

Beyond the Margins of the Model Minority: The Development and Validation of the East Asian
American Situational Judgment Test

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ACADEMIC ABSTRACT

With the onset of COVID-19 and the anti-Asian bias that has followed, there is growing importance in creating empirically valid measures of racial prejudice. In general, there has been limited research on workplace experiences for Asian Americans, despite this group being one of the fastest-growing racial minorities in the United States. Existing measures of prejudice can be susceptible to social desirability response biases, as they tend to focus on more cognitive and affective components of attitudes, rather than behavioral expectations. The goal of this study was to develop and provide initial validation for a behavior-based measure of racial prejudice called the East Asian American Situational Judgment Test (EAA-SJT).

SJTs are designed to test behavioral judgments through context-based, realistic scenarios and close-ended plausible response options (Weekley & Ployhart, 2013; Whetzel et al., 2020). There has been some evidence that SJTs measuring latent constructs may produce stronger predictive accuracy of criteria compared to traditionally used, context-independent Likert scale measures (Peus et al., 2013; Teng et al., 2020). These traditional measures, often in the form of cognitive/affective survey questions around racial attitudes, can often lead to higher instances of social desirability response bias (Huddy & Feldman, 2009; Weber et al., 2014), in which participants may not answer questions truthfully due to social concerns.

The themes for the EAA-SJT scenarios and response options were based on microaggression research on Asian Americans from Sue et al., (2007a), and the proposed factor structure was predicated on research from Hauenstein et al., (2014), who were the first to

develop SJTs measuring latent prejudicial attitudes toward African Americans and women. To provide initial evidence for the validity of the EAA-SJT, 400 participants from a Qualtrics survey panel completed a 20-minute online survey consisting of demographics, the initial 35-item EAA-SJT, the Asian American Stereotypes scale to test for convergent validity, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale to test for discriminant validity, and two locally developed criterion measures to test for criterion-related validity.

Results from the exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) provided evidence for a three-factor solution of Challenging, Ambivalence, and Reinforcing microaggressions. There was promising initial validity evidence for the EAA-SJT and evidence towards the incremental validity of the EAA-SJT over existing cognitive/affective measures. Next steps include building off the EFA results from this study and conducting a confirmatory factor analysis to finalize the EAA-SJT. Overall, microaggressions and other forms of racial biases in the workplace can have implications on employee well-being, as well as mental and physical health outcomes. The availability of different types of measurement tools such as the EAA-SJT may allow researchers to better understand prejudicial attitudes towards Asian Americans.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

Following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, there was a noted rise in anti-Asian hate crimes and instances of discrimination against Asian Americans (Jeung et al., 2021, Levin, 2021, Ruiz et al., 2020). This study aims to develop and provide initial validation for a measure of racial prejudice against East Asian Americans. This measure, the East Asian American Situational Judgement Test (EAA-SJT), provided scenarios of microaggressions against East Asian Americans along with four response options of behavioral expectations in reaction to those scenarios. The EAA-SJT can be taken by a member of any racial group and reframes the focus on the attitudes of those who potentially engage in microaggressions rather than only those who are affected by it. Preliminary evidence was found in support of the validity of the EAA-SJT.

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Introduction

In a 2021 STAATUS (Social Tracking of Asian Americans in the US) Index Report, a sample of American adults were asked to name *one* prominent Asian American figure. Any Asian American that came to mind, whether it was a politician (e.g., Andrew Yang), an athlete (e.g., Tiger Woods, Michelle Kwan), an actor or comedian (e.g., George Takei, Ali Wong), or even Kamala Harris, the current Vice President of the United States. Surprisingly (or not surprisingly), the most common response was, “I don’t know” (46%). The second most popular answer? Jackie Chan (11%), who does not identify as Asian American.

This response, or lack thereof, comes at a time in which Asian Americans (AAs) are the fastest-growing racial group in the US, with projections that AAs will surpass Hispanics as the largest immigrant group by 2055 (Budiman & Ruiz, n.d.). However, in 2020, there was a marked escalation of anti-Asian hate crimes in the United States. Groups ranging from small community organizations to large international bodies such as the United Nations have acknowledged the bias, intolerance, xenophobia, racism, and violence against the AA community, especially as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Discrimination Against Asian Americans

Who are Asian Americans? According to 2019 US Census data, there are around 22.9 million Asian Americans in the US, which accounts for approximately 7% of the US population (Budiman & Ruiz, n.d.; Bureau, n.d.). In addition, those identifying as “Asian” cover over 20 ethnicities crossing East Asia (e.g., China, Japan, Korea), Southeast Asia (e.g., Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia), and South Asia, otherwise known as the Indian subcontinent (e.g., India, Pakistan, Nepal; Bureau, n.d.). As AAs make up a relatively small subpopulation of the United States, a majority of the AA measurement literature does not differentiate between Asian

ethnicities. As such, most of the literature reviewed addresses an undifferentiated AA population. However, the scenarios present in the EAA-SJT are based on common stereotypes ascribed to the subpopulation of East Asian Americans (EAAs). EAAs embody the physical characteristics and shared cultural values that form the foundation of the stereotype that AAs are the “model minority”.

Recent Increase in Anti-Asian Bias. Although anti-Asian discrimination is not a new issue in the US, it is clear that many individuals and organizations have attributed this influx of violence and bias to the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the language used to discuss the virus. In March of 2020, former President Donald Trump posted a Tweet using the term, “China Virus” (Tessler et al., 2020). Following this incident, multiple studies found these terms and hashtags led to an increase in anti-Asian online sentiment. Darling-Hammond et al. (2020) used time-series data to analyze long-term trends in AA bias before and after the use of the term “China Virus”. They found that compared to European Americans, the belief that AAs were less American and more foreign had been decreasing in the past decade up until March 2020, after which a significant trend reversal was documented. Similarly, Hswen et al. (2021) analyzed Tweets before and after former President Trump used the term “China Virus” and found that approximately 50% of Tweets using the hashtag “#chinesevirus” demonstrated some form of anti-Asian language, compared to approximately 20% with the hashtag “#covid19”. A few months later, the use of anti-Asian language continued to rise. At rallies in Arizona and Oklahoma in June 2020, former President Trump repeatedly used the term “Kung Flu” to refer to the COVID-19 virus (Yam, 2020; BBC News, 2021). Although this trend of increased bigotry toward AAs cannot solely be attributed to the rhetoric of one individual, some were emboldened to a degree not seen prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Historically, prejudice and discrimination against AAs have received less attention than the experiences of other races in prejudice and discrimination research. A consequence of the paucity of research on AAs is the lack of psychological measurement designed to systematically assess attitudes and perceptions of AAs. Therefore, the primary goal of the current study is to develop and validate a scenario-based measurement strategy that focuses on identifying racial biases and behaviors toward AAs using a situational judgment test (SJT).

The logic for the development of the East Asian American SJT (EAA-SJT) is based on the tripartite model of attitudes, from which attitudes are conceptualized as three component parts: cognitive beliefs, affective reactions, and behavioral patterns (Bagozzi et al., 1979; Breckler, 1984). Attitudinal scales most frequently measure cognitive beliefs and sometimes include affective reactions; the behavioral component of attitudes, on the other hand, receives scant attention from a measurement perspective. Two potential benefits of behavioral-based measures over cognitive/affective measures are that behavioral-based scales reduce social desirability responding (Whetzel et al., 2020) and behavioral-based measurement strategies generally predict behavioral outcomes better than cognitive-affective attitudinal scales (Peus et al., 2013; Teng et al., 2020).

Types and Consequences of Discrimination against Asian Americans. Researchers tend to categorize discrimination against minorities as overt or subtle discrimination (Hebl et al., 2020), although there is no clear delineation for when subtle acts become recognized as overt, and vice versa. Overt discrimination refers to acts of direct and intentional prejudice that result in negative treatment towards a member of a minority group (Jones et al., 2016), e.g., slurs or derogatory name-calling, hate crimes, segregation, unfair hiring practices. In contrast, subtle acts

of discrimination are both consciously and subconsciously motivated, and often result in negative and ambivalent treatment towards minority group members (Jones et al., 2016).

Acts of subtle discrimination are often labeled as microaggressions; commonplace statements or actions that communicate negative slights towards a member of a minority group, intentionally or unintentionally (Sue et al., 2007b). Comments and/or behaviors may seem innocuous to more empowered social group members, and may even be well-intentioned. Sue et al. (2007b) identified three major components of racial microaggressions: microinsults (i.e., subconscious, insensitive comments), microassaults (i.e., subconscious comments or actions meant to cause harm), and microinvalidations (i.e., subconscious comments or actions that exclude or discredit minorities). For AAs specifically, some examples of microaggressions may include “alien in own land” implying that all Asians are foreigners, “ascriptions of intelligence” assuming that Asians are unusually academically proficient, and “pathologizing cultural values/communication styles” capturing a feeling that anything outside of White American norms is unfavorable (Sue et al., 2007a).

As a result of both overt and subtle discrimination, AAs are frequently disadvantaged in the workplace. The notion of the “bamboo ceiling” (Nunes & Staff, 2021; Yu, 2020), i.e., barriers that prevent the upward advancement of AAs in organizations, is recognized as similar to the glass ceiling experienced by women in the workplace. For example, Gee & Peck (2018a) studied San Francisco Bay Area technology companies and found that although Asians made up one of the largest racial cohorts in the organizations, they were less likely to be promoted to a manager or executive level compared to Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Similarly, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Gee & Peck, 2018b) found that among white-collar employees, AAs are the least likely to be promoted compared to other races. In addition,

evidence of the bamboo ceiling has been found in the law, banking, and public sectors (Bureau, n.d.). However, despite these findings, recent opinion surveys found that more than half of the general American population (57%) believe that AAs are either fairly represented or over-represented in leadership positions in business, politics, or media (STAATUS Index, 2021).

In the context of leadership prototypes, AAs are generally viewed as less ideal leaders compared to Caucasians, with stereotypes of being submissive, obedient, and introverted (Sy et al., 2010). AAs tend to activate competence-related leadership prototypes such as intelligence and dedication, whereas Caucasians tend to activate agentic leadership prototypes such as masculinity, dynamism, and tyranny. As Western culture tends to idealize the agentic leader, this may contribute to differential perceptions of leadership for AAs (Sy et al., 2010).

Racism and discrimination are often detrimental to both the physical and mental health of minorities. Overt racism has been found to be a risk factor for physical well-being, stress, and anger, as well as depression, low self-esteem, and lower levels of life satisfaction (Sue et al., 2007b). Specifically, in the AA population, perceived discrimination is associated with negative mental health outcomes (i.e., clinical diagnoses, psychological functioning), negative physical health outcomes (i.e., cardiovascular health, diabetes, obesity), and negative coping behaviors (i.e., substance abuse) (Gee & Ford, 2011; Gee et al., 2009).

Asian American Stereotypes. As racial diversity in the United States increases (Bureau, n.d.), it is clear AAs cannot be analyzed outside of the context of a multiracial society. When White individuals compose the in-group, the triggers of racism exhibited towards AAs are markedly different from racism targeting Blacks and Hispanics. Park et al. (2015) found that among White American students, AAs were rated as more competent than Blacks and Hispanics, and White students also believed Blacks and Hispanics needed to “try harder” to do better in life.

Similarly, Butz and Yogeeswaran (2011) found that perceived economic difficulties tend to increase prejudice against AAs, but not against Black Americans. Perceptions of scarcity cause Whites to view AAs as economic competitors, whereas Blacks and Hispanics view AAs in terms of relative deprivation given stereotypical beliefs about economic success (Butz & Yogeeswaran, 2011).

In addition, a common belief is that AAs exist in a space that is closer in proximity to “whiteness” compared to other racial minorities, especially due to perceived levels of hard work and success (Sue et al., 2007a). These beliefs lead many to believe that EAAs do not experience significant amounts of racism, especially compared to other racial subgroups, while others believe that AA do not experience racism at all (STAATUS Index, 2021; Sue et al., 2007a).

Kernel of Truth. The reality is that many stereotypical beliefs about AAs have been informed by documented subgroup differences, i.e., the kernel of truth argument about stereotypes (Klineberg, 1951). In terms of educational and financial success, approximately 49% of AAs obtain a bachelor’s degree or higher compared to 28% of the general population, and AA households have a median income of \$66,000 compared to \$49,800 for other races (Budiman & Ruiz, n.d.). Furthermore, in terms of standardized testing – for example, SAT scores– AAs consistently score higher than all other racial and ethnic subgroups and continue to show gains year-over-year when other races see minimal increases, or even decreases (Jaschik, 2017). However, issues arise when all AAs are viewed as a monolith, and members of the community are viewed unidimensionally as opposed to being unique individuals belonging to a certain community.

Measurement Tools

Although our social and psychological understanding of the theory behind AA stereotyping has improved over time, the psychometric measurement and assessment methods have not. Although there are a number of generalized tools that measure prejudices for different subgroups (i.e., GRISIMS for race, religion, sex, and gender; Godfrey et al., 2000), and collective racial discrimination (i.e., CoBRAS for racial colorblindness; Neville et al., 2000), many widely used racism scales focus specifically on anti-Black discrimination, such as the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay et al., 1980) and the Symbolic Racism 2000 scale (Henry & Sears, 2002). Furthermore, much of the literature on AA prejudice and discrimination has been focused on identifying and evaluating perceived racism and experienced discrimination of AAs, such as the Perceived Racism Measure (Yoo & Castro, 2011), Discrimination Measure (Wang & Atwal, 2015), Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for AA Women (Keum et al., 2018), Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (Liang et al., 2004), Racial Microaggressions Measure (Ong et al., 2013), Model Minority Stereotyping Scale (Thompson & Kiang, 2010), and the Subtle and Blatant Racism Scale for Asian American College Students: SABR-A2 (Yoo et al., 2010). These measures have been designed to be completed by AAs only, to identify perceived racism or experienced discrimination.

In comparison, relatively few cognitive-affective instruments exist that measure racial attitudes towards AAs from the perspectives of other races. One of the first scales to be developed and widely used is the Scale of Anti-Asian American Stereotypes (Lin et al., 2005) which measures anti-Asian sentiments on dimensions of sociability and competence using the Stereotype Content Model theory. Ho and Jackson (2001) developed the Attitude Toward Asians Scale (ATA) and found that positive characteristics associated with AAs were often associated

with negative reactions, e.g., the belief that AAs are intelligent being accompanied by seeing AAs as a threat. There have been similar scales, albeit less widely used, such as the Attitudes Towards Asians Scale (ATAS; Dinh et al., 2008) to identify whether acculturation and intercultural contact predicted Whites attitudes towards Asians, as well as the Asian Modern Racism Scale (Son Hing et al., 2002) which measured negative attitudes about Asians from a Canadian perspective.

Situational Judgment Tests (SJTs). Beyond this literature, there are no behavioral-based measures of racial attitudes towards Asians or AAs. Although traditional attitude scales primarily ask participants' thoughts or opinions, the scale developed in the current study is designed to measure behavioral expectations. The argument for the benefits of this method is that expectations prime past behaviors or abstract representations of past behavioral patterns, and it is well-established that past behaviors are strong predictors of future behavior (Ouellette & Wood, 1998). Asking for behavioral expectation responses can often yield better predictions for future behavior than asking for behavioral intentions (Warshaw & Davis, 1985).

In the organizational behavior literature, SJTs are frequently used to measure behavioral expectations; SJTs are designed to test behavioral judgments through context-based scenarios and plausible response options (Whetzel et al., 2020). For example, in a standard SJT, the respondent is provided with scenarios that they may realistically encounter (Weekley & Ployhart, 2013), and close-ended response options are provided for each scenario. The manner in which the options are responded to varies, e.g., forced-choice (i.e., one option choice selected out of four), or ratings-based responses (i.e., rating the likelihood of endorsing each of four response options). In organizational science, SJTs were first developed as "low fidelity" simulations

(Schapers et al., 2020) used to collect “samples” of applicants’ behavioral expectations, as opposed to “signs” of latent constructs (Wernimont & Campbell, 1968; Lievens et al., 2021).

More recently, SJTs have been designed to measure theoretically deduced (signs of) latent constructs (e.g., Peus et al., 2013; Teng et al., 2020). Although it is well-established that SJTs designed to sample behaviors in the selection context are stronger predictors of performance than many alternative assessments (Lievens et al., 2011; Patterson et al., 2016; Weekley & Ployhart, 2006), recent evidence suggests that SJTs designed to measure latent constructs produce stronger predictive accuracy of relevant criteria than traditional, context-independent Likert-scale measures (e.g., Hauenstein et al. 2014; Peus et al., 2013; Teng et al., 2020).

Beyond the inclusion of context in the assessment, a complimentary explanation of the predictive power of SJTs is that SJT responses may be less vulnerable to social desirability bias (Kanning & Kuhne, 2006), although there are mixed results in this area (Hooper et al., 2006; Kaminski et al., 2019; Peeters & Lievens, 2005). Given that issues around race and discrimination are sensitive topics in American society (Horowitz et al., 2019), social desirability is a concern when measuring socially sensitive constructs (Krumpal, 2013). There are multiple determinants to social desirability as a trait, including avoidance of negative feelings and shame, the desire to maintain a positive self-image, approval seeking, and worries about anonymity (Krumpal, 2013). Therefore, cognitive-affective survey questions regarding race often result in higher social desirability scores (Huddy & Feldman, 2009; Weber et al., 2014).

In terms of measuring racist tendencies, Hauenstein et al., (2014) were the first group to develop a latent-construct SJT using scenarios of microaggressive behaviors, thus incorporating the measurement advantages of SJTs mentioned above. In addition, Hauenstein et al. (2014)

found that scores on their SJT (the Diversity Engagement Test-DivET) predicted multiple performance criteria in a 12-week military diversity training program, whereas traditional diversity attitudinal measures did not. Extending this research, an assessment for race was developed specifically using Blacks as targets of microaggressions in the scenarios (DivETII), and an assessment was developed where women were the target of microaggressions (the Gender Privilege SJT or GPSJT). Validation studies on all three measures supported a three-factor solution, Challenging (confronting microaggressions), Avoidance/Ambivalence (redirecting the topic away from the microaggression), and Reinforcing (affirming microaggressions; Abraham et al., 2020; Gladfelter et al., 2019). The research of Hauenstein and colleagues provided initial guidance in the development of the EAA-SJT.

Overview

Currently, there is a scarcity of empirical research on the workplace experiences of AAs (Sy et al., 2010). As the US continues to experience heightened racial tensions, there is an increased need for reliable, valid measures of racial attitudes against underserved minority groups such as AAs. Building upon current attitudinal research that primarily focuses on cognitive/affective measures, this study seeks to develop and provide initial validation for a behaviorally based measure of latent prejudice through the use of SJTs.

Literature Review

Acknowledgment of Bias Against Asian Americans

Defining the Group: Asian Americans & East Asian Americans. Asian Americans are typically identified as those with origins from East Asia, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent. Although much of the literature on prejudice and discrimination does not differentiate among the AA communities (e.g., Hasnain et al., 2020; Kauh & Read, 2021;

Nguyen et al., 2013), the primary reference group in this literature is East Asian Americans (EAAs). As such, researchers have begun differentiating EAAs from the broader Asian American communities (e.g., McMurtry et al., 2019). More specifically, individuals identifying as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, or Hong Kongers make up this EAAs demographic. Although anti-Asian bias affects all AA ethnic groups, developing a measure of racial attitudes toward EAAs is the focus of the current study.

Recent Increase in Anti-Asian Bias

Hate crimes and incidents involving anti-Asian bias have been rising since the onset of the coronavirus. From 2020 to 2021, the non-profit consortium *Stop AAPI Hate* received 3,795 hate incidents ranging from verbal harassment to physical assault and human rights violations (Jeung et al., 2021). The Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism (Levin, 2021) out of California State University, San Bernardino examined data from 16 of the largest cities in the United States and found that hate crimes against Asians have increased by 145% between 2019 and 2020 (Levin, 2021). These statistics are especially noteworthy, as the US saw an overall decrease (6%) in general hate crimes during the same time.

In addition, a 2020 survey of the general public conducted by the Pew Research Center suggests that the onset of COVID-19 contributed to changes in the relative frequency of prejudice and discrimination targeting AAs. Relative to other racial minorities, Asians and Blacks reported more discriminatory occurrences since the beginning of the pandemic (Ruiz et al., 2020). After the outbreak, it is estimated that 31% of Asians have been at the end of slurs or jokes due to race, compared to 21% of Blacks, 15% of Hispanics, and 8% of Whites (Ruiz et al., 2020). Furthermore, 40% of older adults (30 years or more) and 51% of younger adults (18 – 29 years) reported that they believe racism against Asians is more common now than pre-pandemic

(Ruiz et al., 2020). The increase in acts of discrimination and violence has been so pronounced, that the President of the United States released two official statements to address anti-Asian racism directly (White House Briefing Room, 2021).

At the international level, the United Nations Human Rights Council released a report that revealed their concern about anti-Asian bias in the United States. This document stated that there were increases in racism against Asians living in the US and that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) prepared for a surge in anti-Asian COVID-19 hate crimes (UNPO, 2021). In addition to a list of physical attacks, vandalism, refusal of service, and instances of verbal harassment that have been recently reported, specific concern was noted in regard to how former President Donald Trump may have legitimized these occurrences (UNPO, 2021). At the individual, group, national, and even international levels, anti-Asian prejudice has been increasing rapidly, especially since the onset of COVID-19. At this point, bias and racism against the AA community have been well documented, but there has been a relative lack of attention to the challenges faced by AAs. One step towards progress is to improve our understanding of the experiences of AAs, particularly through better measurement tools.

The Model Minority Stereotype and Microaggressions

The Model Minority Stereotype. AAs who reside in the United States have a cultural experience that is unique compared to Asians who reside in other countries. Due to overarching societal structures such as immigration, government and policy, and American media, AAs are commonly referred to in the context of the model minority stereotype. The model minority stereotype, which originated around the early 19th century, is a stereotype that identifies AAs with certain positive characteristics, such as being hardworking, achievement-oriented, and intellectual (Yi & Museus, 2016), along with negative attributes such as a one-track focus on

work and success, which simultaneously extends beliefs of low sociability, “nerdiness”, and being a perpetual foreigner in your own land (Lin et al., 2005; Tessler et al., 2020; Yi & Museus, 2015).

This stereotype is predicated on the belief in American meritocracy, in which AAs were held-up as a “model” for other races by assuming that hard work and discipline afford any minority a path to the American Dream, while also allowing the majority to claim color blindness and an absence of racism (Yoo et al., 2010). Although deceptively positive at the surface level, this stereotype assumes that AAs are a homogenous group that has “overcome” the pitfalls of being a minority in the United States (Gee et al., 2009), when in fact these stereotypes often mask other significant issues and inequalities (e.g., social, economic, occupational).

It is factual that AAs have relatively greater economic success and higher levels of educational attainment compared to other racial groups (Yoo et al., 2010), allowing for a “kernel of truth” argument to generalize these group-level characteristics to justify beliefs about individual AAs. However, many contextual variables are often ignored when generalizing from the model minority stereotype. For example, data shows that some Asian groups, such as Hmong or Cambodians, have equivalent or lower educational attainment than other racial minority groups when AA subcultures are disaggregated. Additionally, the appearance of AA inflated economic success can often be explained by stringent immigration restrictions (e.g., only highly educated Asian immigrants were allowed access into the US), along with the tendency for AAs to live in urban areas (Lee & Zhou, 2015; Yoo et al., 2010).

Taken as a whole, the perpetuation and belief in the model minority stereotype have significant negative consequences for AAs. Similar to research with Black Americans and other racial minorities, there have been empirical associations made between self-reported

discrimination and negative health outcomes - both mental and physical. In addition, AAs may internalize anti-Asian prejudice and the model minority stereotype, which can also lead to negative psychological outcomes, typically through stress mechanisms (Gee et al., 2009; Ong et al., 2013; Yoo et al., 2010). More specifically, it has been found that racial discrimination against Asians has been linked to a greater risk of physical and somatic symptoms such as aches, pains, and physical discomfort (Ong et al., 2013), and increased risk for substance abuse (Gee et al., 2009). In terms of mental health outcomes, discrimination puts AAs at an increased risk of depressive disorders, anxiety, self-esteem issues, and stress (Huynh, 2012).

The Racial Position of Asian Americans. The model minority stereotype is further predicated on the fact that AAs exist in a gray area between Whiteness and minority status. From a broader perspective, when examining the dynamics of race relations in the United States as a whole, theories such as the Racial Position Model (Zou & Cheryan, 2017) create a framework of racial relationships between Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians on dimensions of perceived inferiority and perceived cultural foreignness. Among these four groups, Whites are thought of as both superior and inherently American, whereas AAs are found to be relatively superior and foreign. In contrast, Black Americans are positioned as inferior and American, and Latinos are found to be inferior and foreign. As such, prejudices and stereotypes emerge differently for each racial subgroup indicating that all racial groups, AAs included, have unique histories and perspectives, and are presented with different challenges that should not be ignored.

In a similar approach, other researchers (Kim, 1999; Xu & Lee, 2013) propose the Racial Triangulation theory that incorporates dimensions of racial valorization and civic acceptance/ostracism. This theory suggests that Asians occupy a unique position in which they can be superior or inferior to other races, as well as viewed as insiders or outsiders based on a

comparative reference group. This multidimensional approach allows for sliding scales of positions in which AAs can be simultaneously high in one dimension and low in another dimension. Having these frameworks can help provide a lens through which microaggressions against AAs can be examined in broader American society.

Microaggressions. Racial microaggressions are verbal or non-verbal exchanges that communicate racial biases, either intentionally or unintentionally (Sue et al., 2007b). According to Sue et. al., microaggressions take three forms: microinsults, microassaults, and microinvalidations. Microinsults are typically subconscious and communicate a level of insensitivity to an individual's racial identity; microassaults are typically consciously committed and are explicit in their purpose of racial discrimination; and finally, microinvalidations are typically subconscious and undermine or ignore contributions from someone of a certain racial identity (Sue et al., 2007b). All forms of microaggressions may be psychologically harmful and are not limited by intent – one can commit a microaggression subconsciously or unintentionally, and lack of intent does not mitigate negative consequences for the microaggressive target.

Many studies, as well as general social consensus, have supported the idea that Blacks and Hispanics experience racism and discrimination, especially in the form of microaggressions; however, due to the model minority stereotype, there are many who believe that Asians do not face the same kind of treatment (Sue et al., 2009). In fact, recent polling from a non-profit survey group found that nearly one-quarter (24%) of White Americans and one-third (35%) of Republicans believe that racism against AAs is not an issue that should be addressed (STAATUS Index, 2021).

In contrast, empirical research from Sue and colleagues (2007a) indicates that not only do AAs suffer from racism as with other racial minorities, but there are also in fact specific themes

of microaggressions that directly target AAs. These AA microaggression themes include (1) Alien in Own Land – all AAs are foreigners, (2) Ascription of Intelligence – intelligence is automatically ascribed to someone of Asian descent, (3) Denial of Racial Reality – invalidation of differential racial experiences due to the belief in the model minority myth, (4) Exoticization of Asian American Women – fetishizing Asian women, (5) Invalidation of Interethnic Differences – the belief that all Asians are the same, (6) Pathologizing Cultural Values/Communication Styles – the belief that Western culture is the ideal and that all other behaviors are not normal, (7) Second Class Citizenship – Asians being treated as “less than” compared to White counterparts, (8) Invisibility – overlooking or disregarding Asian voices, and (9) Undeveloped Incidents/Responses – other themes that did not fit into the aforementioned categories.

In the diversity and inclusion literature, there have been criticisms surrounding the concept and psychological validity behind the theory of microaggressions, particularly around its semantic use of what may or may not constitute a microaggression, the operationalization of the term, and differences in interpretations of microaggressive events (Lilienfeld, 2017). However, it appears that the primary argument against racial microaggressions is that they are simply subjective experiences and that “microaggressions” as a concept do not truly exist (Williams, 2020). It should be noted that Sue et al. (2007b) generated a classification system of racial microaggressions and their components, which has been widely regarded and adapted to fit educational and social programs. And as with many psychological concepts, nuance and context are critical to the understanding of underlying theory. For example, it would not be a microaggression to say that an Asian person speaks great English if you know that they came from abroad and are actively taking English classes, but it would be a microaggression if you

said it to an Asian woman in line at the grocery store with whom you were making small talk. For expansion on these concerns, many articles have sufficiently addressed the validity of microaggressions themselves, and the utility of continuing research on microaggressions is well established (see Ong & Burrow, 2017; Sue 2017; Williams, 2021; Wong et al., 2014).

This context has laid the groundwork through which most measures characterize anti-Asian sentiments and prejudice. The next section will explore and summarize three key existing measures that have been prominent in measuring bias against AAs.

Measures

AA Stereotypical Beliefs. The majority of racial bias measurement tools for AAs are designed to be responded to by AAs (Yoo & Castro, 2011; Wang & Atwal, 2015; Keum et al., 2018; Liang et al., 2004; Ong et al., 2013; Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Yoo et al., 2010).

Although it is important to understand the perspectives of those who experience prejudice and discrimination, it is equally important to identify the attitudes of those who perpetrate biases to better understand how to identify and combat these issues in the future. However, fewer measures of AA racial attitudes are designed to identify attitudes toward AAs. The three measures with the strongest validity evidence include the Scale of Anti-Asian American Stereotypes (SAAAS), the Attitudes Towards Asians scale (ATA), and the Asian American Stereotype Scale (AAS).

SAAAS. The most commonly used scale to test attitudes towards AAs is the Scale of Anti-Asian American Stereotypes (SAAAS; Lin et al., 2005). The SAAAS was designed according to the Stereotype Content Model, i.e., which suggests that stereotypes for certain outgroups can cluster around two dimensions: warmth/sociability and competence (Cuddy et al., 2009). Prejudices against AAs typically reflect “envious mixed prejudice” (Cuddy et al., 2009)

where AAs are judged to be highly competent and low in warmth/sociability, or more generally, respected, yet disliked (Lin et al., 2005). This duality of positive and negative stereotypes also parallels the model minority stereotype, in which Asians are seen as ambitious and competent, while simultaneously positioned as a threatening outgroup that can evoke job threat and resentment. As a result of these specific mixed stereotypes, attitudes and actions towards AAs often manifest as general dislike or discomfort, envy, competitiveness, fear, or even harm (Lin et al., 2005).

An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and subsequent confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) produced an overall SAAAS scale composed of 25 items and two subscales: competence and sociability (Lin et al., 2005). The authors then tested the predictive power of the SAAAS on everyday interactions with AAs. Results found that participants with lower SAAAS scores (less prejudice against AAs) made significantly more effort to socialize with Asian students, had significantly more AA friends or acquaintances, would be more likely to room with an AA student, and were more curious about AA culture compared to those with higher SAAAS prejudice scores (Lin et al., 2005).

ATA. The Attitudes Towards Asians (ATA) scale was developed by Ho & Jackson (2001) to measure how Asians are viewed and evaluated by White individuals in relation to the model minority assumption. An EFA and other validation efforts resulted in a two-factor scale, simply labeled as “Negative” and “Positive.” Although the EFA supported the two-factor solution, closer examination shows that negative items reflect two negative beliefs, “Asians are not Americans” and that Asians are an economic threat to Whites. The positive items are a compilation of socially desirable attributes consistent with the model minority stereotype. Beyond the validation evidence for ATA scale scores, when correlated with a scale measuring

emotion toward AAs, a complex pattern of results was found consistent with Cuddy et al. (2009) notion of envious mixed prejudice. Positive ATA scores were associated with increased Admiration and decreased Hostility, but increased Envy. Negative ATA scores were associated with decreased Admiration and increased Hostility and Fear.

AAS. The Asian American Stereotypes scale (AAS) built upon the research and findings from the SAAAS through the addition of two dimensions to measure attitudes and stereotypes against AAs (Bu & Borgida, 2020). To develop the AAS, a study was conducted to identify descriptive traits associated with White Americans and AAs (Bu & Borgida, 2020). A series of EFA and CFAs produced a four-factor solution, competence and warmth (similar to the SAAAS), and the added dimensions of self-centeredness and submissiveness. The construct of self-centeredness was reflected by dominance and arrogance, and submissiveness was reflected by shyness and passivity. Borrowing from gender bias research, Bu and Borgida (2020) used role and status incongruity theory to argue that AAs who do not fit the AA stereotype may experience greater social backlash than AAs conforming to the AA stereotype. This theory stems from gender stereotype research where women with agentic traits in leadership roles were rated more negatively than their male peers because agentic traits are stereotypically male as opposed to female. (Bu & Borgida, 2020). Generalizing, individual AAs may be judged negatively for failing to conform to AA stereotypes in two ways. First, in the aforementioned sense of “fitting” the AA stereotype thereby being perceived as competent but disliked; second, in the status incongruity sense, with AAs not “fitting” the AA stereotype being judged harshly for being less than competent and/or being too sociable/assertive/self-centered. Criteria used to validate AAS scores include measures of direct contact with AAs, extended contact with AAs, estimations of the Asian population, system justification (e.g., protecting the status quo), and racial resentment.

Results indicated that higher warmth ratings significantly predicted more contact with Asians, higher estimations of the Asian population in the US, and higher system justification scores. Higher competence ratings significantly predicted less contact and lower population estimations; self-centeredness significantly predicted greater contact and less racial resentment; submissiveness significantly predicted lower system justification scores only (Bu & Borgida, 2020).

Summary of Stereotype Measures. All three measures of AA stereotypes exhibit both positive and negatively valenced attitudes or beliefs towards AAs as a result of the complex nature of the model minority stereotype. For the current study, the AAS will be used to test convergent validity against the proposed measurement assessment (EAA-SJT). This scale incorporates the two subscales of the SAAAS and adds additional dimensions that help to further capture the complexity of attitudes against AAs in the context of whether AAs act in congruence or incongruence with Asian stereotypes. The AAS will be used as the attitudinal measure in the current study.

Overall, these attitudinal scales advanced the literature in the sense of studying prejudices of non-AAs toward AAs. However, through measuring behaviors, primarily through SJTs, there is growing evidence that suggests self-reported behavioral expectations are comparatively better predictors of outcomes than measures of context-independent, Likert-scale type individual differences (Gladfelter et al., 2019; Hauenstein et al., 2017; Peus et al., 2013; Teng et al., 2020). This paper aims to build upon this line of research using a behaviorally based SJT measure with the goals being to reduce social desirability response bias and to lay the groundwork towards improving the predictive accuracy of discriminatory behavior toward AAs.

Situational Judgment Tests. SJTs are scenario-based assessments in which the respondent is asked to assume they are in the situation being described in the scenario. SJTs are not an open-ended response format; rather, for each scenario, respondents are given a fixed set of possible responses to consider. The earliest origins of SJTs can be traced to the late 1800s, but the current popularity of SJTs is attributable to the frequent inclusion of SJTs in test batteries used to aid hiring decisions starting in the 1980's (Whetzel & McDaniel, 2009; Schapers et al., 2020). In the selection decision research, SJTs are considered low fidelity work simulations that have shown consistently strong predictions of job performance (Schapers et al., 2020).

More recently, SJTs have been designed to measure specific latent constructs, e.g., procedural knowledge (Motowidlo & Beier, 2010), interpersonal skills (Lievens, 2013), and leadership skills (Peus et al., 2013). In addition, SJTs have been designed to measure multiple constructs simultaneously, such as goal orientation (Westring et al., 2009) and Big Five personality traits (Motowidlo et al., 2006). For SJTs that measure latent constructs, respondents are typically asked to indicate how likely they are to engage in a certain behavior based on, i.e., a behavioral expectation. This behavioral expectation promotes the priming of past behaviors directly, or abstract, indirect representations of behaviors (Gladfelter et al., 2019).

Hauenstein et al. (2014). Hauenstein et al. (2014) were the first to develop an SJT to measure prejudicial attitudes, labeled the Diversity Engagement Test (DivET). The DivET was developed in the context of evaluating diversity training outcomes in the military. The key constraint in the military context was the requirement for "universal responding." Although the DivET described common microaggressions against Blacks, it was necessary that people of all races were able to respond to the DivET. The SJT format was the easiest way to achieve a universal response format.

The DivET was designed to measure two higher-order constructs: Challenging microaggressions and Perpetuating microaggressions (Gladfelter et al., 2019). Challenging response options were designed to measure “Confronting” microaggressions, decisive refutations of microaggressive behaviors, and “Engaging” microaggressions, initiating conversations to better understand the motivation of the microaggressor depicted in the scenario. Perpetuating microaggressions included the dimensions of “Avoiding”, in which the microaggression is left unchallenged and the respondent seeks to draw attention away from the microaggression, and “Reinforcing”, which includes responses that in some way validated or rationalized the microaggressive behavior being depicted in the scenario (Gladfelter et al., 2019). Initial EFAs of DivET responses indicated that respondents failed to differentiate Confronting responses from Engaging responses, and evidence appeared strong for the Reinforcing factor, but not as strong for the Avoiding factor.

Beyond universal responding, Hauenstein et al (2014) posited two potential benefits of the SJT format. First, potential reduction in social desirability response bias relative to traditional self-report assessment strategies. Social desirability is always a concern when asking respondents to truthfully disclose beliefs that are discordant with self-perceptions of being a “good person.” There are multiple techniques designed to address reducing social desirability response bias (e.g., Blair et al., 2012), but they have not been as effective as the results generated from SJTs. The increased specificity and context-dependence of SJT scenarios allow researchers to sample behavioral expectations across a variety of social contexts and to draw upon behavioral patterns without directly asking participants to state their racial beliefs. Finally, introducing the context of a situation in an SJT may expose a greater degree of subtle racism compared to traditional attitudinal measures, as the SJT items are asked less explicitly and do not require the same

amount of cognitive or affective introspection that occurs prior to behavior (Abraham et al., 2019; Abraham et al., 2020). Due to the variation in contexts, this may evoke more valid representations of microaggressions compared to attitudinal scales that are written to be context-free. Respondents are therefore prompted to draw upon past experiences and behavioral patterns without the need for contemplation of highly generalized beliefs.

The second advantage was the potential to increase the predictive accuracy of diversity-related criteria relative to traditional attitudinal assessments. DivET scores were validated against two criteria collected during the 15-week military diversity training program: content-valid assessments of equal opportunity training knowledge and observational measures of interpersonal skills when addressing diversity issues in small group settings. Results indicated that the DivET scores predicted training knowledge scores, especially Reinforcing scores, whereas scores from the White Privilege Attitudes Scale and the Multicultural Attitude Scale failed to predict training knowledge. In addition, random coefficient modeling showed that performance in small group discussions showed a negative relationship with Reinforcing scores. Analyses of interpersonal skills similarly supported the criterion-related validity of the DivET, with higher reinforcing scores indicating worse interpersonal skills performance (Gladfelter et al., 2019).

DivETII and GPSJT. A revised version of the DivET, the DivETII, was created to address two issues. First, Engaging and Confronting response options were revised with the goal of producing reliable measures of these conceptualized subfactors of Challenging microaggressions. Second, Avoiding was relabeled “Ambivalent” and the associated response options were rewritten to better reflect an unwillingness to address the depicted microaggressive behaviors. Validation efforts on the DivETII again failed to produce separate factors for

Confronting and Engaging, but the psychometric properties of the Ambivalent scale scores were stronger than those found for the Avoiding scale scores on the original DivET.

An advantage of the SJT format to measure prejudice is that a scale can be created for any social identity. Abraham et al., (2020; 2021) utilized the three-factor model of the DivETII to create the Gender Privilege Situational Judgment Test (GPSJT). Similar to the DivETII, there was clear evidence for the Challenging, Ambivalence, and Reinforcing dimensions, which was validated by an EFA and CFA. Measurement invariance analyses suggested there was a consistent interpretation of items across both males and females, and the scale was replicated across two military-based, non-student samples.

Development of the EAA-SJT

The structure and the framework for the EAA-SJT were modeled in part on the DivETII and the GPSJT. More specifically, the EAA-SJT is a scenario-based assessment where each scenario in the item pool describes a microaggression against EAAs. In addition, each scenario includes a Challenging and an Ambivalent response option. However, given the complexity of the model minority stereotype, two Reinforcing options, “Negative Reinforcing” and “Positive Reinforcing,” were created for each scenario. Negative Reinforcing response options on the EAA-SJT were similar to Reinforcing response options on the DivETII/GPSJT in that the depicted microaggressions were validated or reinforced (e.g., reinforcing economic threats of EAAs or the perpetual foreigner perception of EAAs). Positive Reinforcing response options were constructed to be complimentary toward EAAs on the surface but likely perceived as offensive to EAAs (e.g., generalizing a positive attribute of the EAA stereotype to an individual EAA).

Consequently, a four-factor model was predicted for the EAA-SJT, which incorporates some dimensions of the original DivETII (Challenging and Ambivalence; Gladfelter et al., 2019), while also expanding the construct to include two new dimensions: Positive Reinforcing and Negative Reinforcing. Although the DivETII identified a Reinforcing microaggressions factor, this study expands that dimension to incorporate common manifestations of the model minority stereotype in terms of positively and negatively valenced ways to reinforce microaggressions. For example, assuming an AA is smart (ascription of intelligence; Sue et al., 2007a) appears positive even though it is reinforcing a stereotype, whereas assuming an AA is weak or nerdy reinforces negative stereotypes.

Overview

The current study addresses the development of the item pool for the EAA-SJT, the process by which items are culled to produce the “final” version of the EAA-SJT, and to document other validation evidence for the EAA-SJT. A sample of adults of all races will be asked to respond to the EAA-SJT item pool, the AAS (for convergent validity), a social desirability scale (for discriminant validity), and two criterion measures (to assess both the predictive accuracy of the EAA-SJT alone, and the incremental validity of the EAA-SJT relative to the AAS).

AAS. The AAS can be further subdivided into four subscales: warmth, competence, self-centeredness, and submissiveness. Asian Americans are seen as higher in competence and submissiveness and lower in warmth and self-centeredness compared to their White counterparts (Bu & Borgida, 2020). This reasoning might suggest that PR and NR scores may be higher for both the competence and submissiveness subscales, as those who have stereotypical views of Asians are more likely to endorse microaggressions against them. Conversely, Challenging

scores might be higher for warmth and self-centeredness, as those with more balanced, less stereotypical views of Asians may be more willing to defy or address microaggressions.

External Criteria Measures. Due to significant gaps in research and measurement in the area of discrimination against AAs, the external criteria measures for this study will be locally developed. For this reason, two additional instruments were developed – an EA knowledge test that measures EA general cultural awareness, and an EAA behavior checklist for past behaviors when engaging with EAAs.

Methods

Participants

The original sample of participants consisted of 406 adults. Six participants were removed from further analyses due to concerns over inattentive responding. Two participants were removed for having zero variance on one or more measures, and four participants were removed for having variances that were higher than two standard deviations above the mean for one or more measures. The remaining 400 participants had a mean age of 52.45 ($SD=17.9$), were 49% male, and had a racial breakdown of 56.5% White, 12.8% Multiracial, 11.8% Hispanic, 10.8% Black, 4.8% Asian, 2.8% American Indian/Alaska Native, and .8% Other. Participants were recruited through the Qualtrics market research panel service, which provided a representative sample of respondents based on gender and race. Inclusion criteria included English proficiency, the ability to provide informed consent, and being over the age of 18 years old.

Procedure

The study was conducted online through the Qualtrics XM survey platform. Participants were provided the survey web link, completed the informed consent form, and input their

demographic information. In total, there were five online assessments in randomized order, which took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Participants were compensated for their time through a Qualtrics-based system in the form of predetermined rewards points, gift cards, or other methods.

Scale Development

Scenario Development. The “item” pool for the EAA-SJT consisted of 35 scenarios depicting situations describing microaggressions that directly target EAAs (See Appendix A). The premise and content of the items for the proposed East Asian American SJT were primarily drawn from Sue et al.’s (2007a) qualitative focus group analysis of racial microaggressions with AAs, which included nine emergent themes relating to the AA experience: “alien in own land” (6 items), “ascription of intelligence” (4 items), “denial of racial reality” (4 items), “exoticization of Asian American women” (0 items), “invalidation of interethnic differences” (4 items), “pathologizing cultural values/communication styles” (6 items), “second class citizenship” (4 items), “invisibility” (3 items), “other” (4 items), and “underdeveloped incidents/responses” (0 items). These themes capture commonly understood prejudices against AAs, such as the assumption that Asians are smart or good at math (i.e., ascriptions of intelligence), in addition to more nuanced issues of identity such as U.S. citizenship status (i.e., alien in own land).

Examples of scenarios for the EAA-SJT were also drawn from scales measuring perceived racism and microaggressions against AAs such as the Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (Liang et al., 2004), Racial Microaggressions Measure (Ong et al., 2013), and Subtle and Blatant Racism Scale for Asian American College Students: SABR-A2 (Yoo et al., 2010). Further examples of scenarios and response options were drawn from anecdotal experiences expressed by AA individuals from news articles, social commentaries, and

interviews, which were used as reference material to ensure that scenarios were timely and had a strong degree of realism. The scenarios and responses are framed in a way that positions the respondent as a bystander to an event as opposed to the one committing the microaggression to maintain a more neutral position.

Response Option Development and Internal Structure. The response options and the associated constructs draw on the DivETII (Sturdivant et al., 2017) which was designed to measure three factors: Challenging, Ambivalence, and Reinforcing in response to encountering microaggressions. Those who are high in Challenging responses tend to rate that they are more likely to confront those who commit microaggressions by engaging the subject and individuating the target of the microaggression by identifying them as an individual rather than by their group membership. Those who are high in Ambivalent responses tend to rate that they are likely to shift focus away from the occurring microaggressive behavior. Finally, those who are high in Reinforcing responses are more likely to express some level of support for the microaggression through a non-complimentary personal belief or rationalization.

Due to the prevalence of the AA model minority stereotype, for the EAA-SJT the Reinforcing dimension was bifurcated into non-complimentary, Negative Reinforcing options, and complimentary, Positive Reinforcing options. Positive Reinforcing involves reinforcing microaggressions using “positive” stereotypes of AAs (e.g., competence, ascription of intelligence), and Negative Reinforcing is exemplified by reinforcing microaggressions using “negative” stereotypes of AAs (e.g., threats, perpetual foreigner). The response instructions for each scenario are, “How likely are you to say (do) each of the following?” The four response options for each scenario are rated on a Likert scale (1 = extremely unlikely, 5 = extremely likely).

Cross-Structure Measures

Demographic Variables. Common demographic characteristics such as age (drop-down menu), race (Black, non-Hispanic White, Hispanic or Latino, American Indian/Alaska Native, Pacific Islander, Asian, Multiracial), and gender (male, female, transgender, nonbinary, other) will be collected. In addition, one item will ask participants: Please rate how frequently you interact with those who identify as Asian or Asian-American (1 = Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Very Often, 5 = Always). Furthermore, geographic classification (e.g., urban, rural, suburban), political orientation (1 = liberal, 3 = moderate, 5 = conservative), education level (less than high school, high school/GED, some college, bachelor's degree, more than bachelor's degree), employment (employed, unemployed, part-time), and income level (<\$25,000, \$25,000 - \$75,000, >\$75,000) will be asked as well.

Convergent Validity Scale. The Asian American Stereotypes scale (AAS, Appendix B) is a four-factor assessment designed to identify different dimensions of stereotypes against AAs. This assessment contains 16 items and asks participants to respond on a 9-point scale (1=not at all typical, 9 = very typical) on dimensions of warmth, competence, self-centeredness, and submissiveness (Bu & Borgida, 2020).

Discriminant Validity Scale. The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Short Form (MCSD; Appendix E) is an assessment that measures the degree to which participants engage in behaviors that are culturally acceptable in the context of US society (e.g., "I am always willing to admit it when I make a mistake"). The instrument contains 13 items, all of which are in a true/false format (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The MCSD is widely used to assess trait-based social desirability and has demonstrated an acceptable degree of both reliability and validity across many studies and samples (Beretvas et al., 2002).

Criterion-Related Validity Scales. Two locally developed scales, the East Asian Cultural Knowledge Test (CKT) and the Asian American Microaggression Behavior Checklist (MBC) were created to assess for criterion-related validity of the EAA-SJT.

East Asian Cultural Knowledge Test. The East Asian Cultural Knowledge Test (Appendix C) measures knowledge of Asian cultural norms, values, and beliefs in relation to American norms, values, and beliefs. This test contains 12 True-False items, with content based on Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory (Hofstede Insights, 2022; Hofstede, 2011). This theory provides a comparative framework for understanding culture and values along six dimensions: individualism/collectivism ("I" vs. "we" mindset), power distance (acceptance of hierarchy or unequal power dynamics), masculinity/femininity (achievement orientation vs. cooperation orientation), uncertainty avoidance (tolerance for ambiguity), time orientation (short-term orientations prioritize past and traditions vs. long-term orientation prioritize the future and pragmatism), and indulgence/restraint (indulge gratifications vs. restrain gratifications; Hofstede Insights, 2022; Hofstede, 2011). This test was designed to reflect that greater cultural awareness and understanding of Asian culture are associated with less discriminatory attitudes and behavior towards EAAs. Respondents were given the 12 true/false items with the following instructions: "Based on your current knowledge and understanding of Asian culture, please indicate whether you believe each statement is true or false. For this survey, "East Asian" refers to those who have ancestry from China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, or Hong Kong."

Asian American Microaggression Behavior Checklist. The Asian American Microaggression Behavior Checklist (Appendix D) describes 15 microaggressions against Asians or AAs. Checklist behaviors will be either microassaults, microinvalidations, or microinsults (cf. Sue et al., 2007b). Respondents were given a list of 15 items with the following

instructions: “Please select “yes” for each action or behavior you have done in the past and select “no” for each action or behavior you have never done. For this survey, “East Asian” refers to those who have ancestry from China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, or Hong Kong. It is okay if you do not remember someone’s exact nationality - please answer to the best of your memory and ability.”

Attention Checks. There were two attention check questions in the full battery of questionnaires. One attention check was located within the AAS, in which participants were asked to select a Likert scale rating of “1”. The other attention check was located within the EAA-SJT where participants were asked to select a Likert scale rating of “4”. Participants who failed either attention check were removed and replaced from the study by the Qualtrics project manager.

Analysis

SPSS version 28 was used to conduct multiple exploratory factor analyses for the proposed structure of the EAA-SJT. First, the four EAA-SJT subscales (Challenging, Ambivalent, Negative Reinforcing, Positive Reinforcing) were factor analyzed separately. Based on current best practices and recommendations, items were deleted if the primary factor loading cutoff was $<.40$, or there were cross-loadings $>.30$, as the priority was to retain items in this exploratory step (Howard, 2016). Next, the remaining scenarios were combined across all factors for a full EFA, and items were again deleted based on the previously mentioned factor loading cutoffs. The results for the final EFA were used in subsequent analyses to test the convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity of the EAA-SJT.

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

The initial item pool of the EAA-SJT contained 40 scenarios each with four response options. This pool was then reduced to 35 items, due to concerns about survey length and participant fatigue. EFAs were conducted with SPSS version 28 using Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) and Quartimax rotation. PAF was selected as a method of measuring the latent construct of prejudice because histograms of the PR and NR subfactors were negatively skewed (Howard, 2016). In all subsequent EFA analyses, PR and NR items were log-transformed. The orthogonal Quartimax method was selected as a simplified means of providing general factors for the purpose of greater interpretability (Fabrigar et al., 1999).

Four separate EFAs were run on the Challenging, Ambivalent, Positive Reinforcing, and Negative Reinforcing response options. Results of the initial EFAs indicated that the Challenging dimension had two factors with eigenvalues >1.00 , with the scree plot also indicating an elbow at around 2 factors (Figure 1). In an iterative procedure, response options with factor loadings $<.40$ and cross-loadings $>.30$ were deleted until ultimately six scenarios were removed and the final EFA of Challenging response options indicated a one-factor solution. Similar results were found for the PR dimension; two factors emerged with eigenvalues >1.00 and an elbow in the scree plot at 2 factors (Figure 2). Again, response options with factor loadings $<.40$ and cross-loadings $>.30$ were deleted until ultimately six scenarios were removed, and PR provided a one-factor solution. EFAs for Ambivalence and NR both initially emerged with one factor each, and no scenarios were deleted for these dimensions.

All response options for the remaining 23 scenarios were then entered into an EFA analysis. This EFA resulted in five factors with eigenvalues >1.00 , with the scree plot similarly

indicating an elbow at around five factors (Figure 3). However, the factor loadings matrix results indicated that PR and NR response options tended to load on the same factor, most likely because they were highly correlated ($r=.84$). More specifically, the factor loadings from PR ranged from .546 to .813, and factor loadings from NR ranged from .508 to .851 on the same factor. Therefore, PR and NR were subsequently combined into one “Reinforcing” dimension, in which the magnitude of the factor loadings for PR and NR response options were weighed against the relative magnitude of the cross-loadings, and the most balanced response options were retained. Across the 23 scenarios, two PR response options and 21 NR response options were retained for the Reinforcing dimension. EFAs were then rerun and in each iteration scenarios that included a response option with factor loadings $<.40$ and cross-loadings $>.30$ were removed. Ultimately, six scenarios were deleted for failing the factor loading criteria. Of the remaining 17 scenarios, there were 16 NR response options and only one PR response option. Therefore, a decision was made to include only the 16 NR response options for the final EAA-SJT.

The final 16-scenario simultaneous EFA supported a three-factor solution for the EAA-SJT composed of Challenging, Ambivalence, and Reinforcing. There were three factors with eigenvalues >1.00 , with Reinforcing accounting for 25.84% of the total variance, Ambivalence accounting for 17.42% of the total variance, and Challenging accounting for 8.63% of the total variance. The scree plot similarly supported the eigenvalue criterion, elbowing at three factors (Figure 2). Table 2 presents the factor loadings for all response options for all 16 scenarios. Factor loadings for Challenging ranged from .571 to .707, with cross-loadings between $-.203$ and $.224$. Factor loadings for Ambivalent ranged from .453 to .766, with cross-loadings between -

.023 and .277. Finally, factor loadings for Reinforcing ranged from .665 to .852, with cross-loadings between -.074 and .229.

Of the 16 final scenarios, there was representation from all eight themes of AA microaggressions (Table 2; Sue et al., 2007a). Scenario category one (alien in own land) had one retained item, scenario category two (ascriptions of intelligence) had one retained item, scenario category three (denial of racial reality) had two retained items, scenario category four (invalidation of interethnic differences) had two retained items, scenario category five (pathologizing cultural values or communication styles) had one retained item, scenario category six (second-class citizenship) had three retained items, scenario category seven (invisibility) had one retained item, and scenario category eight (other) had two retained items.

Descriptive Statistics

The subfactors of the EAA-SJT, Challenging ($M=3.67$, $SD=.92$), Ambivalent ($M=3.06$, $SD=.98$), and Reinforcing ($M=1.61$, $SD=.78$) had internal consistency estimates ranging from .92 to .96 (Table 1).

Continuous demographic variables including Age ($M=52.45$, $SD=17.9$), Politics ($M=3.06$, $SD=1.2$), and Interaction with Asian Americans ($M=2.90$, $SD=1.0$) were correlated with the EAA-SJT, AAS, MCSD, CKT, and MBC (Table 3). For Challenging scores, results indicated significant, negative relationships with age ($r=-.12$) and politics ($r=-.24$), and a significant positive relationship with the frequency of interactions with AAs ($r=.15$). These findings indicate that younger participants, those with more liberal attitudes, and those with more frequent interactions with AAs were more likely to have higher Challenging scores. For Reinforcing scores, there was a positive relationship with politics ($r=.12$) and a negative relationship with the frequency of interactions with AAs ($r=-.12$), which indicates that those with more conservative

attitudes and those with less frequent interactions with AAs had higher Reinforcing scores. There was also a significant positive relationship between CKT scores and age ($r=.26$), indicating that older participants scored better on the cultural knowledge test. Finally, the point biserial correlation with gender indicated significant relationships with Ambivalent scores ($r=.13$) and CKT scores ($r=-.17$), which resulted in higher Ambivalent scores and lower CKT scores for females compared to males.

Categorical demographics including Geography, Race, Education, Income, and Employment were individually analyzed against the EAA-SJT, AAS, MCSD, CKT, and MBC using a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) to identify any potential differences between group means. The education and employment variables were collapsed to create group sizes that were more comparable. Education originally contained six response options (<high school, high school graduate/GED, some college but no degree, associate's degree, bachelor's degree, and >bachelor's degree) and was collapsed into three groups: high school or less ($N=81$), some college/associate's degree ($N=168$), and bachelor's degree or more ($N=151$). Employment originally contained nine response options [working (paid employee), working (self-employed), not working (temp layoff), not working (looking for work), not working (retired), not working (disabled), not working (other), full-time student, prefer not to answer) and was collapsed into three groups: working ($N=172$), not working ($N=93$), and retired ($N=122$).

A MANOVA was conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference in participants' educational background on scale results (Challenging, Ambivalent, Reinforcing, AAS, MCSD, CKT, MBC). Box's test of equality of covariance matrices was not significant, Box's $M=68.46$, $F(56, 53558)=1.16$, $p=.20$, which indicated that the assumption of homogeneity was not violated. The results of the general linear model multivariate tests indicated a significant

difference in participants' educational background on scale results, $F(14,434)=3.43, p<.001$, Pillai's Trace = .20, partial $\eta^2 = .10$. In the subsequent tests of between-subjects effects, there were significant main effects for Ambivalence ($F(2,400)=13.67$, partial $\eta^2 = .11, p<.001$), Reinforcing ($F(2,400)=4.69$, partial $\eta^2 = .04, p=.01$), CKT ($F(2,400)=3.85$, partial $\eta^2 = .03, p=.02$), and AAS ($F(2,400)=5.15$, partial $\eta^2 = .04, p=.01$).

As the assumption of equal variances was not violated, the Scheffe method was used as an exploratory post hoc test (Lee & Lee, 2018). Results indicated that the average Ambivalence scores for those with a bachelor's degree or more ($M=2.83, SD=.93$) were significantly lower than those with some college/associate degree ($M=3.17, SD=1.04$) and a high school education or less ($M=3.15, SD=.95$). The average Reinforcing scores for those with a bachelor's degree or more ($M=1.58, SD=.70$) was significantly lower than those with a high school education or less ($M=2.05, SD=.88$). The average CKT scores for those with a bachelor's degree were significantly higher ($M=.66, SD=.16$) compared to those with a high school education or less ($M=.58, SD=.14$). The average AAS scores for those with a bachelor's degree or more were significantly lower ($M=5.41, SD=.93$) than the AAS scores for those with a high school education or less ($M=5.92, SD=.33$).

A MANOVA was also conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference in participants' race on scale results (Challenging, Ambivalent, Reinforcing, AAS, MCSD, CKT, MBC). In the following analyses, the White, Black, Hispanic, Multiracial, and Asian racial groups were included, and the American Indian/Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and Other were excluded due to small N sizes. Box's test of equality of covariance matrices was significant, Box's $M=172.14, F(112, 9404)=1.32, p=.01$, which indicated that the assumption of homogeneity was violated. Additionally, the results of the general linear model

did not indicate a significant difference in participants' scale results based on race, $F(28,848)=1.46, p=.06$, Pillai's Trace = .18, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. However, it should be noted that Asians had the lowest CKT scores ($M=.58, SD=.19$) out of the other included racial groups, raising issues for the construct validity of the CKT.

Convergent Validity

Convergent validity coefficients are presented in Table 1. As predicted, there were low to moderate, positive relationships between the AAS and the Challenging ($r=.11$), Ambivalent ($r=.25$), and Reinforcing ($r=.38$). When AAS was regressed on the EAA-SJT subscales, Ambivalent and Reinforcing scores predicted AAS means, $F(3, 396)=25.77, p<.001$, with higher Ambivalence scores predicting higher AAS means, $b=.11, t(396)=2.15, p=.03$, and higher Reinforcing scores predicting higher AAS means $b=.42, t(396)=6.94, p<.001$.

Next, correlations were conducted to examine the AAS subscales of warmth, competence, self-centeredness, and submissiveness. It was predicted that PR and NR would have positive relationships with both the competence and submissiveness subscales, as those who have stereotypical views of Asians may be more likely to endorse microaggressions against them. Although PR and NR did not emerge as separate factors, submissiveness was positively related to Reinforcing ($r=.39$), but competence was not ($r=.07, ns$). It was also predicted that Challenging scores would be higher for warmth and self-centeredness as those with less stereotypical views of Asians may be more willing to defy or address microaggressions. As predicted, warmth was positively related to Challenging ($r=.24$), but self-centeredness was not ($r=-.06, ns$). Contrary to expectations, warmth ($r=.14$) and self-centeredness ($r=.40$) were also positively related to Reinforcing scores, and all four subscales were positively and significantly

related to Ambivalence. It is not clear why these relationships have emerged, so further research may be needed to explore the associations between these variables.

Discriminant Validity

Discriminant validity coefficients are presented in Table 1 for the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD). Reinforcing was the only subscale that had a significant, positive relationship with MCSD scores ($r=.15$). MCSD scores were then regressed on Challenging, Ambivalent, and Reinforcing; results indicated that Reinforcing scores significantly predicted MCSD scores, $t(396)=2.52$, $p=.01$, but only explained about 1.6% of the proportion of variance.

Criterion-Related Validity

Two locally developed measures, the East Asian Cultural Knowledge Test (CKT) and the East Asian American Microaggression Behavior Checklist (MBC) were used to establish concurrent validity by measuring understanding of Asian culture and engagement in past behaviors compared to scores on the EAA-SJT (Table 1).

Responses were coded so that higher scores on the CKT indicate greater cultural knowledge, and higher scores on the MBC indicate more instances of past engagement in microaggressive behavior. With the CKT, correlations indicated a moderate negative relationship with Ambivalence ($r=-.17$) and Reinforcing ($r=-.30$). With the MBC, correlations indicated moderate positive relationships with both Ambivalence ($r=.12$) and Reinforcing ($r=.35$). These significant relationships indicate that greater cultural knowledge corresponds to lower Ambivalence and Reinforcing scores, while higher MBC scores (more instances of past microaggressions) correspond to higher Ambivalence and Reinforcing scores.

Considering that significant differences between groups were found for education, two regression analyses were run to identify whether education had an impact on the criterion variables (CKT, MBC) when the AAS and EAA-SJT subscales were in the models. In the first regression analyses for education level, MBC scores were regressed on dummy codes for some college/associate's degree and bachelor's degree or more with high school or less as the reference group (Model 1), AAS was added (Model 2), and then Challenging, Ambivalent, and Reinforcing were added (Model 3). Results indicated that having a bachelor's degree or more ($b=.09, p=.03$) was a significant predictor of MBC scores, in addition to AAS scores ($b=.05, p=0.01$) and Reinforcing scores ($b=.10, p<.001$) when controlling for all other scales. These results indicate that those who have higher education (a bachelor's degree or more), as well as higher AAS and Reinforcing scores tend to have higher MBC scores.

This regression process was then repeated with CKT scores as the dependent variable. Results for Model 3 indicated that having a bachelor's degree or more ($b=.05, p=.02$) was a significant predictor of CKT scores, in addition to Reinforcing scores ($b=-.05, p<.001$) when controlling for all other scales. These results indicate that those who have more education (at least a bachelor's degree) and lower Reinforcing scores tend to have higher CKT scores. However, as stated previously, CKT may not act as a valid criterion measure in the interpretations of these results.

Regression analyses were then conducted for the criterion variables and the EAA-SJT, with and without the AAS in the model to test for incremental validity. First, the CKT was regressed on the subscales of the EAA-SJT (Table 4), with results indicating that Reinforcing significantly predicted CKT scores, $t(396)=-5.26, p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. To test incremental variance of the EAA-SJT, AAS mean scores were entered in the first step, and Challenging,

Ambivalent, and Reinforcing were added to AAS scores in the second step (Table 5). In Model 1, the AAS was significant and accounted for 3.0% of the proportion of variance for CKT scores. In Model 2 when the EAA-SJT subscales were added, 5.2% of the proportion of variance explained was gained. Reinforcing ($t(396)=-4.42, p<.001$) was found to be a significant predictor of CKT scores, accounting for 4.7% of the variance.

Next, the MBC was regressed on the subscales of the EAA-SJT (Table 6), with results indicating that Reinforcing significantly predicted MBC scores, $t(396)=6.02, p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$. Then, a linear regression was run with the AAS entered in the first step, and Challenging, Ambivalent, and Reinforcing with AAS entered in the last step (Table 7). In Model 1, the AAS was significant and accounted for 6.3% of the proportion of the variance for MBC scores, $t(396)=5.16, p<.001$. In Model 2, 6.4% of the variance was gained through the addition of the EAA-SJT subscales. Only Reinforcing remained a significant predictor of MBC, $t(396)=4.80, p<.001$, accounting for 5.1% of the proportion of variance gained. Overall, these results indicate that the EAA-SJT offers incremental validity over the AAS, an existing cognitive/affective measure of attitude, but only through the Reinforcing dimension. Challenging never emerged as significant in either correlation or regression analyses.

Discussion

This study aimed to develop and provide initial validation for the EAA-SJT, a measure of latent prejudicial attitudes towards AAs. Due to the historical context of the United States, most of the current empirical research tends to focus on discrimination and bias directed toward African Americans. However, in consideration of the model minority stereotype, there are many who believe that Asians do not face the same kind of treatment (Sue et al., 2009). As a result,

there is a scarcity of empirical research on the workplace experiences of AAs (Sy et al., 2010), as well as empirical research on latent prejudicial attitudes toward AAs.

Many existing racial bias measurement tools for AAs are designed to be responded to by AAs (Yoo & Castro, 2011; Wang & Atwal, 2015; Keum et al., 2018; Liang et al., 2004; Ong et al., 2013; Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Yoo et al., 2010), and while it is important to understand the perspectives of those who experience discrimination, it is equally important to identify the attitudes of those who perpetrate biases to contribute to our understanding of these issues. These existing scales also tend to focus on the cognitive/affective component of attitudes, asking participants what they think or feel about AAs as a group. However, there are limitations to these measurement methods, such as the concern over social desirability response bias. Past research has indicated that traditional non-contextual cognitive-affective survey questions regarding race often result in higher social desirability scores (Huddy & Feldman, 2009; Weber et al., 2014), which is logical when considering that racial issues are a sensitive topic in American society (Horowitz et al., 2019).

To combat these limitations, there is a growing body of measurement literature on behavioral-based measures such as SJTs, with evidence that suggests self-reported behavioral expectations may be comparatively better predictors of outcomes than measures of context-independent, Likert-scale type individual differences (Gladfelter et al., 2019; Hauenstein et al., 2017; Peus et al., 2013; Teng et al., 2020). Therefore, the EAA-SJT was developed as a behaviorally based SJT measure with the goals of reducing social desirability response bias and laying the groundwork for improving the predictive accuracy of discriminatory behavior toward AAs.

In the final version of the EAA-SJT, there were 16 items retained supporting a three-factor structure of Challenging, Ambivalent, and Reinforcing, all of which demonstrated strong internal consistency. For validation analyses of the EAA-SJT, the Challenging and Ambivalent dimensions were both identified as predicted, but EFA results indicated that PR and NR scenarios were highly intercorrelated and loaded on only one factor. Therefore, in the final combined EFAs, PR, and NR were combined into one Reinforcing dimension. This intercorrelation draws parallels to the concepts of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism as primary components of “ambivalent sexism”, based on research from Glick & Fiske (1996; 1997). Hostile sexism is generally understood as negative stereotypes and affect toward women, whereas benevolent sexism includes stereotypes towards women that are more positive in tone but nonetheless reinforce prejudicial attitudes and traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1997; 1997). These components combine to create an ideology of ambivalent sexism because both concepts are based on the justification of male dominance through differentially valenced perspectives and thus result in positively correlated relationships. It is possible that the PR and NR factors of the EAA-SJT share similar psychometric properties to this concept of ambivalent sexism; both confer related prejudicial beliefs about AAs while maintaining different evaluative valances.

The factor structure of the EAA-SJT was based on measurement development studies from Hauenstein et al. (2014), including the Gender Privilege Situational Judgement Test (GPSJT; Abraham et al., 2020) and the Diversity Engagement Test (DivET; Gladfelter et al., 2019). In validation studies for these measures, there was evidence for a three-factor structure for both racial and gender prejudice: Challenging (confronting microaggressions), Ambivalence (redirecting the topic away from the microaggression), and Reinforcing (affirming

microaggressions; Abraham et al., 2020; Gladfelter et al., 2019). The proposed measurement structure of the EAA-SJT initially maintained the Challenging and Ambivalent dimensions but bifurcated the Reinforcing dimension into Positive Reinforcing (PR) and Negative Reinforcing (NR). Accounting for the complexity of the model minority stereotype commonly held for EAAs, it was predicted that there would be both positive and negatively valenced ways in which microaggressions could be reinforced towards EAAs. For example, assuming an EAA is intelligent (e.g., ascription of intelligence; Sue et al., 2007a) within the context of a given scenario may appear complementary, but instead reinforces potentially harmful stereotypes based on race. Alternatively, assuming an EAA is a foreigner or an economic threat (e.g., alien in own land; Sue et al., 2007a) within the context of a certain scenario reinforces a more negatively valenced stereotype held against EAAs. It is possible that PR and NR did not emerge as separate factors because participants were unable able to differentiate between PR and NR response options, or perhaps because this differentiation does not exist for AAs as predicted.

As expected, the EAA-SJT demonstrated stronger correlations with the convergent scale (AAS) compared to the discriminant scale (MCSD). Scores on the combined AAS were significantly positively correlated with all three factors (Challenging, Ambivalent, and Reinforcing) of the EAA-SJT. However, the strength of these correlations ranged from small to moderate, indicating that the EAA-SJT was not redundant with the existing measure. In assessing discriminant validity, while correlations between the EAA-SJT and MCSD were non-significant for Challenging and Ambivalent as predicted, the correlation between the MCSD and Reinforcing was significant. While Reinforcing did significantly predict MCSD in regression analyses, it accounted for only 1.5% of the variance of the scores and is likely not an issue in establishing discriminant validity. Furthermore, while there may be some level of social

desirability bias for Reinforcing, the Reinforcing dimension remains the most predictive component of the EAA-SJT.

To assess criterion-related validity, two locally developed measures were created, which included a cultural knowledge test comparing Western culture to East Asian culture (CKT) and a microaggression behavior checklist that measured past behaviors (MBC). Unfortunately, it appeared that Asians had the lowest average score on the CKT compared to other racial groups, which raises concerns about the validity of the CKT as a criterion measure. While there were uneven racial group sizes and only 19 participants who self-identified as Asian in the sample, analyses with the CKT should be interpreted cautiously. However, in looking at the results overall, higher scores on the CKT did correspond to lower Ambivalent and Reinforcing scores, suggesting that greater cultural knowledge was associated with a lower endorsement of reinforcing microaggressions. Similarly, lower scores on the MBC (indicating greater instances of past microaggressions) were associated with higher Ambivalence and Reinforcing scores, suggesting that a higher number of microaggressions committed in the past was related to higher endorsement of the reinforcement of microaggressions in the EAA-SJT. In simple linear regression analyses, Reinforcing scores were a significant predictor of both CKT scores and MBC scores. In subsequent regression analyses to test for incremental validity of the EAA-SJT over the convergent validity scale (AAS), again, only Reinforcing scores remained significant predictors of the criterion scales when controlling for the AAS. These results suggest that the EAA-SJT offers incremental validity over an existing cognitive/affective measure of attitude, but only through the Reinforcing dimension. The Challenging dimension was not significant in any correlations or subsequent regression analyses.

Limitations

Limitations of this study included concerns over the scores for the Asian racial subgroup with the CKT criterion measure and the Reinforcing dimension of the EAA-SJT. Interestingly, in this sample, participants who self-identified as Asian ($N=19$) had the lowest average CKT scores and highest Reinforcing scores compared to those who self-identified as White, Black, Hispanic, or Multiracial. Although group sizes were unequal, and the differences were not significant, further exploration of these results is needed.

Due to the fact that there were limited criterion measures available for the EAA-SJT, both the CKT and the MBC were locally developed and did not undergo prior validation testing. The CKT contained 12 true/false items with content based on Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory (Hofstede Insights, 2022; Hofstede, 2011). These items were designed to measure the knowledge of East Asian cultural norms, specifically in comparison to cultural norms in the United States, across six dimensions: individualism/collectivism ("I" vs. "we" mindset), power distance (acceptance of hierarchy or unequal power dynamics), masculinity/femininity (achievement orientation vs. cooperation orientation), uncertainty avoidance (tolerance for ambiguity), time orientation (short-term orientations prioritize past and traditions vs. long-term orientation prioritize the future and pragmatism), and indulgence/restraint (indulge gratifications vs. restrain gratifications; Hofstede Insights, 2022; Hofstede, 2011).

One possible explanation for this result is due to the assumption of aggregation for different Asian ethnicities. In research on public health, wealth, and other social issues, there has been a push for the disaggregation of Asian Americans by ethnicity and immigration status to provide a better understanding of the differences in the AA experience, rather than treating all AAs as a monolith (Kalyanaraman et al., 2022; Kanaiaupuni, 2011). Although there are noted patterns when comparing Asian cultures to Western cultures, Asian cultures from different

nations have nuanced differences, even across Hofstede's cultural dimensions. For example, in Korea and Japan, there are specific language modifiers to indicate respect toward elders which may be one example of power distance (Hofstede, 2011), whereas this is not the case in China. It is possible that Asian respondents did have greater knowledge of cultural differences but had difficulties rating the statements on the CKT due to the possibility of conflicting information between countries within East Asia.

In addition, the CKT may not have been the most appropriate criterion measure for this study, considering that it functioned as an assessment of cultural knowledge while the EAA-SJT functioned as a measure of behavioral expectations. Therefore, the CKT may not be a valid criterion measure for this study, and caution is required when interpreting the results.

Another related issue was that Asians had higher average Reinforcing scores compared to those who self-identified as White, Black, Hispanic, or Multiracial, although these differences were not statistically significant. Due to the negative physical and mental health impacts of microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007b) in addition to the lived experiences of AAs, it was expected that the AA group would have lower Reinforcing scores, especially compared to Whites, who occupy the majority racial group in the US. One possible explanation for these results is the possibility of internalized racism (IR). IR is the tendency for people of color to accept negative stereotypes about their own ability and worth, in addition to choosing to identify with the dominant group while devaluing their own group (Hwang, 2021). A subset of AAs may be more likely to endorse microaggressions against their own racial group to distance themselves from other Asians and act in a way that puts themselves in closer proximity to Whiteness, the majority racial group in the United States. Another possible explanation is the phenomenon of reappropriating stereotypes and other stigmatizing labels. When an in-group member stereotypes

or labels an out-group member (e.g., using a derogatory name or slur), the in-group member holds the power. However, when an out-group member self-labels with that same derogatory name or slur, it is theorized that this process both weakens the force of that stigma and reclaims a level of power through ownership of that label (Galinsky et al., 2003; Galinsky et al., 2013). For example, throughout US history, African Americans have arguably reappropriated the use of the “n-word”, and those who identify as LGBTQ have reappropriated the word “queer” (Galinsky et al., 2003). While on the surface it appears counterintuitive or paradoxical, it is possible that in a similar process, AAs may be reclaiming or reappropriating notions of being a “foreigner” or a “nerd” by reinforcing stereotypes on their own terms.

Future Directions

The next step for this research is to use the EAA-SJT scale results from this study on a new sample and conduct a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to provide further construct validity evidence for the EAA-SJT. A CFA will determine whether new data will fit the proposed factor structure and test the validity of the measurement model. This follow-up study will include additional cognitive/affective convergent measures to further examine the relationship between social desirability response bias and different forms of attitudinal measurement. If the results of the CFA support the validity of the EAA-SJT, it would be interesting to compare the predictive validity of the measure against workplace outcomes such as leadership emergence or workplace inclusion. For example, research has indicated AAs may face barriers in the workplace such as the bamboo ceiling, in which AAs are viewed as less ideal leaders and may achieve less upward advancement in organizations compared to Whites (Nunes & Staff, 2021; Sy et al., 2010; Yu, 2020). The EAA-SJT could be used to identify whether scores predict leadership emergence or the promotion of AAs in an organization. Similarly, as

microaggressions have demonstrated negative mental and physical health outcomes in targets, the EAA-SJT could be used to predict levels of employee well-being and inclusion in the workplace.

Additionally, it may be interesting to conduct research that explores why PR and NR did not emerge as separate factors for the EAA-SJT. For example, through the use of a verbal think-aloud protocol, participants can be asked to explain their perceptions of both PR and NR responses to identify any relevant underlying psychological processes.

Conclusions

This study sought to develop and provide initial validation for the EAA-SJT, a behavior-based measure of racial prejudice. This measure provided scenarios of microaggressions against East Asian Americans and four response options of behavioral expectations. Preliminary evidence was promising in support of the validity of the EAA-SJT, as well as evidence towards the incremental validity of the EAA-SJT over an existing cognitive/affective measure. Due to the increase in instances of anti-Asian discrimination in the US and the lack of research surrounding the workplace experiences of Asian Americans, different measurement tools such as the EAA-SJT may help expand our understanding of prejudicial attitudes towards Asian Americans.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics, Dimension Intercorrelations, and Reliabilities for the EAA-SJT and Additional Scales

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	4a	4b	4c	4d	5	6	7
1. Challenging	3.67	.92	(.92)										
2. Ambivalent	3.06	.98	.30**	(.93)									
3. Reinforcing	1.61	.78	.01	.33**	(.96)								
4. AAS	5.40	.96	.11*	.25**	.38**	(.82)							
a. Warm	6.11	1.47	.24**	.15**	.14**	.69**	(.87)						
b. Competent	6.92	1.40	.08	.13**	.07	.61**	.46**	(.89)					
c. Self-centered	3.49	1.60	-.06	.13**	.40**	.56**	.04	-.12*	(.83)				
d. Submissive	4.72	1.58	-.03	.22**	.39**	.67**	.08	.25**	.55**	(.70)			
5. MCSD	1.59	.24	<i>-.05</i>	<i>.06</i>	<i>.15**</i>	.00	<i>.11*</i>	.05	<i>-.12*</i>	<i>-.06</i>	(.76)		
6. CKT	7.50	1.84	.04	<i>-.08</i>	<i>-.27**</i>	<i>-.17**</i>	<i>-.11*</i>	<i>-.36**</i>	<i>-.20**</i>	<i>-.36**</i>	<i>-.03</i>	(.76)	
7. MBC	1.57	2.37	.02	<i>.12*</i>	<i>.35**</i>	<i>.20**</i>	.05	.06	.22**	.23**	<i>-.16**</i>	<i>-.18**</i>	(.81)

Note. $N = 400$. AAS = Asian American Stereotypes, MCSD = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Short-Form, CKT = Cultural Knowledge Test, MBC = Microaggression Behavior Checklist. Convergent validity coefficients are bolded, discriminant validity coefficients are italicized, reliabilities are presented in parentheses, * $< .05$, ** $< .01$.

Table 2*Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis of the EAA-SJT*

Scenario Category	Scenario #	Challenging	Ambivalent	Reinforcing
Alien in Own Land	1	0.707	0.453	0.828
	2	0.686	0.654	0.811
	3	0.645	0.551	0.804
	4	0.571	0.654	0.798
	5	0.685	0.739	0.793
Ascriptions of Intelligence	6	0.640	0.620	0.747
Denial of Racial Reality	7	0.574	0.555	0.665
	8	0.656	0.766	0.724
Invalidation of Interethnic Differences	9	0.595	0.583	0.798
	10	0.602	0.731	0.852
Pathologizing Cultural Values or Communication Styles Second-Class Citizenship	11	0.651	0.656	0.851
	12	0.682	0.729	0.730
	13	0.703	0.756	0.794
Invisibility	14	0.628	0.540	0.761
Other	15	0.652	0.656	0.806
	16	0.674	0.687	0.827

Note. $N = 400$. There were no cross-loadings greater than 0.277.

Table 3*Demographics with Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations (Continuous Variables)*

	Age		Politics		Interaction with AAs	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	52.45	17.9	3.06	1.2	2.90	1.0
	<i>r</i>		<i>r</i>		<i>r</i>	
1. Challenging	-.12*		-.24**		.15**	
2. Ambivalent	-.02		-.03		.00	
3. Reinforcing	-.07		.12**		-.12**	
4. AAS	-.07		.03		.09	
5. MCSD	.09		.05		.01	
6. CKT	.26**		.05		.05	
7. MBC	.04		-.08		.02	

Note. Note. $N = 400$. AAS = Asian American Stereotypes, MCSD = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Short-Form, CKT = Cultural Knowledge Test, MBC = Microaggression Behavior Checklist. Higher values for age indicate older participants, higher values for politics indicate greater conservatism, higher values for interactions with AAs indicate more frequent interactions with Asians. * $< .05$, ** $< .01$.

Table 4*Cultural Knowledge Test Regressed on EAA-SJT*

	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	Partial η^2
(Constant)	8.260		
Challenging	.081	.801	.002
Ambivalent	-.011	-.113	.000
Reinforcing	-.636	-5.255**	.065

Note. $N=400$. $R^2=.076^{**}$.

* $< .05$, ** $< .01$.

Table 5*Cultural Knowledge Test Regressed on EAA-SJT with AAS in the Model*

	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	Partial η^2
Model 1			
(Constant)	9.285		
AAS	-.331	-3.492**	
			$R^2 = .030^{**}$
Model 2			
(Constant)	8.953		
AAS	-.169	-1.665	
Challenging	.094	0.927	.002
Ambivalent	.007	.067	.000
Reinforcing	-.566	-4.424**	.045
			$\Delta R^2 = .052^{**}$

Note. $N=400$.* $< .05$, ** $< .01$.

Table 6*Microaggression Behavior Checklist Regressed on EAA-SJT*

	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	Partial η^2
(Constant)	.061		
Challenging	-.005	-.326	.000
Ambivalent	.019	1.156	.003
Reinforcing	.118	6.023**	.081

Note. $N=400$. $R^2 = .108^{**}$

* $< .05$, ** $< .01$.

Table 7*Microaggression Behavior Checklist Regressed on EAA-SJT with AAS in the Model*

	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	Partial η^2
Model 1			
(Constant)	-.139		
AAS	.079	5.159**	
			$R^2 = .063^{**}$
Model 2			
(Constant)	-.130		
AAS	.046	2.844**	
Challenging	-.009	-.546	.000
Ambivalent	.014	.853	.001
Reinforcing	.099	4.801**	.051
			$\Delta R^2 = .064^{**}$

Note. $N=400$.* $< .05$, ** $< .01$.

Figure 1

Initial scree plot for Challenging dimension of the EAA-SJT EFA

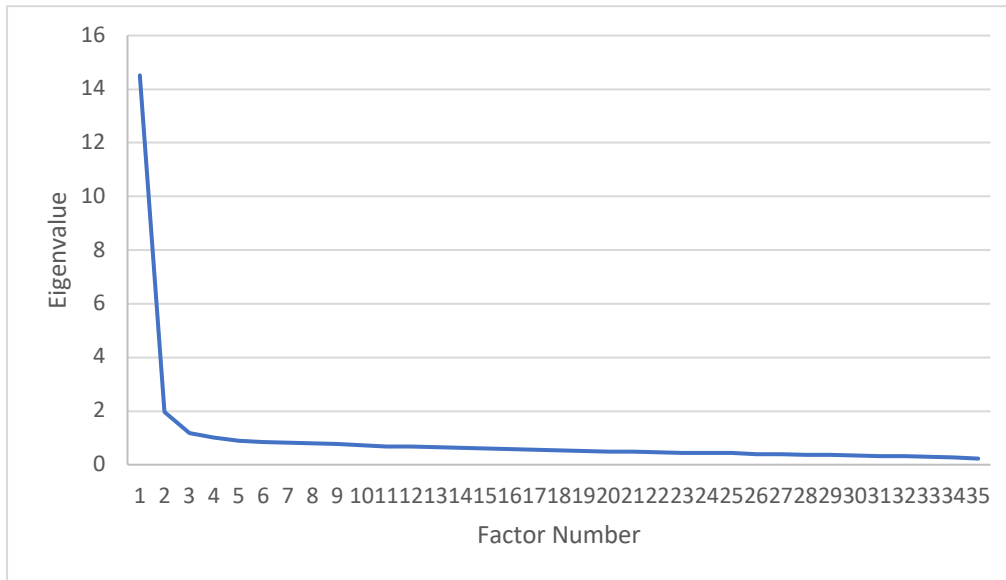


Figure 2

Initial scree plot for Positive Reinforcing dimension of the EAA-SJT EFA

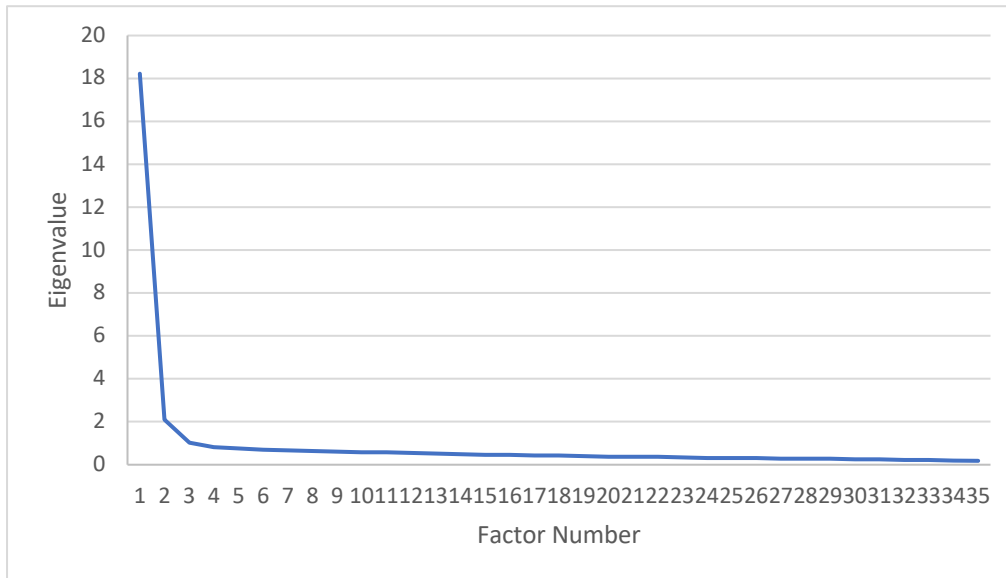


Figure 3

Initial scree plot for combined EAA-SJT EFA (four-factor solution)

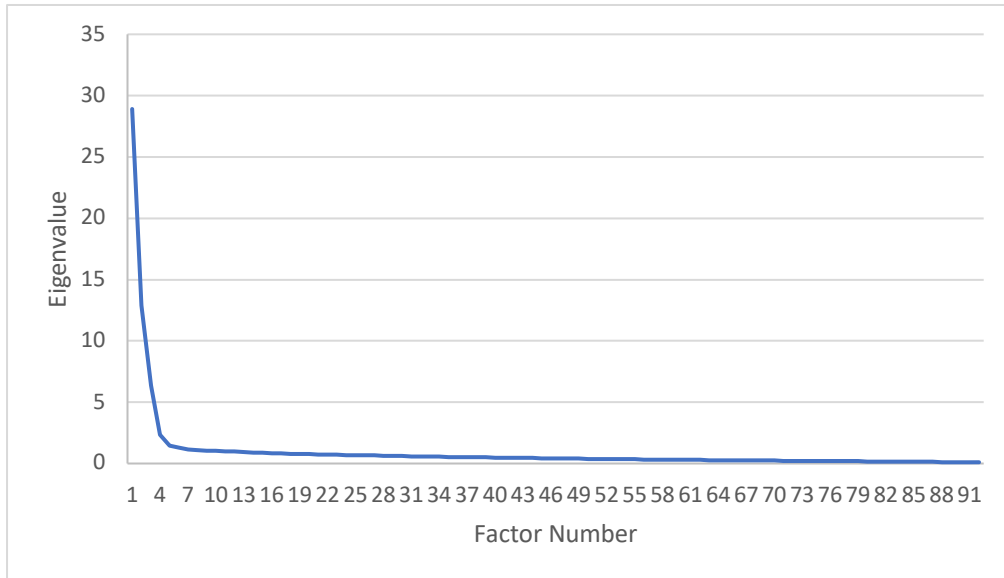
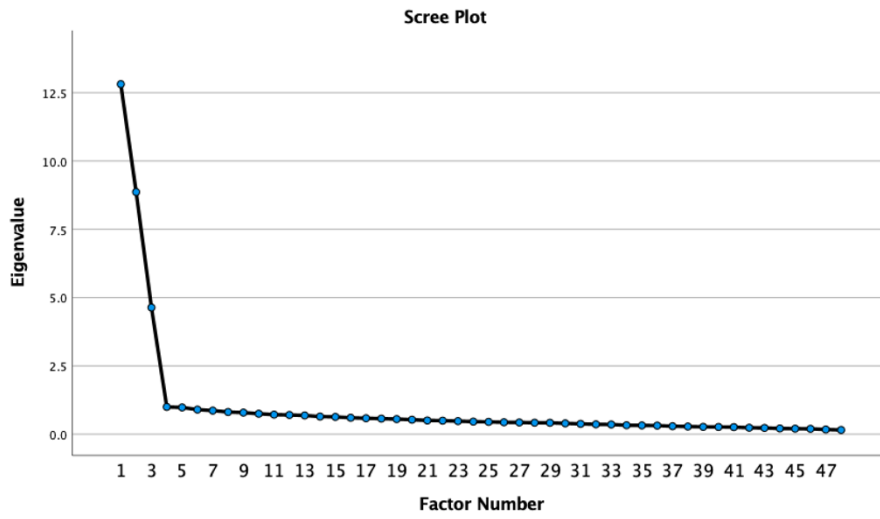


Figure 4

Final scree plot for combined EAA-SJT EFA (three-factor solution)



Appendices

Appendix A

East Asian American Situational Judgment Test (EAA-SJT)

Alien in Own Land

Q1. You are standing behind an Asian woman in the check-out line at a small store. The White cashier is friendly and wishes everyone a good day. The Asian woman thanks the cashier for ringing up her order and hands her a credit card. The cashier looks at the credit card and then says, “We...no...take...this...card”, very slowly, while pointing at her credit card.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to the cashier.

- “She just thanked you in English, why are you speaking to her like that?”
- “Oh, her English was actually really good!”
- “Why don’t you accept that credit card?”
- “I feel your pain. Foreigners are bad at following instructions.”

Q2. You are meeting new friends and acquaintances for happy hour, and everyone is introducing themselves. An Asian woman introduces herself as Rachel. Before the next person can introduce themselves, another individual says, “We’re all friends here, you should tell us your Asian name!” My Asian coworkers all use their ‘real’ names.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “It sounds like she wanted to be called Rachel. If she wanted to be called by another name I feel like she would say that instead.”
- “Asian names are so pretty and exotic!”
- “Let’s get back to introducing ourselves.”
- “I have so much trouble remembering Asian names, it helps me when they take American names. ”

Q3. You just reconnected with a former White college classmate. The topic of conversation shifts to a popular Engineering Asian professor who is now head of the department. Your classmate states, “I wonder what the administration was thinking. Haven’t they heard of the US government’s ‘China Initiative’? Chinese professors are stealing intellectual property and sending it to China.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “You think every Asian professor might be a Chinese spy?”
- “Chinese people are so smart and the country is so technologically advanced, why would they need to steal information from the US?”
- “I don’t even know what Department Heads do.”
- “These people are stealing our state secrets and technology; people should be talking about this more.”

Q4. Your boss assigned a project with a four-week completion deadline. Everyone on the team is working hard to meet the deadline. While working together, a White teammate notices some mathematical calculations made by Dave, an Asian teammate, are wrong. Jokingly, the White teammate says, "Come on, are you even Asian? How could you make math mistakes?"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "Everybody makes mistakes, let's leave race out of the conversation."
- "Asian cultures really value math education. I think everyone would make fewer mistakes if we learned it the Asian way."
- "Let's run the numbers again."
- "Yeah, this is basic math - you're not living-up to your race."

Q31. You are at a park where you see a group of Asian students are having a picnic in the vicinity of a White family. You then see the White family get up and move away, mentioning to you that it is unsafe to be around foreigners.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response to the family.

- "That's a rude assumption to make."
- "I don't think you should worry. I bet they're nice, hard-working students who spend all their time in the library anyways."
- "Great weather for a walk in the park, isn't it?"
- "Good call moving away, there's a lot of crime and disease in Asia after all."

Q32. You're waiting in line at the convenience store and you end up making small talk with some people next to you. The Asian person next to you mentions they are from California but they are glad to have moved to this area. The White person next to you says, "But, where are you *really* from?"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "They are really from California!"
- "It would be fun if we both guessed to see who gets it right!"
- "California seems nice."
- "Yeah, when did you come to America?"

Ascriptions of Intelligence

Q5. A White friend just received news that they will not be hired for an entry-level position at a technology company. Disappointed, your friend says, "I bet they chose an Asian who has been working with computers since they were 7".

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "You don't know if an Asian person was hired."
- "To be fair, Asians tend to be really hard-working and smart."
- "Don't worry, you will find a good job."

- “It’s too hard to compete with Asians these days, they’re taking all the good jobs.”

Q6. While reminiscing with two White high school friends, one mentions they remember when an Asian classmate won an academic award. Your second friend says, “I don’t remember that, was it for math?” Your first friend then says, “No, it was a poetry award.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- Addressing your second friend, “Do you think all Asians are good at math?”
- “She probably had that competitive Asian work ethic.”
- Addressing your first friend, “How do you remember these things?”
- “Her parents probably made her enter the competition.”

Q7. A White neighbor is complaining to you about the college application process for their child, and they say, “It’s unfair that kids have to compete against Asians who study 24/7 and get perfect test scores. Those kids should have lives outside of playing the violin and reading textbooks all day.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “Getting into college is pretty competitive these days, I think most students are just trying to do their best.”
- “Asian kids just work harder, it’s just the way they are raised.”
- “What colleges are they applying to? .”
- “Well yeah, that’s what happens when your parents will disown you for getting less than a 4.0.”

Q8. Your office mates are talking about an Asian co-worker from another department whose son has received multiple admission offers from prestigious universities. One office mate says, “Geez, Asian kids these days are machines. They spend all their waking hours studying!”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- Addressing the office mate, “We don’t know that about his childhood experiences.”
- “Asian kids excel at everything these days, except athletics.”
- “I wonder how many schools he applied to.”
- “You need more than just brains in life - you need to talk to people and make connections, you know?”

Denial of Racial Reality

Q9. Your White friend has been applying for jobs. Unfortunately, they were turned down for a job they really wanted. A few weeks later your friend tells you a LinkedIn search showed that the position went to an Asian person. Next, he says, “These people! They’re stealing our jobs—it’s unfair!”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “That sucks, but it doesn’t mean you were treated unfairly.”
- “They are smart; they know how to use keywords to pad their resume.”
- “Everything is on LinkedIn!”
- “It’s just the way it is. Companies can’t turn down cheap Chinese labor.”

Q10. You’re at a party and you hear an Asian person describing a racist incident they experienced. A White person responded, “What? Asians don’t experience racism. Asians have money and get good jobs. Do you know what Black people have gone through in this country?”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “The experiences aren’t the same, but that doesn’t mean Asian people don’t encounter racism.”
- “Asian people have good work ethic and they don’t cause trouble. That’s why they don’t have as much racism directed at them.”
- “This party is great.”
- “OK, but Asians are given so many advantages in this country.”

Q11. The local school board is proposing the inclusion of more Asian American history in the curriculum. You overhear a White person commenting on the proposal by saying, “Why do we make everything about race? It’s not like Asian people have it that hard.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “Asian American history is a part of American history.”
- “I think it would be fun to learn about anime, ramen noodles, and K-pop.”
- “When will this go into effect?”
- “This is America, we should only teach US history here.”

Q12. You and your coworkers are chatting about an article that describes the “bamboo ceiling”, that is, the belief that Asian Americans are not being promoted to high-level corporate jobs. A co-worker comments, “I don’t know if I buy that. It doesn’t seem like Asian people have any work issues.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “If you aren’t Asian, it might be hard for you to notice those barriers.”
- “Asian people are such hard workers, I don’t see them as having problems getting high-paying jobs.”
- “Where did you read the article?”
- “That sounds like a reach. If anything, Asian people are too competitive in the job market.”

Invalidation of Interethnic Differences

Q13. Your White coworker asks an Asian teammate if they know another Asian employee, who works at another company location.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “Why would you assume she knows that person? They don’t work together?”
- “Asians have such a close-knit community.”
- “How far away is the other company location?”
- “Yeah, are the two of you related?”

Q14. You are at a party where a White person is talking about a tattoo they got of some Chinese characters. They said, “I think it means ‘love’ but I’m not really sure.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “Why would you get a tattoo in a language you’re not familiar with?”
- “Asian languages are so beautiful, what an exotic tattoo idea.”
- “Do you have any other tattoos?”
- “I don’t get how people learn to read that.”

Q15. You and your friends are at a social event, and decide to mingle. You start talking to Melody (an Asian female), who tells you she grew up in Hong Kong. Matthew (a White male), comes up to join your conversation and says to Melody, “You know, one of my talents is that I’m really good at telling where Asian families come from. Let me guess - you’re Korean!”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to Matthew.

- “You don’t need to guess, you can just ask her.”
- “Asian people have such nice features.”
- “Is anyone thirsty? I’m thinking about getting a drink.”
- “I wouldn’t be able to tell, everyone looks kind of similar to me.”

Q34. You are in the break room with some people from work, discussing birthday plans for a coworker when a White coworker asks, “What kind of presents do Asian people like?”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “Not all Asian people like the same things.”
- “Maybe we should ask another Asian person just to be sure.”
- “What flavor of cake should we get?”
- “Maybe you can give them tea or chopsticks.”

Pathologizing Cultural Values/Communication Styles

Q.16 You are in a group meeting with others having a brainstorming session to solve a problem. One of your White group members asks the Asian group member, “Why are you so quiet? You need to speak up more like everyone else.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “Maybe they were listening and thinking about the problem. Not everyone communicates the same way.”
- “It’s not their fault, Asians are usually quiet - it’s just their culture.”
- “When is our next meeting?”
- “Yes, you should speak up.”

Q17. You're at a friend's house watching a movie where an Asian character asks non-Asian visitors to remove their shoes when entering the home. Your friend says, "it seems so rude to ask guests to take off their shoes when they come into your home!"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "I think guests should respect the rules in other people's homes."
- "I bet it's because Asian people really like to be clean."
- "How long is this movie?"
- "People have a right to wear what they want, the Asian character seems too uptight."

Q18. You're outside at some tables eating lunch with your coworkers when your Asian teammate opens a plastic zip lock bag with dried squid in it. Your white coworker pretends to gag and says, "Yuck, get that away from me. I bet if you threw it on the ground even the birds wouldn't eat it."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "That's not cool! You shouldn't call people out for what they eat."
- "I love trying exotic Asian foods. Everyone should try a piece!"
- "What snacks did everyone else bring?"
- "That's nasty; it's better that you eat that in private."

Q19. At your job, everyone has been working late to meet a deadline when a co-worker shouts, to no one in particular, "What we need are some Chinese employees! Those people can work all day and all night and never complain, they'd sleep on the floor if you asked them!"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "I don't think all Chinese employees are like that."
- "The Asian work ethic is admirable."
- "I just want to get done with this project."
- "It would make our lives so much easier!"

Q27. You and your friend are watching an international skating competition when a segment is run about the recent influx of Asian American figure skaters on the U.S. team. Your friend remarks, "I bet their parents were really strict with them, Asian discipline is no joke."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to Sasha.

- "I think these athletes just have a really strong passion for the sport."
- "They're probably good at figure skating because they're really disciplined, especially compared to other cultures."
- "I love seeing all the different countries competing."
- "These skaters are the exception to the rule, most Asians aren't very athletic"

Q33. You are on a crowded bus. In the next row over, an Asian person offers their seat to a White person. The White person says, “Thanks, you’re so nice for an Asian!”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “Do you think Asian people usually aren’t nice?”
- “I heard Asian culture emphasizes respect and politeness; more people should be like that.”
- “The bus sure is full today.”
- “That’s surprising! Usually Asians only look out for their own kind.”

Second-Class Citizenship

Q20. A coworker is asking people in the office about their favorite place to get a burger. You notice your co-worker didn’t ask an Asian team member, Jasmine, even though the office knows she maintains a food blog.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to your co-worker.

- “Jasmine is such a foodie, why didn’t you ask her?”
- “I’ll bet Jasmine knows the best sushi restaurants in town.”
- “This conversation is making me hungry!”
- “Jasmine probably eats weird stuff; it’s good you didn’t ask her about American food.”

Q21. Your White coworker is talking with you about who will get an upcoming promotion. When talking about a fellow Asian employee, Peter, the co-worker says, “Peter is really good at what he does, but he doesn’t seem to have what it takes, you know—Asians aren’t assertive enough to be leaders.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to your co-worker.

- “There are different ways to be an effective leader. ”
- “He could be if he channels his inner Bruce Lee!.”
- “I wonder how big the pay raise will be.”
- “Asians tend to be quiet, which isn’t good for being a leader.”

Q22. Your supervisor is consulting with you about who to send for an in-person meeting with a group of customers and says, “Jeff (an Asian male) knows these customers needs better than anyone else in the company, but Asians don’t really connect well with White clients.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response to your boss.

- “How do you know that? It sounds like Jeff is a good fit to lead this meeting.”
- “Yeah, there might be a cultural difference but Asians are also hard-working - he can make up for it with extra preparations!”
- “Is anyone else going to the meeting?”
- “Asians are hard workers but they aren’t good at presenting to a group.”

Q23. You are in a training session for your job, and everyone is repeatedly asked to break out into different groups for certain activities. You notice one Asian trainee never gets chosen, and you bring this up with your group. One member says, "I didn't even notice them! Oh well, it's their fault for not being assertive enough."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "Why don't we ask them to join our group?"
- "Maybe they're shy - it's endearing how shy and quiet Asian people are."
- "When is our next activity?"
- "Maybe they don't speak English?"

Invisibility

Q24. You are eating at a lunch counter and a news report comes on the television that an elderly Asian couple was physically attacked, and police are seeking information about the attackers. A patron comments that it's a shame about hate crimes against Asians. Another patron responds, "The police didn't call it a hate crime. We should wait until they investigate."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response to Sharon.

- "I wouldn't be so quick to dismiss the attack."
- "At least Asians have it better than Black people!"
- "There's so much bad news these days."
- "I understand why folks are mad at Asians these days."

Q25. You are participating in a mandatory diversity training at work and you realize that the presentation did not address bias toward Asians. After the training is over, the presenter asks for feedback.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "You should include Asians when talking about diversity."
- "Asians are lucky, they don't really face discrimination like other races."
- "Thanks for the presentation."
- "The presentation covered everything it needed to."

Q26. You are working on a group project with three other people. One of your White team members repeatedly mixes up the names of your other two Asian team members.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "You should learn our team members' names."
- "You both should make up nicknames so we can remember better!"
- "We should start dividing up the tasks for this project."
- "It's understandable, Asian people have pretty similar features."

Other

Q28. You are watching a movie with a group of people, when an Asian character on screen starts doing martial arts. Your White friend then asks an Asian person in your group, "Do all Asians start learning karate when they're young?"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "That's a bit much to assume every Asian child is taught martial arts."
- "I bet that's how Asians learn how to have such good discipline - they get it from martial arts!"
- "Let's keep watching the movie."
- "No, only half are doing karate, the other half are playing the piano."

Q29. You are waiting in line to get food and you ask the two people next to you if they can read the special since you can't see it from where you're standing. The Asian person next to you reads today's special, and the White person beside them says, "Wow, your eyes are so small, I can't believe you can read that."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "So you think that eye size influences how well people see?"
- "That's not nice. Don't worry, I've seen Asians with smaller eyes."
- "I'm so hungry."
- "Yeah, I can't believe it either, are you sure you read it correctly?"

Q30. You're at a social gathering, and the White person next to you asks an Asian person in the group to teach her a few phrases in their native language. The Asian person says a short phrase, and the White person remarks, "That's too hard, all of the words sound like 'ching chong' to me!"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "It's not cool to make fun of other languages."
- "Let me try! Tell me if my 'ching chong' pronunciation is better!"
- "Congratulations on getting the trip."
- "I don't even want to try, this language sounds weird."

Q35. You're hanging out with a group of people, and an Asian person tells a joke that nobody laughs at. Later, when they leave, a White person in the group says, "Why are Asians so awkward?"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "One bad joke doesn't mean that all Asian people are awkward."
- "Maybe that joke is funny for Asian people!"
- "I heard a funny joke the other day."
- "That's what happens when your parents make you stay home and study all the time. You don't develop social skills."

Appendix B

Final East Asian American Situational Judgment Test (EAA-SJT)

Alien in Own Land

Q1. You are standing behind an Asian woman in the check-out line at a small store. The White cashier is friendly and wishes everyone a good day. The Asian woman thanks the cashier for ringing up her order and hands her a credit card. The cashier looks at the credit card and then says, “We...no...take...this...card”, very slowly, while pointing at her credit card.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to the cashier.

- “She just thanked you in English, why are you speaking to her like that?”
- “Why don’t you accept that credit card?”
- “I feel your pain. Foreigners are bad at following instructions.”

Q2. You are meeting new friends and acquaintances for happy hour, and everyone is introducing themselves. An Asian woman introduces herself as Rachel. Before the next person can introduce themselves, another individual says, “We’re all friends here, you should tell us your Asian name!” My Asian coworkers all use their ‘real’ names.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “It sounds like she wanted to be called Rachel. If she wanted to be called by another name I feel like she would say that instead.”
- “Let’s get back to introducing ourselves.”
- “I have so much trouble remembering Asian names, it helps me when they take American names.”

Q3. Your boss assigned a project with a four-week completion deadline. Everyone on the team is working hard to meet the deadline. While working together, a White teammate notices some mathematical calculations made by Dave, an Asian teammate, are wrong. Jokingly, the White teammate says, “Come on, are you even Asian? How could you make math mistakes?”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “Everybody makes mistakes, let’s leave race out of the conversation.”
- “Let’s run the numbers again.”
- “Yeah, this is basic math - you’re not living-up to your race.”

Q4. You are at a park where you see a group of Asian students are having a picnic in the vicinity of a White family. You then see the White family get up and move away, mentioning to you that it is unsafe to be around foreigners.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response to the family.

- “That’s a rude assumption to make.”
- “Great weather for a walk in the park, isn’t it?”
- “Good call moving away, there’s a lot of crime and disease in Asia after all.”

Q5. You're waiting in line at the convenience store and you end up making small talk with some people next to you. The Asian person next to you mentions they are from California but they are glad to have moved to this area. The White person next to you says, "But, where are you *really* from?"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "They are really from California!"
- "California seems nice."
- "Yeah, when did you come to America?"

Ascriptions of Intelligence

Q6. A White neighbor is complaining to you about the college application process for their child, and they say, "It's unfair that kids have to compete against Asians who study 24/7 and get perfect test scores. Those kids should have lives outside of playing the violin and reading textbooks all day."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "Getting into college is pretty competitive these days, I think most students are just trying to do their best."
- "What colleges are they applying to?"
- "Well yeah, that's what happens when your parents will disown you for getting less than a 4.0."

Denial of Racial Reality

Q7. You're at a party and you hear an Asian person describing a racist incident they experienced. A White person responded, "What? Asians don't experience racism. Asians have money and get good jobs. Do you know what Black people have gone through in this country?"

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- "The experiences aren't the same, but that doesn't mean Asian people don't encounter racism."
- "This party is great."
- "OK, but Asians are given so many advantages in this country."

Q8. The local school board is proposing the inclusion of more Asian American history in the curriculum. You overhear a White person commenting on the proposal by saying, "Why do we make everything about race? It's not like Asian people have it that hard."

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- "Asian American history is a part of American history."
- "When will this go into effect?"
- "This is America, we should only teach US history here."

Q9. You and your coworkers are chatting about an article that describes the “bamboo ceiling”, that is, the belief that Asian Americans are not being promoted to high-level corporate jobs. A co-worker comments, “I don’t know if I buy that. It doesn’t seem like Asian people have any work issues.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “If you aren’t Asian, it might be hard for you to notice those barriers.”
- “Where did you read the article?”
- “That sounds like a reach. If anything, Asian people are too competitive in the job market.”

Invalidation of Interethnic Differences

Q10. You and your friends are at a social event, and decide to mingle. You start talking to Melody (an Asian female), who tells you she grew up in Hong Kong. Matthew (a White male), comes up to join your conversation and says to Melody, “You know, one of my talents is that I’m really good at telling where Asian families come from. Let me guess - you’re Korean!”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to Matthew.

- “You don’t need to guess, you can just ask her.”
- “Is anyone thirsty? I’m thinking about getting a drink.”
- “I wouldn’t be able to tell, everyone looks kind of similar to me.”

Q11. You are in the break room with some people from work, discussing birthday plans for a coworker when a White coworker asks, “What kind of presents do Asian people like?”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “Not all Asian people like the same things.”
- “What flavor of cake should we get?”
- “Maybe you can give them tea or chopsticks.”

Pathologizing Cultural Values/Communication Styles

Q.12 You are in a group meeting with others having a brainstorming session to solve a problem. One of your White group members asks the Asian group member, “Why are you so quiet? You need to speak up more like everyone else.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement.

- “Maybe they were listening and thinking about the problem. Not everyone communicates the same way.”
- “When is our next meeting?”
- “Yes, you should speak up.”

Second-Class Citizenship

Q13. Your White coworker is talking with you about who will get an upcoming promotion. When talking about a fellow Asian employee, Peter, the co-worker says, “Peter is really good at

what he does, but he doesn't seem to have what it takes, you know—Asians aren't assertive enough to be leaders.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each statement to your co-worker.

- “There are different ways to be an effective leader.”
- “I wonder how big the pay raise will be.”
- “Asians tend to be quiet, which isn't good for being a leader.”

Q14. Your supervisor is consulting with you about who to send for an in-person meeting with a group of customers and says, “Jeff (an Asian male) knows these customers needs better than anyone else in the company, but Asians don't really connect well with White clients.”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response to your boss.

- “How do you know that? It sounds like Jeff is a good fit to lead this meeting.”
- “Is anyone else going to the meeting?”
- “Asians are hard workers but they aren't good at presenting to a group.”

Invisibility

Q15. You are working on a group project with three other people. One of your White team members repeatedly mixes up the names of your other two Asian team members.

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “You should learn our team members' names.”
- “We should start dividing up the tasks for this project.”
- “It's understandable, Asian people have pretty similar features.”

Other

Q16. You are watching a movie with a group of people, when an Asian character on screen starts doing martial arts. Your White friend then asks an Asian person in your group, “Do all Asians start learning karate when they're young?”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “That's a bit much to assume every Asian child is taught martial arts.”
- “Let's keep watching the movie.”
- “No, only half are doing karate, the other half are playing the piano.”

Q17. You're hanging out with a group of people, and an Asian person tells a joke that nobody laughs at. Later, when they leave, a White person in the group says, “Why are Asians so awkward?”

Indicate the likelihood of you making each response.

- “One bad joke doesn't mean that all Asian people are awkward.”
- “I heard a funny joke the other day.”
- “That's what happens when your parents make you stay home and study all the time. You don't develop social skills.”

Appendix C

Asian American Stereotypes (AAS)

Instructions: Please indicate how common or typical it is for an Asian person in American society to possess each of the following characteristics:

Ratings are on a 9-point scale with the following scale point labels: 1 = not at all typical, 5 = somewhat typical, 9 = very typical.

The traits are as follows:

Cheerful
Sympathetic
Fun-loving
Warm
Enthusiastic
Intelligent
Motivated
Well-educated
Successful
Self-centered
Conceited
Arrogant
Irritable
Shy
Passive
Submissive

Appendix D

East Asian Cultural Knowledge Test (CKT)

Instructions: Based on your current knowledge and understanding of Asian culture, please indicate whether you believe each statement is true or false. For this survey, “East Asian” refers to those who have ancestry from China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, or Hong Kong.

1. East Asian cultures tend to be more group- or family-oriented by thinking in terms of “we”, compared to American culture, who tend to think in terms of “I”.
2. There is greater social hierarchy in the United States compared to East Asian cultures.
3. All East Asian cultures tend to be more success-oriented, with a “winner takes all” attitude compared to American culture.
4. Americans are more comfortable with ambiguity in situations compared to all other East Asian cultures.
5. American cultures tend to prioritize tradition more than East Asian cultures.
6. American cultures tend to prioritize leisure more often than those in Asian cultures.
7. American culture tends to prioritize relationships over individual tasks compared to East Asian cultures.
8. In East Asian cultures, there is more respect for authority compared to American culture.
9. East Asian cultures are more likely to prioritize fast results over the ability to persevere through different circumstances compared to American culture.
10. In East Asian cultures, on average, more people believe that actions should be guided by social norms rather than guided by personal desires when compared to American culture.
11. American cultures tend to put greater focus on the present compared to East Asian cultures, which focus more on the future.
12. People in East Asian cultures let themselves indulge in their desires more often than those in American culture.

Scoring

- 1 = True [individualism/collectivism]
- 2 = False [power distance]
- 3 = False [masculine/feminine]
- 4 = False [uncertainty avoidance]
- 5 = True [short term/long term orientation]
- 6 = True [indulgence/restraint]
- 7 = False [individualism/collectivism]
- 8 = True [power distance]
- 9 = False [short term/long term orientation]
- 10 = True [indulgence/restraint]
- 11 = True [short term/long term orientation]
- 12 = False [indulgence/restraint]

Appendix E

East Asian American Microaggression Checklist (MBC)

Instructions: Please select “yes” for each action or behavior you have done in the past, and select “no” for each action or behavior you have never done. For this survey, “East Asian” refers to those who have ancestry from China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, or Hong Kong. It is okay if you do not remember someone’s exact nationality - please answer to the best of your memory and ability.

1. I have avoided saying an East Asian person’s name, even after being told how to pronounce it.
2. I have assumed that two East Asian people knew each other because of their race.
3. I have asked an East Asian person where they were “really” from.
4. I have made a gesture that slanted or pulled at the corners of my eyes.
5. I have joked about an East Asian person being good at math.
6. I have made an incorrect assumption that an East Asian person was not born in the US when they were.
7. I have avoided joining a team or group because of the presence of an East Asian person or multiple East Asian people.
8. I have told an East Asian person that they were too quiet or shy.
9. I have told an East Asian person to speak English.
10. I have assumed that an East Asian person spoke more than one language.
11. I have accidentally mistaken one East Asian person for another.
12. I have said that East Asian people do not experience discrimination in the US.
13. I have complimented an East Asian person on their English without being asked.
14. I have used the term “ching chong” or used similar words to mock an East Asian language.
15. I have physically moved away from someone because they were East Asian.

Scoring: Each “Yes” response is worth 1 point, each “No” response is worth 0 points. The greater the number of points, the more microaggressions a participant has engaged in.

Appendix F

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability – Short Form (MCSD)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide how it pertains to you. Please respond by selecting true or false for each item.

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
7. I'm always willing to admit to it when I make a mistake.
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.