudice as ambivalent. Moreover, the high correlation offers reason for considering respondents' combined scores on the subscales when the AAAPS is administered to individuals who differ quantitatively in prejudice against Asian Americans. Establishing the specific perceiver characteristics or situational conditions that might mark more qualitative differences in attitudes called for further investigation of the stereotype dimensions underlying anti-Asian prejudice.

Notes

¹After the restricted 25-item set was formed out of the original item pool, only two competence items and two sociability items happened to be reverse worded. To control better for measurement biases, the number of reverse-worded items was increased by reversing another two sociability items, selected on the basis that changes to their wording did not make these item statements unnecessarily awkward or confusing.

Table 2.1. Factor loadings for sociability and competence items in Studies 2 and 3.

Key Phrase of Scale Items	Sample 2 (n = 429)			Sample 3 (n = 255)		
	Factor			Factor		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
<u>Sociability Items</u>						
Rarely initiate social events or gatherings	.80			.79		
Not very "street smart"	.77			.75		
Not very vocal	.75			.79		
Not as social as other groups of people	.73			.78		
Have less fun compared to other social groups	.73			.78		
Do not interact smoothly in social situations	.69			.72		
Tend to be shy and quiet	.69			.68		
Dislike being center of attention at gatherings	.58			.52		
Commit less time to socializing than others do		.60		.45		
Do not function well in social situations**			.78			.76
Do not know how to have fun and not relaxed*			.78			.81
Do not spend a lot of time at social gatherings*			.76			.64
Do not put high priority on their social lives**			.59			.67
<u>Competence Items</u>						
Compare own achievements to other people's	.55			.73		
Have mentality stresses gain of economic power	.77				.58	
To get ahead of others, can be overly competitive	.76				.63	
Striving to become number one	.73				.78	
Can be regarded as acting too smart	.70				.54	
Enjoy disproportionate economic success	.69			.75		
Think they are smarter than everyone else	.69			.78		
Working all of the time	.67				.54	
Motivated to obtain too much power in society	.61			.75		
Regarding education, aim to achieve too much	.57			.76		
Obsessed with competition**			.72			.75
Constantly in pursuit of more power**			.68			.69

* Reverse-worded and reverse-scored item on the final 25-item scale version.

** Reverse-worded and reverse-scored item on the 131-item and 25-item scale version.

CHAPTER 3

PILOT STUDY

A pilot study examining whether evaluative judgments from high- and low-prejudice individuals would be influenced by the two Asian American stereotype dimensions was encumbered by several unforeseen issues (for full details of the study, see Appendix B). First, the 25-item AAAPS was administered during a general prescreening session involving 862 undergraduates at the University of Massachusetts, but just slightly half that number ($n = 462$) actually completed the scale in its entirety. Unlike the circumstances for the earlier prescreening sessions (Studies 2 and 3), in this session the scale was placed, by chance, near the end of the 30-page prescreening questionnaire. Twenty-nine of the respondents indicated the exact same rating response on all 25 scale items before reversing the reverse-worded items, which suggests that many of the prescreening participants who did reach the AAAPS were not carefully processing the item statements. The comparatively low total response rate, in conjunction with the heavy probability of inattention, may have adversely affected the pilot study's participant selection, as undergraduates were recruited according to their total AAAPS scores.

Second, pilot study participants may not have had the incentive to take part fully in the job evaluation scenario in which White and Asian American male applicants were reviewed for a campus job emphasizing either academic skills (competence) or interpersonal skills (sociability). Such speculation is based on the tendency for a number of participants to have left the 30-minute experimental session after finishing their evaluations in merely half that time. The premature study completion implies that for

some participants, the paper applicants and hypothetical hiring decisions might not have been personally relevant enough to warrant more thorough assessments.

Third, the study design included a White female candidate who was always evaluated before the White and Asian male candidates were. Unfortunately, the inclusion of a White female into the fictitious candidate pool seems to have confounded applicant gender and applicant race as variables influencing evaluative judgments, for several of the participants (the majority of whom were women) expressed written comments about how their overall evaluations of the three applicants involved their consideration of gender alone, race alone, or both. Consequently, the interplay between the applicants' gender and racial identity may have detracted from the race effects that perhaps would have been more evident if gender had not also been a prominent factor.

Given its unanticipated shortcomings, the pilot study's findings leave unanswered the question of how, depending on the situational context, evaluative judgments of an Asian American target may vary along the lines of stereotypes about Asian Americans' competence and sociability. Study 4 was designed not only to correct for the weaknesses of the pilot study, but also to present clearer evidence for the predictive validity of the AAAPS, as well as to examine the hypothesized role of ambivalence in anti-Asian American attitudes.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 4: PREDICTIVE POWER OF THE ANTI-ASIAN AMERICAN PREJUDICE SCALE

Overview and Hypotheses

Two broad perspectives on racial prejudice seem best to illuminate the investigation of anti-Asian American attitudes: (1) the sociocultural perspective, which assumes that prejudice stems from negative beliefs and feelings that are developed and transmitted through socialization processes; and (2) the motivational perspective, which argues that prejudice arises and is perpetuated in order to attain desired goals and fulfill needs (see Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Both of these viewpoints shaped Study 4, the focus of which was to demonstrate the predictive power of the 25-item AAAPS in two different ways. The first way considered the real social behavioral consequences of harboring socialized anti-Asian attitudes. Participants' scores on the AAAPS were used to predict social distance from Asian Americans, measured by a list of behavioral items referring to the frequency and nature of everyday social interactions with Asian Americans and also to the degree of interest in Asian American culture. Hypothesis 1 was that high- and low-scoring participants would differ in their displays of social distance, with low-scoring participants generally revealing more associations with Asian Americans and Asian American culture consistent with their lower levels of prejudice.

The second way of demonstrating the predictive power of the AAAPS considered the motivational characteristics of ambivalence theories that emphasize value structure, or attitude orientation, and self-image (see Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Motivations to maintain positive ingroup evaluations are usually quite high under circumstances with perceived outgroup threats, competition, or interference with ingroup goals. Hence,

when the situational context highlights the sources of ambivalence contributing to outgroup prejudice, both ingroup favoritism and outgroup denigration may increase. As such, Hypothesis 2 was that White Americans' tendencies to stereotype and negatively prejudge an Asian American target may vary as a function of the situational context, or specifically, their relationship to the racial target and their immediate goals on a given task. Greater variations in the expression of anti-Asian prejudice would indicate greater racial ambivalence toward Asian Americans. Observing these variations more among individuals scoring higher on the AAAPS would not only illustrate that racial ambivalence underlies attitudes toward Asian Americans, but would also further validate the measure.

This second main hypothesis was tested using an experimental design that investigated whether evaluative judgments of a female confederate target would depend on participants' prejudice level according to the AAAPS, their pairing status (partners vs. opponents) in relation to the target, the type of task at hand, and the target's race. High- and low-scoring White undergraduates who had completed the AAAPS participated in a four-person "challenge game" competition (i.e., a quiz game) in which they paired up in teams of two. Each team consisted of a recruited participant, who always played the role of "questioner," and a female confederate (either Asian or White), who always played the role of "answerer" during the game's question-and-answer task. Challenge game questions called for either the knowledge of science (competence) or social roles and events (sociability). As questioners, each recruited participant was simultaneously paired with one confederate and competing against the other confederate. Thus, the recruited

participants' pairing status involved either the Asian confederate as their partner-answerer and the White confederate as their opponent-answerer, or the reverse.

The general prediction was that participants would assess the Asian American target on the basis of stereotyped expectancies regarding Asian Americans' competence and sociability, but that the particular evaluative orientation of the overall judgment would depend on aspects of the situational context. Specifically, when the task emphasized competence and participants were partners with the Asian target, they were expected to respect her perceived high competence and give her more positive overall evaluations relative to the White target in that situational context. If, however, participants were opponents against the Asian target, they would instead resent her presumed high competence and give her negative overall evaluations relative to the White target in that situational context.

In contrast, when the task emphasized sociability, participants who were partners with the Asian target were expected to regret her presumed low sociability and display comparable or perhaps even negative overall evaluations of the Asian target relative to the White target in that situational context. Alternatively, participants would be glad of the Asian target's perceived low sociability if she was their opponent and consequently would provide more negative evaluations for her relative to the White target in that situational context.

The specific predictions were suspected to hold most strongly when AAAPS scores were relatively high because the higher the score, the higher the ambivalent prejudice toward Asian Americans and the greater the tendency there should be for participants to make overall evaluative judgments based on Asian American stereotypes.

A lack of uniformity in evaluations of the Asian American target in different pairing conditions and on different tasks would suggest an existing ambivalence toward this racial group.

Method

Participants

Two hundred fifty-five White American undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst completed the 25-item AAAPS during a general prescreening session. Sociability scores based on the total of 13 sociability items and competence scores based on the total of 12 competence items were calculated for each respondent. High scores on the two subscales represented prejudiced beliefs that Asian Americans are unsociable and excessively competent, whereas low subscale scores represented less prejudiced beliefs that Asian Americans are not unsociable and not excessively competent. A high correlation between respondents' sociability and competence scores ($r = .81, p < .001$) allowed the subscale scores to be combined into a total prejudice score. High-prejudice individuals were identified by total prejudice scores that fell within the highest third of the prescreening sample distribution of total prejudice scores. In turn, low-prejudice individuals were identified by total prejudice scores that fell within the lowest third of the sample distribution.¹ Eighty-five undergraduates (61 women and 24 men) between the ages of 18 and 23 ($M = 19$) agreed to participate in exchange for course credit. Of the total, 41 were categorized as high in prejudice, and 44 were categorized as low.

Procedure

The study was based on a four-way mixed design with prejudice level (high vs. low) and pairing status (Asian partner and White opponent vs. Asian opponent and White partner) as between-subjects variables, and task (competence vs. sociability) and target race (Asian American vs. White American) as within-subjects variables.

Challenge Game Setup. Each experimental session lasted one hour and involved two recruited participants and two female confederates who were the racial targets (one Asian American, the other White American). A White research assistant blind to prejudice scores told participants that the study was investigating how people strategize and perform in a game setting. To that end, participants would compete in the challenge game in which the winning team would receive lottery tickets making them eligible to win a \$50 cash prize. This incentive has proven effective in prior work in our laboratory (e.g., Ruscher & Fiske, 1990).

The research assistant then explained that the four individuals were to be divided up to form two competing teams, each with one questioner who would be partners with one answerer. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to the pairing status condition that made the Asian confederate their partner and the White confederate their opponent. The other half were assigned to the opposite condition in which the Asian confederate was their opponent and the White confederate their partner. Although the recruited participants' pairing status was randomly determined prior to the session, a fixed draw conducted at this point always put the recruited participants in the role of questioner and the confederates in the role of answerer. It was made clear to questioners

that in playing the game, they would be working as a team with their partner-answerer and competing against the opponent-answerer on the other team.

As soon as partner and opponent assignments were established, the teams sat at opposite ends of a table where the confederate answerers eventually remained as they played their roles in the challenge game. The answerer table was set up to convey an atmosphere of competition by having a divider (2 ½' x 3') in the center of the table, blocking the answerers' views of each other. In addition, a stopwatch timer, a tabletop call bell, and two sets of pencils and blank paper on which answers could presumably be written were placed in plain sight on the answerer table.

Next, the research assistant explained that each questioner would select eight questions per round (yielding a total of 16 questions per round) for their own answerer and the other team's answerer. Under the pretense that the answerer (confederate) providing the correct response first would win a point, questioners could ostensibly gain points for every correct answer their partner gave during the round. Questioners were led to believe that the partner combination with the most number of points at the end of the game would be the winners.

Before beginning the first round, team members exchanged personal information to gain limited familiarity about each other. Everyone reported on an information sheet their surname, first name, hometown, academic major, age, year in school, and extracurricular activities. The Asian answerer used a fictitious name (Yin-Mei Li), whereas the White answerer used her actual name. Both answerers wrote standardized personal information indicating they were 19-year-old sophomore psychology majors from small towns in eastern Massachusetts. The Asian answerer listed involvement in

intramural volleyball and the student union commission, and the White answerer listed involvement in intramural basketball and the theatre guild. Information sheets were exchanged among team members, with questioners always receiving information about both the Asian and White answerers. However, recruited questioners gave their own personal information sheet only to their own answerer.

Playing the Challenge Game. After the information exchange, the questioners were escorted to separate rooms adjacent to the room where all four team members had initially gathered, while the answerers stayed seated at the answerer table. Questioners sat at a desk in their own room and read through a detailed instruction folder describing the procedure for selecting and delivering questions to the two answerers. Once the research assistant was sure each questioner understood the task at hand, he or she handed the questioner a list of questions for the first round (see stimulus materials below). The order of science and social lists presented to questioners during the two rounds was counterbalanced. Half of the questioners were given the science list in the first round and the social list in the second round, whereas the other half of the questioners were given the lists in reverse order.

To aid questioners in the process of selecting and posing questions to answerers, they received a master list of 20 questions and a pile of 40 question cards. Each question on the master list was typed onto two question cards that were clipped together. After the questioners read over the master list, they selected one question and searched through the pile to pick out the corresponding pair of question cards. Next, they placed the question cards into a "Selected Questions" container near the door. Questioners knocked on the

door to signal the research assistant to collect the selected question cards and hand-deliver them to the answerers.

After having read the instruction folder earlier, questioners were led to believe that the research assistant would then remove the clip and simultaneously give to each answerer one of the question cards. To preserve the cover story that the confederates were indeed attempting to answer questions, the research assistant verbally announced the start of a 10-second answering period ("Ready? Go!") during which time the answerers were presumably writing down their responses. After 10 seconds, one of the answerers rang the call bell to indicate to the questioners in the adjacent rooms that an answer had supposedly been written. The relative silence with which the question delivery and "answering" took place facilitated a serious, competitive environment that allowed questioners to continue their task without disturbance. The entire question selection and delivery procedure was repeated for a total of eight questions per questioner. To expedite the experimental session, both questioners engaged in question selection at the same time. The research assistant, however, paced the entire procedure so as to maintain the appearance that the answerers were given the allotted 10 seconds to respond to each of the selected questions within the round.

After a round was finished, questioners were given feedback that did not definitively put one team ahead of the other. Next, they completed evaluation forms for the two answerers and always evaluated their partner first. Once they indicated they were done evaluating their partner and opponent, they were given the other master list of 20 questions and 40 question cards, and repeated the same procedure for another round of the game. Following the partner and opponent evaluations of the second round,

questioners filled out a final evaluation of the challenge game on which they reported demographic information (gender, age, race), and gave ratings on a series of manipulation-check items.

Measuring Social Distance. As soon as questioners finished their final evaluation, the research assistant asked them to complete a 30-item questionnaire that he or she claimed was for another undergraduate research assistant friend who needed help in collecting data for an unrelated study on social perspectives and life experiences (see Appendix C for the questionnaire in its entirety). To make the scenario completely plausible, the questionnaire was typed in a font different from the one used on all the challenge game evaluation materials, and included a brief paragraph describing the purpose of the seemingly separate study. The nine social distance behavioral items embedded in the questionnaire included questions about: (a) the extent to which participants have interacted with Asian Americans (make efforts to socialize with Asian Americans on campus, number of Asian American acquaintances and close friends, willingness to room with an Asian American, ever dated an Asian American); (b) the level of interest in social events or cultural contributions involving Asian Americans (attendance at Asian American events on campus, interest in taking a course in Asian American Studies, number of Asian American authors read in leisure time); and (c) a general question asking for an estimate of the percentage of Asian American undergraduate students attending the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. After finishing the social distance questionnaire, the participants were questioned for suspicion and fully debriefed.

Challenge Game Materials

Stimulus Materials. To highlight the stereotype dimensions of competence and sociability, the challenge game's question-and-answer task involved either a list of science questions or a list of social questions. Pretests of the items on each list ensured that science items rated as relating best to competence, and social items rated as relating best to sociability, were transformed into question format to create a list of 20 science questions (e.g., What is the brightest star in the night sky?; How many feet are in a mile?) and a list of 20 social questions (e.g., What is it called when someone's behavior is affectionate, teasing, and without serious intent?; What is the main ingredient in a margarita?).² To prevent participants from second-guessing the answers themselves before choosing questions to ask the confederates, the lists included the answers along with the questions (see Appendix D for a complete list of questions and answers).

Dependent Measure. After each round of the challenge game, participants rated the two confederates on nine evaluation items using a 10-point scale with 1 indicating the most negative rating and 10 indicating the most positive rating. A principal components factor analysis of the items determined the following three dimensions on which the partner-answerer and opponent-answerer each were evaluated: (a) game performance (effectiveness at the game, predicted success in future challenge game rounds, overall performance progress); (b) likability (friendliness as a dinner companion, outgoingness at parties, satisfaction toward partner/opponent, enthusiasm toward partner/opponent); and (c) general scholastic achievement (striving to be the best in a study group, competence on an academic project).

Final Evaluation. On a series of manipulation-check measures on a final evaluation form provided at the end of the study, participants indicated on a 1 (not at all) to 10 (very much) scale the extent to which they considered the science and social items to relate to competence or sociability. Within-groups t-test comparisons of participants' mean ratings showed they generally rated the list of science questions as more significantly related to competence ($M = 6.00$) than to sociability ($M = 3.69$), $t(84) = 9.25$, $p < .001$. They also evaluated the list of social questions as being more significantly related to sociability ($M = 7.15$) than to competence ($M = 5.41$), $t(83) = -6.68$, $p < .001$. These ratings affirm that the dimensions of competence and sociability were adequately operationalized in terms of science and social questions, respectively.

Results

Predictive Validity I: Social Distance Behaviors

A oneway multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) performed on the nine social distance behavioral items revealed a significant effect of prejudice level, $F(9, 37) = 4.55$, $p < .001$. This finding supports the hypothesis that the AAAPS is able to identify high- and low-prejudice individuals who were expected to differ in their actual social interactions with Asian Americans and their levels of Asian American cultural interest. Low-prejudice participants, more so than high-prejudice participants, answered "yes" to the question of whether they make efforts to socialize with Asian American students on campus, $F(1, 45) = 21.94$, $p < .001$. Perhaps as a direct result of such socializing efforts, low-prejudice participants also listed a significantly greater number of Asian American acquaintances on campus ($M = 4.52$) than did high-prejudice participants ($M = 1.95$), $F(1, 45) = 8.29$, $p < .007$.

Looking at closer types of social relationships, low-prejudice participants were much more likely than high-prejudice ones to claim they would choose to become roommates with an Asian American individual, $F(1, 45) = 11.82, p < .002$. They also had significantly more close Asian friends than their high-prejudice counterparts did ($M_s = 1.52$ and $.75$, respectively), $F(1, 45) = 4.59, p < .04$. With regard to the most intimate type of social relationship, high- and low-prejudice participants were equally likely to indicate that they had never dated an Asian American, $F(1, 45) = 2.86, n.s.$ Considering the percentage of Asian Americans on campus (6.8%), this is not altogether surprising.

Turning to the findings for the level of interest in aspects of Asian American culture, low-prejudice participants were not more likely than high-prejudice participants to list more frequent attendance at Asian American cultural events on campus, $F(1, 45) = 2.10, n.s.$ A differential trend, however, was detected between participant groups in terms of their expressed interest in taking a course in Asian American Studies, with low-prejudice participants, as opposed to high-prejudice participants, tending to declare that they would, $F(1, 45) = 3.13, p = .08$. When asked how many Asian American authors they have read in their leisure time, low-prejudice participants reported reading significantly more books by Asian Americans ($M = 1.19$) than had high-prejudice participants ($M = .45$), $F(1, 45) = 4.43, p < .05$.

Finally, it was expected that individuals higher in prejudice would exaggerate the physical presence of Asian American undergraduates enrolled in the University of Massachusetts. High-prejudice participants in fact differed significantly from low-prejudice participants in their estimated percentage of fellow students of this racial group

($M_s = 24.3\%$ and 16.1% , respectively), $F(1, 45) = 5.66$, $p < .03$, but both overestimated the actual percentage (6.8%).

Predictive Validity II: Challenge Game Evaluations

Participants' overall ratings of each target served as the main dependent variable and were calculated by finding the average of the nine ratings across the three evaluative dimensions of game performance, likability, and general scholastic achievement. The rationale behind using overall ratings was based on Hypothesis 2, which predicted that the evaluative orientation of participants' target assessments would depend on their prejudice level, the situational context (outlined in terms of pairing status and type of task), and target race. In other words, differential evaluative judgments of the Asian target in general, and not on any one evaluative dimension, were suspected of varying as a function of the independent variables. Breakdowns of the ratings according to specific evaluative dimensions were thought to obscure higher order interactions that might illustrate ambivalence toward the Asian target. Indeed, the majority of significant effects yielded in the analyses of overall ratings were not evident when the analyses were instead performed on the ratings for each evaluative dimension alone. Thus, as the most appropriate operationalization of attitudes toward the Asian and White targets, overall evaluations were analyzed to check the validity of the AAAPS and gather evidence of racial ambivalence. In the end, significant effects were apparent with the overall rating data collected during only the first round of the challenge game, which suggests that fatigue effects probably could account for the dissipation of significant findings in analyses of the second-round set of overall ratings. Given such, the findings presented on

differential evaluative judgments are for participants' overall target ratings in the first round.

In view of examining only the target evaluations for the first round in which participants received either the science list or the social list, the variable of task was analyzed between subjects. Mean overall ratings were submitted to a 2 (Prejudice Level: high vs. low) x 2 (Pairing Status: Asian partner and White opponent vs. Asian opponent and White partner) x 2 (Task: competence vs. sociability) x 2 (Target Race: Asian American vs. White American) mixed-model analysis of variance using the SPSS MANOVA procedure, with target race as the only within-subjects variable.

A significant target race main effect was detected, such that participants rated the White target ($M = 7.10$) more positively than the Asian target ($M = 6.98$), $F(1, 76) = 4.72$, $p < .04$. The ingroup favorability toward the White target, however, varied according to the task at hand, as demonstrated by a marginal Task x Target Race interaction, $F(1, 76) = 3.60$, $p = .06$. When the task involved the social questions, participants rated the White target ($M = 7.12$) significantly higher than the Asian target ($M = 6.87$), $t(37) = -2.13$, $p < .05$. In comparison, no significant evaluative differences were evident between the White ($M = 7.09$) and Asian ($M = 7.07$) targets when the task involved the science questions, $t(45) < 1$. Thus, the sociability dimension, on which Asian Americans are stereotyped to be low, shows derogation of the Asian outgroup target relative to the White ingroup target. No similar White ingroup favoritism, however, is apparent with the competence dimension. Viewed against a backdrop of stereotyped expectations that Asian Americans are better at science, this rating pattern

may reflect a canceling out of the racial ingroup favoritism main effect against the counteracting stereotype.

A significant Pairing Status x Target Race interaction pointed to the influence of race in partner and opponent evaluations, $F(1, 76) = 11.43, p < .002$. As Table 4.1 shows, the most positive evaluations went to the White partner, whereas the other three means were equivalent. White partner ratings were only marginally higher than White opponent ratings, $t(82) = -1.84, p = .07$, but significantly higher than Asian opponent ratings, $t(42) = -3.61, p < .002$. By virtue of team association, relatively higher ratings can be expected for the partner instead of the opponent, which was true with the White partner. Contrary to this expectation, the Asian partner was not favored any more than the opponent, White or Asian. As an example of ingroup favoritism operating in combination with race, participants did not disfavor the Asian partner per se, but they denied the Asian partner the own-team advantage that they gave the White partner.

The interaction of pairing status with target race was qualified by the predicted four-way Prejudice Level x Pairing Status x Task x Target Race interaction, which was marginally significant, $F(1, 76) = 3.66, p = .06$. The expectation was that high-prejudice participants, relative to their low-prejudice counterparts, would be more likely to show significant differences in their evaluative judgments of the Asian and White targets, and that their differential ratings would vary according to the situational context as defined by pairing status and type of task. Variable evaluations of the Asian target in particular would be an indication of racial ambivalence. Given this general prediction, the four-way interaction was broken down by task emphasis to investigate the Pairing Status x Target Race interaction at each level of prejudice.³

Isolating the high-prejudice participants engaged in the science task, none of the cell means differed significantly from each other (all $ps > .19$, see Table 4.2). The pattern of means shows, however, that evaluations across pairing status were comparable for the Asian target, but divergent for the White target. For high-prejudice participants, it seems as if the mere presence of the Asian target (as partner or opponent) polarized the ratings of the White target, such that a heightened White target evaluation was evident in the pairing status condition involving an Asian opponent. Because the competence task is stereotypically expected to benefit the Asian, the pattern of polarization may have occurred as a result of an increased sense of competition against the Asian opponent who could be perceived as holding an advantage.

In contrast, the low-prejudice participants presented with the science task showed a simple partner main effect. Table 4.2 illustrates that they provided more favorable evaluations to the Asian partner versus the White opponent, $t(11) = 2.28, p < .03$, as well as to the White partner versus the Asian opponent, $t(12) = -2.80, p < .009$. Thus, low-prejudice participants conferred higher ratings to their partner, regardless of race, as a result of own-team favoritism.

Turning to the low-prejudice participants assigned to the social task, White partner evaluations were significantly more positive than Asian opponent evaluations, $t(9) = -1.91, p < .05$, but all other mean comparisons indicated nonsignificant differences (all $ps > .17$, see Table 4.3). The simple race main effect in favor of the White target points out that low-prejudice participants will still express racial ingroup favoritism and may not be completely free from stereotyped expectancies regarding Asian Americans' sociability. However, the evaluative tendencies of low-prejudice participants across both

types of tasks uphold the predictions that this group, compared to the high-prejudice one, would exhibit less anti-Asian American prejudice within the situational contexts here.

Most noticeable about what Table 4.3 reports is that the high-prejudice participants' mean rating of the White partner differed significantly from each of the other three mean ratings (all p s $< .008$, except the White partner cell differed from the Asian partner cell with $p < .02$). This highlights again that the effects of ingroup favoritism work in the best interest of the White partner because high-prejudice participants granted the White target a double ingroup advantage on a sociability task stereotypically expected to favor the White target. That is, high-prejudice participants demonstrated own-team favoritism on top of racial ingroup favoritism by elevating their ratings of the White partner, especially in the pairing status condition with an Asian opponent.

A further look at the entire rating pattern for high-prejudice participants faced with the social task reveals several other notable mean differences (see Table 4.3). First, the Asian partner had significantly higher evaluations over the White opponent, $t(9) = 2.35$, $p < .03$, which was unexpected. But because high-prejudice participants accorded the most favoritism to the partner of their racial ingroup, the Asian partner failed to receive the kind of own-team advantage that the White partner did. Second, the Asian partner was favored no more than the Asian opponent was, but the White target evaluations were remarkably divergent. As was the case on the competence task, the mere presence of the Asian target appears to have polarized the high-prejudice participants' ratings of the White target in a way that demonstrates significantly lowered White target ratings in the condition involving an Asian partner and significantly

heightened White target ratings in the condition involving an Asian opponent. Third, given that the White partner benefited the most on the sociability task, we might expect that the White opponent would also benefit, at least more than the Asian opponent would. As it turns out, no significant evaluative difference was detected. It is worth noting, however, that participants always rated the partner before the opponent, and in this particular context, the White partner received extremely favorable evaluations ($M = 7.98$). The similarly high evaluations of the Asian opponent ($M = 7.31$) may have been provided to balance such a high White partner rating. Thus, any evaluative difference that might have existed between the White and Asian opponents was likely to have been offset by anchoring effects.

Discussion

In testing the validity of the AAAPS, it was assumed that high and low scores on the AAAPS would correspond with high and low levels of prejudice against Asian Americans. The identifying scores, in turn, were expected to predict differing social distance patterns and evaluative judgments between high- and low-prejudice participants.

Regarding the nature of relationships with Asian Americans, low-prejudice participants, more so than high-prejudice participants, acknowledged a larger variety of interactions involving Asian Americans as acquaintances or close friends. Given the small percentage of Asian American students on campus, the opportunities to develop friendly ties with members of this racial group can be few and far between. The reduced social distance among low-prejudice participants faded, however, with respect to highly intimate types of relations such as dating, for comparable patterns of social distance emerged for both groups of participants.

The trend of low-prejudice participants possessing greater favorability toward Asian Americans was also detected in their higher likelihood to express curiosity about, or even actively expose themselves to, aspects of Asian American culture. These additional behavioral items referring to levels of cultural interest certainly corroborate the claims that the AAAPS differentiates individuals with high versus low anti-Asian prejudice.

One item on the behavioral questionnaire was not so much a measure of social distance as it was a rough gauge of how the participants perceive the presence of Asian Americans on campus. The widespread notion that Asian Americans are the "model minority" group dominating college campuses may be a view more prejudiced individuals would adopt as a form of subtle racism (see Takagi, 1992). Indeed, high-prejudice participants overestimated the physical presence of Asian American students more than the low-prejudice participants did. Interestingly, on a campus where the total population of undergraduates of color (across all of the racial minority groups) is 17.3%, high-prejudice participants, on average, believed just the Asian American student population to be 24.3%, and even the low-prejudice participants, on average, believed it to be 16.1%.

The second major test of the scale's predictive validity followed a motivational approach to demonstrate empirically the existence of ambivalence underlying anti-Asian prejudice. As predicted, the four-way interaction among prejudice level, pairing status, type of task, and target race was significant, although marginally so. The overall picture of significant findings reveals a meaningful pattern of target evaluations that serves as

initial documentation of what appears to be racial ambivalence among high-prejudice participants.

First, high-prejudice participants' evaluations clearly favored the White target over the Asian target, which established racial ingroup favoritism as one possible influence on evaluative judgments. Ingroup favorability was qualified by the type of task, with the White target generally acquiring higher evaluations on the sociability task, the domain in which Whites are stereotypically expected to excel over Asians. On the competence task, the Asian and White target ratings were not solidly differentiated, suggesting that racial ingroup favoritism may have counterbalanced any stereotyped expectancies about Asian Americans' levels of competence.

In addition to racial ingroup advantage, high-prejudice participants conferred a greater own-team advantage to the White target. The Asian target, in contrast, received a baseline own-team advantage, though was obviously denied the extent of pro-partner bias given to the White target. That is, high-prejudice participants demonstrated own-team favoritism toward the Asian partner relative to the White opponent at the same time that they showed outgroup derogation of the Asian partner relative to the White partner. In short, the model of double ingroup advantage – racial ingroup favoritism in combination with own-team favoritism – was most true for high-prejudice participants on the task highlighting sociability, the dimension on which Asian Americans are stereotyped to be lacking.

Considering the rating patterns across type of task, it seems that the high-prejudice participants' evaluative tendencies coincide, in part, with their greater social distance from Asian Americans, as well as with their response tendencies on the AAAPS

to agree that Asian Americans are low in sociability and excessively competent. The lack of uniformity in Asian target ratings relative to White target ratings, particularly on the sociability task, implies an underlying racial ambivalence.

Low-prejudice participants also demonstrated some tendencies toward ingroup favoritism in one form or another. On the competence task, they displayed a strict pro-partner bias to partners of both races, but lacked racial ingroup favoritism because they did not differentially rate the Asian and White partners. In comparison, they tended not to evaluate the Asian target any worse than the White target on the sociability task, except in the pairing status condition with a White partner and Asian opponent. This suggests at least a small racial ingroup effect. Thus, the stereotype of low Asian American sociability may have been activated, though not firmly applied, among low-prejudice participants. Importantly, however, the high-prejudice participants' more blatantly prejudiced response of outgroup derogation on the sociability dimension did not appear with this group. All told, low-prejudice participants did not, in any of the situational contexts, confer ingroup advantages in a manner that directed both own-team favoritism and racial ingroup favoritism toward the White target specifically.

The general evaluative tendencies of low-prejudice participants do not conform to the expectations of racial ambivalence, which include systematic inconsistency in evaluations of the Asian target relative to the White target across varying situational contexts. As such, the low-prejudice participants were less racially ambivalent, that is, less influenced by Asian American stereotypes about competence and sociability, when making evaluative judgments of the Asian target. This matches both their reduced social distance from Asian Americans, and their response tendencies on the AAAPS to disagree

that Asian Americans are excessively competent and lacking in sociability. Their disagreement does not preclude that they may in certain circumstances ascribe positive and negative attributes to Asian Americans and thereby harbor some relative racial ambivalence. But in terms of the present overall pattern, racial ambivalence did not readily appear among the low-prejudice participants.

The absence of distinct racial ambivalence on the competence dimension raises an issue about stereotyping tendencies during intergroup competition. Namely, competitors in a team setting use more individuating processes when developing impressions of their teammates but not of their opponents (Ruscher, Fiske, Miki, & Van Manen, 1991). This inclination, along with the ambivalence associated with viewing Asian Americans as competent, may explain why the competence stereotypes of Asian Americans did not carry the weight to facilitate much of the predicted partner stereotyping, even if stereotyped expectations did exist. As the group more likely to derogate the Asian target, the high-prejudice participants showed no overt Asian partner or opponent stereotyping. The lack thereof could have resulted from a reluctance to violate social norms that disapprove of racial outgroup derogation, particularly when such derogation cannot be easily justified given the "model minority" stereotype that Asian Americans are highly competent. Such a conclusion, however, is only speculative and must be resolved with further study on prejudice group differences within contexts emphasizing both Asian American stereotype dimensions.

In sum, the results of Study 4 have positive implications for the predictive validity of the AAAPS. The clear differences between high- and low-prejudice participants in their social distance patterns confirm that the scores accurately identify individuals with

varying levels of prejudice against Asian Americans. Although the evidence for racial ambivalence is less definitive, it nonetheless offers initial indications that ambivalence is very likely to play a role in the expressions of anti-Asian prejudice. Most striking about the experimental findings is that they suggest racial ambivalence toward Asians may be manifested subtly in the form of ingroup favoritism rather than as blatant outgroup derogation. Specific patterns of ingroup favoritism, then, may actually reveal racial biases grounded in stereotyped expectancies. If we are to seize even deeper understanding of the components and mechanisms of prejudice expression, the next investigative step would be to determine various other situations in which this type of ambivalent prejudice, as measured by the AAAPS, can predict differential response tendencies toward Asian Americans.

Notes

¹An alternative method of participant selection is to identify those respondents whose subscale scores meet at least one, if not both, of the following criteria: (1) competence score falls within either the highest third or the lowest third of the prescreening sample distribution of competence scores; or (2) sociability score falls within either the highest third or the lowest third of the prescreening sample distribution of sociability scores. After participants in Study 4 were recruited according to their total prejudice scores, this method of selection was used to verify that essentially the same list of individuals would have been formed. Of the 85 participants, 77 met both criteria listed above, and 8 met only the first or the second. Such findings illustrate that high- and low-prejudice individuals can be selected based simply on total prejudice scores (which is virtually equivalent to meeting at least one of the criteria described above) or, if a more stringent selection process is desired, based on the fulfillment of both criteria.

²With the help of undergraduate research assistants, I generated items believed to reflect scientific knowledge (competence) or social knowledge and experience (sociability). To create additional science questions, I referred to questions from the Science and Nature category of the board game, Trivial Pursuit™ Genus Edition.

Pretest questionnaires composed of either 40 science items or 44 social items were presented to 28 University of Massachusetts undergraduate volunteers. The instructions told students to circle the 20 words or phrases on the science list they thought related best to competence, and the 20 words or phrases on the social list they thought related best to sociability. The top 20 most frequently circled words or phrases on each list were then reworded into question format and used in the challenge game.

³The specific predictions of differential ratings for high- versus low-prejudiced participants focused on within-subjects evaluations of the Asian and White targets on a specific type of task. Considering the significant Pairing Status x Target Race interaction, target evaluations across pairing status were thought to shed even greater light on the pattern of differential ratings. Although post-hoc analyses would normally be the appropriate test of mean differences at this point, such analyses could not be performed here because the mean comparisons simultaneously involved within- and between-subjects evaluations. As a result, paired t-tests and independent groups t-tests were conducted on every one of the six possible combinations of Pairing Status x Target Race cell means for each prejudice level on each type of task, but alpha was set at $p < .01$ to compensate.

Table 4.1. Mean overall target evaluations as a function of pairing status and target race in Study 4.

	<u>Pairing Status</u>	
	Asian Partner White Opponent	Asian Opponent White Partner
<u>Target Race</u>		
Asian American	6.98	6.98*
White American	6.88	7.31*

Note: Means marked with an asterisk are within-subjects evaluations that differ reliably ($p < .002$). Between-subjects mean evaluations should be compared horizontally and diagonally. White partner evaluations differ from White opponent evaluations with $p = .07$, but for all other mean differences across pairing status, $ps > .19$.

Table 4.2. Mean overall target evaluations on the competence task as a function of prejudice level, pairing status, and target race in Study 4.

	<u>Pairing Status</u>	
	Asian Partner White Opponent	Asian Opponent White Partner
High-Prejudice Participants		
<u>Target Race</u>		
Asian American	6.96	6.96
White American	6.86	7.17
Low-Prejudice Participants		
<u>Target Race</u>		
Asian American	7.27*	7.07*
White American	7.06*	7.24*

Note: Means marked with an asterisk are within-subjects evaluations that differ reliably ($p < .03$). Between-subjects mean evaluations should be compared horizontally and diagonally within prejudice level. None of the mean differences across pairing status at either prejudice level reach significance (all $ps > .58$).

Table 4.3. Mean overall target evaluations on the sociability task as a function of prejudice level, pairing status, and target race in Study 4.

	<u>Pairing Status</u>	
	Asian Partner White Opponent	Asian Opponent White Partner
High-Prejudice Participants		
<u>Target Race</u>		
Asian American	6.96* _b	7.31* _b
White American	6.67* _b	7.98* _a
Low-Prejudice Participants		
<u>Target Race</u>		
Asian American	6.63	6.61*
White American	6.93	6.97*

Note: Means marked with an asterisk are within-subjects evaluations that differ reliably ($p < .05$). Between-subjects mean evaluations should be compared horizontally and diagonally within prejudice level. For high-prejudice participants, means that differ reliably ($p < .02$) across pairing status have different subscripts. For low-prejudice participants, none of the mean differences across pairing status reach significance (all $ps > .54$).

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The Asian "success" image has functioned well to downplay and even mask the real urgency of examining the causes and consequences of prejudice against Asian Americans. Whether the neglect of these topics in social psychology is a consequence of the wide misperception of Asian Americans' problem-free racial experiences, or of other factors such as the relative smallness of the Asian American population or a scientific focus that excludes Asian American concerns, the present series of studies has at least begun to call attention to anti-Asian prejudice and shares several notable implications regarding the phenomenon.

Theoretical Implications

What does it mean to be prejudiced against Asian Americans? The main theoretical assumptions surrounding this question were that ambivalence underlies anti-Asian prejudice and that differential expressions of it follow the stereotype dimensions of competence and sociability. The process of developing and validating the AAAPS has provided some preliminary support for these arguments, but allows room for further empirical investigation of this particular form of racial prejudice.

In agreement with other ambivalence approaches to prejudice, the proposal is that the sources of ambivalence toward Asian Americans exist simultaneously and may lead to attitudinal opposition, as the findings from Study 4 point out. Importantly, however, the present case for ambivalent anti-Asian American prejudice does not additionally posit that the sources of ambivalence are necessarily contradictory. One reason why is that a direct contradiction will not be detected if high competence is thought to cause lack of

sociability. A second, more complicated reason has to do with the notion that an ambivalent image of Asian Americans includes desirable as well as undesirable attributes that White perceivers associate with this racial group. Because the sociability subscale captures the negative perception that Asians are unsociable, it sufficiently represents the component of ambivalence reflecting undesirable attributes. The competence subscale was intended to represent the component of ambivalence reflecting desirable attributes, but encountered some difficulty in measuring this counterpart to the negative stereotype of low sociability. Contributing to the difficulty was the inclusion of items with negative overtones that conveyed excessive competence rather than simply high competence. These negatively imbued competence items, nevertheless, attempted to address the tendency of prejudiced White perceivers not to regard attributes relating to high competence as positive when such attributes place the Asian outgroup in a favorable light (see Hurh & Kim, 1989).

The correlation between subscales was further indication that the dimensions are not entirely contradictory, but rather complementary in their representation of the predominant Asian American stereotypes. A close examination of the items from each subscale highlights the content of these stereotypes. Items on the competence dimension capture a sense of aggressive competitiveness involving the drive to secure greater power and success. Furthermore, the items convey a recognizable dislike regarding Asian American success and assumptions about Asian American excessiveness in their work ethic. What this subscale implies is a perceived Asian outgroup threat to the dominant White ingroup's status and privileges as the social group holding the most power in U.S. society (see Lipsitz, 1998; Omi & Winant, 1994). In comparison, the sociability items

refer to perceptions of Asian Americans' general disinclination to engage in social interactions due to tendencies of being insular or socially awkward. This subscale, then, carries derision toward Asian Americans' presumed inability to gain social approval. Although the subscales may not in and of themselves justify a clear differentiation between the stereotype dimensions, the current findings, especially from Study 4, do suggest a usefulness in distinguishing the two dimensions.

As a final result, the components of ambivalence did not indicate an unambiguous evaluative dissimilarity because the subscales were positively correlated. However, other evidence also shows (negative) correlations between measures of competence and sociability, even when the competence items are worded more positively (see Fiske et al., in press). Hence, the data from the studies here conform to the demonstrated pattern that perceived levels of competence can predict perceived levels of sociability, and vice versa. Taking into account this consistency along with the established validity of the scale, the implication is that the AAAPS serves as a practical measure of the stereotype dimensions underlying prejudice against Asian Americans. Admittedly, the documentation of the ambivalent nature of anti-Asian prejudice is preliminary, but it is nonetheless a reasonable beginning to linking racial prejudice and ambivalence theories in a way that creates a conceptual framework for studying prejudice against this specific racial group.

The experimental paradigm used to validate the AAAPS here adopted a motivational perspective, which is helpful in ascertaining how prejudice is maintained in the face of goal attainment or need fulfillment. However, social structures also contribute to intergroup patterns of prejudice. As such, a combined motivational and sociocultural outlook would be most informative in designing additional studies on the nature of anti-

Asian prejudice. Future investigations might therefore consider examining the manner in which attitudes and behaviors toward Asian Americans are affected by inequity among social groups on highly valued dimensions, intergroup social competition, threats to ingroup solidarity, and social circumstances that make intergroup distinctions extremely salient.

Although the endeavor to conceptualize and validate the AAAPS was predicated mainly on the response tendencies of White Americans, it would also be helpful to determine how scale scores and subsequent attitudinal or behavioral assessments may differ in terms of the perceiver's social group identity. Other groups who would complete the AAAPS, such as non-Asian people of color, nonstudents, or perhaps even those living in segments of the nation with a more highly concentrated Asian American population, could be sure to offer further insight into the nature of anti-Asian prejudice.

Lastly, regarding the issue of measurement, several researchers have recently argued that attitudes can more strongly be predicted from measures of individual stereotypes as opposed to traditional measures of consensual stereotypes (e.g., Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). Even though the important distinction between individual and consensual stereotypes is recognized here, what must be kept in mind is that all stereotypes, to a large degree, are individual in that they are beliefs held by an individual (see Gardner, Lalonde, Nero, & Young, 1988). Provided that consensual stereotypes actually correspond to the beliefs of at least a subset of the population at hand, consensual stereotypes can be regarded as a subset of those beliefs shared by many individuals. Thus, the measurement focus for the present studies was on the consensual component of

stereotypic beliefs, which allowed for investigation of those attributes that many individuals associate either more or less with Asian Americans.

Practical Implications

As the content of the AAAPS points out, the prejudiced view of Asian Americans is that they are predisposed to “all work and no play.” They are characterized as an unsociable group with whom one might have troubles interacting. In fact, several of the scale items speak to the possibility that some people may expect that relating to someone who is Asian American will prove to be a difficulty. If these stereotyped expectations are strong, especially when one actually engages in a social interaction with an Asian American individual, feelings of discomfort or awkwardness may develop on the part of the non-Asian, thereby increasing chances for self-fulfilling prophecies and false stereotype confirmation.

Tendencies to believe in the competence item statements identify yet another source of potential discomfort during interracial interactions with Asian Americans. Several of the items are tinged with feelings of threat or competition, particularly with regard to differential power dynamics. Perceptions of Asian Americans as highly or excessively competent are likely to create an outlook toward this racial group that includes negative cognitions and affect that then serve to justify or rationalize prejudice and discrimination toward members of this group (see Banaji & Greenwald, 1995; Harding et al., 1969). Such negativity might be intensified even more so if prejudiced attitudes and behaviors are additionally grounded in beliefs that Asian Americans are constantly seeking betterment for their group at the expense of other groups. Thus, prejudice stemming from the stereotype of overly competent Asian Americans may

prevent smooth and amiable interracial ties and instead encourage relationships couched in feelings of threat, resentment, or envy.

Relatedly, these types of feelings may also exist among other racial minorities who indirectly experience the consequences of the Asian American competence stereotype. Specifically, the perceived high competence of Asian Americans may lead the dominant group to believe that other "less" achieving racial groups can be blamed for their lack of success ("Japanese Americans have made it on their own. Why can't they?"). Consequently, the Asian "model minority" image serves to maintain not only prejudice against this racial group, but also interracial conflict and hostility more generally. Only if we better comprehend how anti-Asian prejudice works and is connected with other types of prejudice can we begin to suggest tactics to combat such biased attitudes and reduce racial unrest and discrimination.

In sum, it is quite apparent that the two stereotype dimensions of competence and sociability are psychologically and, arguably, experientially tied together. It would be difficult, therefore, to assess one dimension without the other and obtain a comprehensive picture of the mechanisms guiding the expression of anti-Asian prejudice. Thus, one major benefit of the AAAPS as a measurement tool is that it can be used to study a variety of groups with different configurations of ambivalence underlying their attitudes toward Asian Americans. By selecting various cut-off points on the total distribution of sample scores, researchers can cover the whole belief spectrum and examine how individuals scoring high on both dimensions, low on both dimensions, high on one dimension and low on the other, or at the dimensions' midpoints, might differ. From a

theoretical standpoint as well as a practical one, it seems advantageous to maintain the distinction between the scale's dimensions.

Conclusion

As social psychologists striving to understand and predict people's behaviors, we must fulfill our social, political, and scientific responsibilities to investigate those social phenomena that work to divide and relegate various groups to unequal positions in society. By analyzing how racial stereotypes in particular form and feed into prejudiced attitudes that can foster discrimination, the hope is that our expanding knowledge base will lead to more concrete approaches and strategies aimed at dissolving racial barriers. As crucial as acknowledging the forces contributing to prejudice, however, is realizing that strong forces encouraging favorable racial attitudes also exist. Tapping into these positive forces is a necessary part of any movement that envisions racial attitude change. Yet in the face of ongoing stereotyping and prejudice, achieving real and positive change will be a considerable challenge.

This line of research sought to meet that challenge in part by broadening the understanding of stereotyping and prejudice through the investigation of beliefs and attitudes toward Asian Americans. The development of the Anti-Asian American Prejudice Scale signals progress in the direction of exploring the real complexity of racial stereotyping and prejudice, which certainly extends beyond the lines of Black and White. By following the scale's validation with other related studies on the nature of anti-Asian prejudice and racial prejudice reduction, the final outcome should be a greater promotion of genuinely positive attitudes about different social and cultural groups who deserve to be recognized and respected.

APPENDIX A
THE ANTI-ASIAN AMERICAN PREJUDICE SCALE (AAAPS)

Below are a number of statements with which you will agree or disagree. There are absolutely no right or wrong answers. Use the specified scale to indicate the number that best matches your response to each statement.

0	1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree

 (C) Asian Americans seem to be striving to become number one.

 (S) Asian Americans commit less time to socializing than others do.

 (C) In order to get ahead of others, Asian Americans can be overly competitive.

 (S) Asian Americans do not usually like to be the center of attention at social gatherings.

 (C) Most Asian Americans have a mentality that stresses gain of economic power.

 (C) Asian Americans can sometimes be regarded as acting too smart.

 (S)* Asian Americans put high priority on their social lives.

 (S) Asian Americans do not interact with others smoothly in social situations.

 (C)* As a group, Asian Americans are not constantly in pursuit of more power.

 (C) When it comes to education, Asian Americans aim to achieve too much.

 (S) Asian Americans tend to have less fun compared to other social groups.

 (C) A lot of Asian Americans can be described as working all of the time.

 (S) The majority of Asian Americans tend to be shy and quiet.

 (S) Asian Americans are not very "street smart."

 (S)* Asian Americans know how to have fun and can be pretty relaxed.

 (S) Most Asian Americans are not very vocal.

- (C)* Asian Americans are a group not obsessed with competition.
- (S)* Asian Americans spend a lot of time at social gatherings.
- (C) Often times, Asian Americans think they are smarter than everyone else is.
- (C) Asian Americans enjoy a disproportionate amount of economic success.
- (S) Asian Americans are not as social as other groups of people.
- (C) Asian Americans are motivated to obtain too much power in our society.
- (S)* Most Asian Americans function well in social situations.
- (C) Many Asian Americans always seem to compare their own achievements to other people's.
- (S) Asian Americans rarely initiate social events or gatherings.
-

Note: * = Reverse-scored item, S = Sociability Item, C = Competence Item.

Scoring Instructions:

Sociability and competence scores on the Anti-Asian American Prejudice Scale can be calculated separately by adding up the score for all items on the relevant subscale after reverse scoring the items listed below. The sociability and competence subscales can also be combined to form a total anti-Asian American prejudice score.

Reverse-scored items (0 = 5, 1 = 4, 2 = 3, 3 = 2, 4 = 1, 5 = 0): 7, 9, 15, 17, 18, 23.

Sociability Score = total of all the sociability items: 2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25.

Competence Score = total of all the competence items: 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24.

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APPENDIX B PILOT STUDY: EVALUATING CAMPUS JOB APPLICATIONS

White American participants reviewed fictitious candidates for a campus job requiring either high competence or high sociability. The main hypothesis was that tendencies to stereotype an Asian target in terms of competence or sociability would depend on the situational context, which emphasized one stereotype dimension or the other, and on prejudice level. Thus, a significant three-way interaction among prejudice level (high vs. low), situational context (competence vs. sociability), and target race (Asian American vs. White American) was predicted, such that ratings of the Asian candidate, as opposed to the White candidate, would follow stereotyped expectancies of high competence and low sociability. This differential pattern of evaluations was expected to exist within each situational context and to be most pronounced for those higher in anti-Asian American prejudice.

Method

Participants

During a general prescreening session, 462 White undergraduates from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst completed the 25-item AAAPS as well as the 10-item Subtle Prejudice Scale (SPS), with "racial minorities" substituted as the target category (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The SPS was included so that a correlational analysis of scores from this scale and the AAAPS could determine the construct validity of the AAAPS.

Competence and sociability subscale scores were calculated for each respondent. High subscale scores represented prejudiced beliefs that Asian Americans are excessively competent and unsociable, whereas low subscale scores represented less prejudiced

beliefs that Asian Americans are not excessively competent and not unsociable. The high correlation between respondents' scores on the competence and sociability subscales ($r = .80, p < .001$) led the two subscale scores to be combined into a total prejudice score. Individuals whose total prejudice scores fell in either the highest or lowest third of the prescreening sample distribution of total prejudice scores were contacted and asked to participate. Seventy-five White undergraduates (55 women and 20 men), ranging in age from 17 to 50 ($M = 19.2$), agreed to participate in exchange for course credit. Thirty-five were categorized as high-prejudice individuals and 40 were categorized as low-prejudice individuals.

Situational Context Manipulation

Target race was predicted to influence how participants would evaluate the candidate within a situational context relevant to one of the two dimensions suspected to underlie anti-Asian prejudice. Thus, two different contexts were constructed: a competence context that stressed academic skills and a sociability context that stressed social skills. Pretesting of various campus jobs indicated that undergraduate students generally regard a laboratory assistant position as one calling for high competence but not necessarily high sociability. In contrast, they generally view a dormitory resident assistant position as one that entails high sociability but not necessarily high competence. Given this divergent job categorization, the participants in the competence context condition were told to evaluate the three candidates for a laboratory assistant position, while those in the sociability context condition were instead told to evaluate the same candidates for a dormitory assistant position.

Materials and Procedure

Three fictitious students (White female, White male, and Asian male) served as candidates supposedly vying for a campus job. Each of the applications created for the candidates included information pertinent to making a hiring decision (i.e., race, gender, age, course work, grades, work experience, and extracurricular activities). As the standard first stimulus application for evaluation in every experimental condition, the White female's application always remained exactly the same. The other two stimulus applications, however, systematically varied in terms of race. Specifically, each of the two generic applicant profiles designed for the male candidates was associated an equal number of times with either an Asian identity or a White identity. Pretests of the generic male profiles ensured that aside from differences in target race and name, the male targets' applications were evenly balanced with regard to personal characteristics dealing with the applicant's level of competence or sociability. Furthermore, the order of the male stimulus applications was counterbalanced so that half of the participants viewed the Asian male's application second and the White male's application third, whereas the other half viewed the applications in reverse order.

White female research assistants blind to prejudice scores ran participants in small groups of eight or less. Participants were informed that the study's focus was on the kinds of perceptions people develop when evaluating candidates for campus job openings, so their task was to formulate general impressions of three applicants for the job in question. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to one of the two situational contexts. In the competence condition, participants received a folder containing the laboratory assistant job description, followed in turn by three applications

and three evaluation forms. After reviewing one application, participants immediately completed their evaluation of that candidate before proceeding to the next application and evaluation until all candidates had been reviewed. The sociability condition was similar, except the job description was for the dormitory resident assistant.

Participants used a 10-point scale ranging from 1 (most negative rating) to 10 (most positive rating) to rate each candidate on 10 items. A principal components factor analysis of the items yielded the following two evaluative dimensions: (a) sociability (ability to interact smoothly with others, outgoingness, friendliness, motivation to gain influence over others); and (b) competence (likelihood to compete for academic excellence, efforts to be the best, chances of being economically successful, ability to balance commitments to academic and nonacademic life, potential for success at the job, recommendation for the job).

Following the review of the last candidate, participants reported on a final evaluation form their gender, age, race, and the race of each candidate as a race manipulation check. An additional dependent measure included participants' hiring decision ranks of the three applicants. Ranking scores ranged from 1 (last choice for hire) to 3 (top choice for hire). Participants were then thanked and debriefed.

Results and Discussion

Construct Validity of the AAAPS

A correlational analysis of participants' total scores on the AAAPS and SPS demonstrated a moderately high correlation, $r = .51$, $p < .001$. This finding suggests that the AAAPS assesses a kind of racial prejudice that corresponds with subtle prejudice against the broader target group of all racial minorities. Thus, the amount of endorsement

of item statements presumed to represent anti-Asian prejudice can predict clearly the levels of prejudice against racial minorities in general.

Predictive Validity of the AAAPS: Campus Job Evaluations

Hiring Decision Ranks. Hiring decision ranks were submitted to a 2 (Prejudice Level: high vs. low) x 2 (Situational Context: competence vs. sociability) x 2 (Target Race: Asian American vs. White American) mixed-model analysis of variance using the SPSS MANOVA procedure with target race as the within-subjects variable. A marginally significant target race main effect was found, such that participants tended to rank the White candidate ($\bar{M} = 2.45$), as opposed to the Asian one ($\bar{M} = 2.24$), as the preferable choice for hire, $F(1, 59) = 3.81, p = .06$. The favorability for the White candidate was qualified by a significant two-way Situational Context x Target Race interaction, $F(1, 59) = 4.24, p < .05$. Specifically, the White candidate ($\bar{M} = 2.53$) was much more likely to be preferred over the Asian candidate ($\bar{M} = 2.06$) for the dormitory resident assistant position, $t(33) = -2.36, p < .03$. Relative to the White target, then, the Asian target was not viewed in as positive of a light within the sociability context. Looking at just the Asian target across situational contexts, the Asian candidate was significantly preferred for the laboratory assistant position ($\bar{M} = 2.39$) over the resident assistant position ($\bar{M} = 2.06$) $t(73) = -2.17, p < .04$. Altogether, these findings imply that the participants perceived the Asian target in terms of stereotyped expectancies that he was not as capable as the White target to excel within the sociability context and better suited for the job set within the competence context instead.

Sociability Ratings. Overall sociability ratings were submitted to a 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-model analysis of variance using the SPSS MANOVA procedure with prejudice

level and situational context as the between-subjects variables and target race as the within-subjects variable. A significant target race main effect emerged with the White candidate ($M = 7.81$) evaluated as more sociable than the Asian candidate ($M = 7.41$), $F(1, 59) = 9.86, p < .004$. In addition, the predicted three-way Prejudice Level x Situational Context x Target Race interaction was significant, $F(1, 59) = 4.91, p < .04$. Specific mean comparisons illustrated a trend for high-prejudice participants to view the White candidate ($M = 7.71$) as being slightly more sociable than the Asian candidate ($M = 7.24$) within the competence context, $t(19) = -1.76, p = .10$. For the low-prejudice participants, the only sociability ratings differing significantly were those for the White candidate ($M = 8.12$) versus the Asian candidate ($M = 7.26$) within the sociability context, $t(18) = -3.40, p < .004$.

Competence Ratings. A similar 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-model analysis of variance using the SPSS MANOVA procedure was conducted on overall competence ratings. A significant target race main effect revealed that the White candidate ($M = 8.15$) was rated more competent than the Asian candidate ($M = 7.97$), $F(1, 59) = 4.53, p < .05$. The predicted three-way Prejudice Level x Situational Context x Target Race interaction was only marginally significant, $F(1, 59) = 3.33, p = .07$. Specific mean comparisons indicated that high-prejudice participants evaluated the White candidate ($M = 8.05$) as more significantly competent than the Asian candidate ($M = 7.70$) within the competence context, $t(19) = -2.57, p < .03$. As for the low-prejudice participants, they regarded the White candidate ($M = 8.43$) to be significantly more competent than the Asian candidate ($M = 8.11$) within the sociability context, $t(18) = -2.19, p < .05$.

Concluding Comments

In light of the significant two-way interaction between situational context and target race, it appears that a general, stereotypical view of the Asian candidate is discernible. Whereas the participants viewed the White candidate as a desirable top choice for hire for either type of campus job, they considered the Asian candidate to be a desirable top choice only for the laboratory assistant job. This pattern of hiring decision ranks highlights the traditional stereotyping of Asian Americans as competent but unsociable.

Turning to the sociability and competence ratings, high-prejudice participants evaluated the White candidate much more favorably on these two dimensions than they did the Asian candidate, but only within the competence context. The implication, then, is that their strongest preference was for the White candidate for the laboratory assistant position. Taking into consideration their hiring decision ranks, however, they more clearly preferred the White candidate for the resident assistant job but possessed no candidate hiring preferences for the laboratory assistant job. Thus, the high-prejudice participants showed an unexpected variability in sociability and competence ratings of the Asian candidate that was not compatible with their hiring decision ranks.

Low-prejudice participants, in contrast, rated the White candidate as higher in both sociability and competence than the Asian candidate within just the sociability context. This suggests that their strongest preference was for the White candidate for the resident assistant position, which is consistent with their hiring decision ranks. However, such evaluations obviously in favor of the White target over the Asian target were not

expected of this group on account of their presumably lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice.

In brief, the pilot study does not provide distinct evidence of the predictive validity of the AAAPS and leaves unclear the ways in which prejudice level and the situational context might influence evaluative judgments of an Asian target in terms of stereotyped expectancies. Therefore, the findings here are limited in their service to understanding this particular type of racial prejudice. Improvements in the experimental design should aid in developing additional studies that will be more informative.

APPENDIX C
SOCIAL DISTANCE BEHAVIORAL MEASURE

We are administering to large samples of the student population a series of short questionnaires regarding people's unique social perspectives and life experiences. By gathering basic information from a wide range of students, we plan to compile statistics on the multiple precursors to particular life changes that occur around college age. Such information is most useful for our conceptual and empirical analyses of individuals who are continuously encountering new social environments. Please take a few minutes to answer the questions below as accurately as possible. Thank you very much for your time.

1. Are you in favor of single-sex dorms at UMass? Y N
- *2. What is your estimate of the % of Asian American students currently attending UMass? _____%
3. What is your estimate of the % of UMass athletes who are African American? _____%
4. Do you consider yourself to be a feminist? Y N
5. Are you politically identified as Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

6. Do you support affirmative action? Y N
- *7. How many Asian American acquaintances on campus do you have? _____
- *8. How many of your close friends (at UMass or not) are Asian American? _____
9. How many of your close friends (at UMass or not) are African American? _____
10. How many gays, lesbians, or bisexuals did you know while growing up? _____
11. How many gay, lesbian, or bisexual students on campus do you know by name? _____
12. Do you personally know of anyone who has died of AIDS? Y N
- *13. How many Asian American events on campus have you attended? _____
14. How many times have you attended a black cultural event at UMass? _____
15. Have you ever taken a Women's Studies course at UMass? Y N
- *16. Would you be interested in taking an Asian American Studies course at UMass?
 Y N
- *17. How many Asian American authors have you read in your leisure time? _____
18. Would you be interested in taking a course to learn sign language? Y N
19. Would you choose to be roommates with someone who is gay/lesbian/bisexual?
 Y N

20. What is your estimate of the % of Latino students currently attending UMass?
 _____%
- *21. Would you choose to be roommates with someone Asian American? Y N
22. How old were you when you first began dating? _____
- *23. Have you ever dated an Asian American? Y N
24. Have you ever dated someone of a different religion? Y N
25. Do you make efforts to be politically active on campus? Y N
26. Are you involved in more than three extracurricular activities right now?
 Y N
27. Are you affiliated with any of the religious groups on campus? Y N
- *28. Do you take time to socialize with Asian American students on campus?
 Y N
29. Do you spend time hanging out with African American students around campus?
 Y N
30. Have you ever engaged in volunteer work to help people who are economically
 disadvantaged? Y N
-

* Indicates a social distance item.

APPENDIX D
CHALLENGE GAME QUESTIONS, STUDY 4

Science Questions

1. How many feet are in a mile?
ANSWER: 5, 280
2. What is the brightest star in the night sky?
ANSWER: Sirius (Dog Star)
3. What are the four major blood types?
ANSWER: A, B, AB, O
4. What is the most common atom in the universe?
ANSWER: Hydrogen
5. What is the cube root of 27?
ANSWER: 3
6. How many watts are in a kilowatt?
ANSWER: 1,000
7. What makes plants green?
ANSWER: Chlorophyll
8. What are the four forces?
ANSWER: Gravity, electromagnetism, and the weak and strong nuclear forces
9. What is the largest planet in the solar system?
ANSWER: Jupiter
10. What does the Kelvin scale measure?
ANSWER: Temperature
11. What does a barometer measure?
ANSWER: Atmospheric pressure
12. What are the three main fossil fuels?
ANSWER: Coal, oil, and natural gas
13. What is the strongest muscle in the human body?
ANSWER: Tongue

14. How many bones are in the human body?
ANSWER: 206
 15. What are COBOL, FORTRAN, and Pascal?
ANSWER: Computer languages
 16. How many chromosome pairs are there in humans?
ANSWER: 23 pairs
 17. What is the world's largest non-profit scientific and educational organization?
ANSWER: National Geographic
 18. What type of charge does a proton have?
ANSWER: Positive
 19. What does the "m" stand for in the formula $E = mc^2$?
ANSWER: Mass
 20. What is the world's most common compound?
ANSWER: Water
-

Sociability Questions

1. What are the close networks of people you hang out and relax with called?
ANSWER: Friends
2. What is it called when someone's behavior is affectionate, teasing, and without serious intent?
ANSWER: Flirting
3. If you are extroverted, you are _____ .
ANSWER: Outgoing
4. Someone working behind the scenes at large gatherings of people is referred to as what?
ANSWER: Event organizer
5. What does it mean to be sociable?
ANSWER: Friendly
6. Within this local area, what is Pearl Street?
ANSWER: Nightclub

7. Where do most college students go to have fun on the weekends?
ANSWER: Parties
 8. What are "Greek letter societies"?
ANSWER: Fraternities/sororities
 9. What does UMass need more of in order to improve student life on campus?
ANSWER: Involvement
 10. What does the Boltwood Project provide?
ANSWER: Community service
 11. You have lots of _____ if you are self-assured and certain about things.
ANSWER: Confidence
 12. Where do most college students meet people they would not usually associate with?
ANSWER: Jobs/workplace
 13. Someone who often engages in conversation or enjoys conversation is _____ .
ANSWER: Talkative
 14. What is the main ingredient in a margarita?
ANSWER: Tequila
 15. Where are college students most likely to be found illegally consuming alcohol?
ANSWER: Bars
 16. If you are widely accepted and commonly liked by the majority of people, you are _____ .
ANSWER: Popular
 17. Someone who balances work and pleasure well is _____ .
ANSWER: Well-rounded
 18. If you "flit and float" among many different social groups, what are you considered to be?
ANSWER: Social butterfly
 19. These kinds of activities do not give academic credit and involve student organizations connected to school. What are they?
ANSWER: Extracurricular activities
 20. If you successfully relate to others in your sport or recreational group, people think you are this _____ .
ANSWER: Team player
-

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