

The Marginalized “Model” Minority: An Empirical Examination of the Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans

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In this article, we propose a shift in race research from a one-dimensional hierarchical approach to a multidimensional system of racial stratification. Building upon Claire Kim's (1999) racial triangulation theory, we examine how the American public rates Asians relative to blacks and whites along two dimensions of racial stratification: racial valorization and civic acceptance/ostracism. Using selected years from the General Social Survey, our analyses provide support for the multidimensional racial triangulation perspective as opposed to a singular hierarchical approach, although findings do not match all predictions by the racial triangulation thesis. Our results also suggest that on average whites are more likely than blacks to have more favorable views of the relative positions of Asians, particularly for family commitment, nonviolence and wealth, but blacks are more likely to assume racially egalitarian views than do whites.

Introduction

Asian Americans comprise one of the fastest-growing groups in the United States (Xie and Goyette 2004; Humes, Jones and Ramirez 2011). Census data show that the Asian¹ population in the United States increased by 48 percent between 1990 and 2000 (from 6,908,638 to 10,242,998) and by 43 percent between 2000 and 2010 (14,674,252 in 2010), and it is projected to reach 41 million by 2050 (Passel and Cohn 2008). Beyond numerical growth, Asian American representation in such domains as education, politics and the media has increased

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dramatically. Given major social and demographic changes in both Asian and Hispanic populations, scholars have begun to move beyond the black-white binary discourse that is dominant in theories of racial stratification (C. Kim 1999; Forman, Goar and Lewis 2002; Gold 2004).

Some research speculates about which side of the “color line” Asian Americans fall (i.e., closer to blacks or whites); other research emphasizes the distinct racialized experiences of Asians and other racial/ethnic minorities (Omi and Winant 1994). However, C. Kim (1999) argues that neither perspective is quite adequate. She suggests that Asians do not fall on one side of a color line or another (nor do they fall somewhere in between blacks and whites); at the same time, the racialization of Asian Americans is not insulated from the experiences of, and interactions between, multiple racial groups. Instead, C. Kim’s *racial triangulation theory* proposes that Asian Americans are “triangulated” within a “field” of race relations based on their position relative to blacks and whites on two different dimensions (racial valorization and civic ostracism). This results in a racial position distinct from other groups. Specifically, the American public simultaneously lauds Asians as the “model minority” and marginalizes them as “outsiders.” This contradictory racial complex is largely attributable to the relatively high socioeconomic status that Asian Americans have seemingly achieved and the “perpetual foreigner” image that still haunts them.

Although some scholars have advocated for the use of multidimensional theories of race relations like C. Kim’s racial triangulation perspective (e.g., Gold 2004; Song 2004; Ng, Lee and Pak 2007; N. Kim 2009), there has been relatively little research devoted to a systematic assessment of its applicability to racial attitudes toward Asian Americans. In this article we assess the racial triangulation thesis by using data from the General Social Survey (GSS) to examine attitudes toward Asians in relation to blacks and whites along two different dimensions. We also extend the racial triangulation approach by examining black-white differences in the perceptions of the relative positions of Asians. In doing so, we aim to advance race research by moving from a one-dimensional color-line approach to a multidimensional field of race relations.

Background

Theories of Racial Stratification

Theories of racial stratification have traditionally utilized a black-white orientation, which sees the racialization of other racial/ethnic minorities as following a process similar to that of blacks, or views the black-white dichotomy as being the most important (Okimoto 1994; Wu 2003). Doing so, however, has received much criticism because it renders the experiences of and racism against other racial minorities irrelevant (Okimoto 1994; Perea 1998; Gold 2004; Song 2004; Kao 2006).

With the increase in the Asian American and Hispanic populations, there has been a major call to move “beyond black and white.” Scholars have begun to examine where racial groups fall relative to one another on a racial hierarchy,

with blacks at the bottom and whites on the top (Okimoto 1994; Lee and Bean 2010). This approach has led to the debate over whether a color line exists, and whether it reveals a white/nonwhite divide or a black/nonblack divide. Some propose the existence of a white/nonwhite divide, suggesting that the boundaries between whites and nonwhites are more important than differences among nonwhite groups (Skrentny 2001; Hollinger 2005). From this perspective, Asian Americans are more closely aligned with blacks. Others suggest the emergence of a black/nonblack divide, indicated by the continuing separation from blacks not only on the part of whites but also of other nonwhite racial groups (Lopez 1996), and the higher rates of intermarriage with whites among Asians and Hispanics (Yancey 2003; Qian and Lichter 2007; Lee and Bean 2010).

Critics of the white/nonwhite perspective argue that this approach fails to differentiate experiences among nonwhites (N. Kim 2007). The same can be argued about the black/nonblack approach, which does not distinguish between the experiences of whites and other nonblacks. To move beyond a biracial paradigm, Bonilla-Silva (2004, 2010) advances a *triracial* stratification system, in which there are three loosely organized strata, including “whites” (whites and assimilated white Hispanics), “honorary whites” (East Asian groups and light-skinned Hispanics) and “collective blacks” (blacks, dark-skinned Hispanics, and disadvantaged Southeast Asian groups). From this viewpoint, most Asian Americans tend to fall in between whites and blacks.

Although the color line(s) research has contributed to a better understanding of racial stratification, it is argued that this hierarchical approach does not adequately illustrate the racialization of Asian Americans (C. Kim 1999; Alcoff 2003; Gold 2004; Song 2004). The color line(s) approach inherently assumes that racial stratification occurs along a *single* dimension of “superiority” and “inferiority,” thus homogenizing the racialization processes among all racial/ethnic minorities (C. Kim 2004). Another approach is Omi and Winant’s (1994:1) *racial formation theory*, which sees the experiences of Native Americans, blacks, Mexicans and Asians in the United States as following distinct trajectories, characterized by “genocide, slavery, colonization, and exclusion,” respectively. These experiences largely dominate American race relations. The idea of distinct racial trajectories is valuable because it underscores various types of race relations based on unique historical experiences, and it emancipates the discussions of the racialization of Asian Americans from a traditional black/white framework. However, while racialization is dependent upon the historical context under which it occurs, C. Kim argues that groups are not racialized in vacuum without reference to one another.

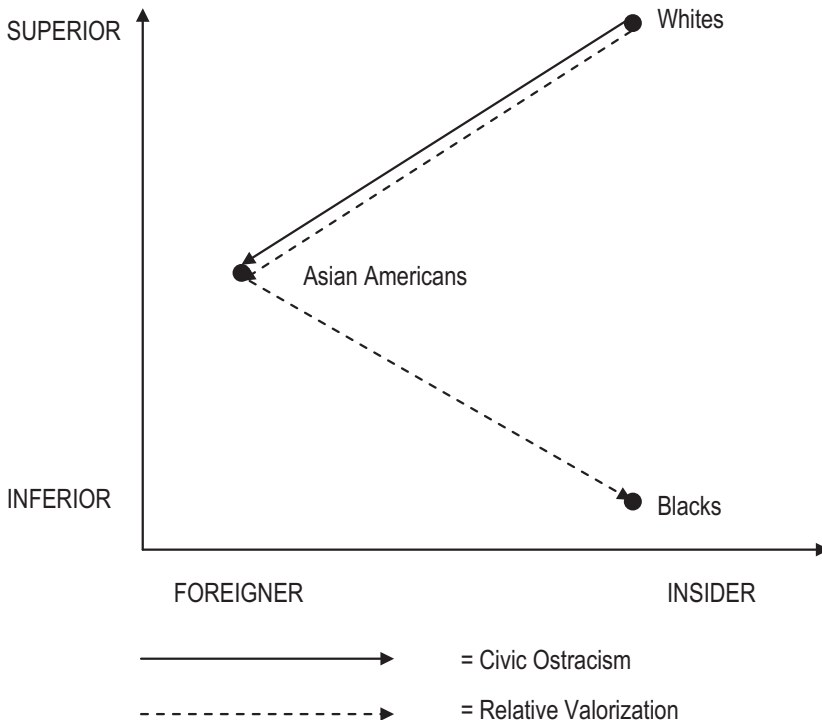
The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans

To address these limitations, C. Kim (1999) proposes a theory of racial triangulation, which combines essentials from racial formation theory and the racial hierarchy/color line(s) approach. Racial triangulation theory argues that Asians occupy different group positions relative to blacks and whites along multiple dimensions, which results in a unique racialized experience of Asian Americans. Specifically, Asian Americans have been “triangulated vis-à-vis whites and blacks

in a ‘field of racial positions’” (C. Kim 1999:106). This field is comprised of two dimensions: the “superior/inferior” axis refers to the process of racial valorization, by which groups are ranked hierarchically based on cultural and/or racial grounds; the “insider/foreigner” axis refers to the process of civic ostracism or to what extent a group is considered to be unassimilable as opposed to being considered “insiders” (see Figure 1).

Making a useful departure from previous theoretical orientations, racial triangulation theory suggests that racial stratification is multidimensional and that *a racial group can be rated high on one dimension and low another*. Because of ingrained racial stereotypes, average Americans evaluate Asians as “inferior” to whites and “superior” to blacks on certain racial or cultural grounds such as work ethic or family commitment, but they also rate Asians relatively low in terms of civic acceptance. This can be seen with the persistence of the “model minority” and “perpetual foreigner” images, both of which set Asian Americans apart from other Americans (Min 1996; Tuan 1998; C. Kim 1999; Zhou 2004; N. Kim 2007). It is this process of simultaneous valorization and civic ostracism of Asians, along with the racial subordination of blacks, that maintains systems of white privilege (C. Kim 1999).

Figure 1. The Field of Racial Positions in Racial Triangulation (reproduced from C. Kim 1999:108)



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Asian Americans as the Model Minority and Perpetual Foreigner

Asian Americans have long been portrayed as the model minority since William Petersen's 1966 *New York Times Magazine* article, "Success Story: Japanese American Style," and a myriad of subsequent studies of Asian socioeconomic attainment that crystallize this image (e.g., Waters and Eschbach 1995; Xie and Goyette 2004; Zeng and Xie 2004). Recent research, however, has been critical of such "acclaims" of Asian Americans as the model minority, contending that the socioeconomic success of Asian Americans has been exaggerated. For "substantive" measures of success, including median *individual* income (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Mills 2004; N. Kim 2007), wage returns to education (Hirschman and Wong 1984; Xie and Goyette 2004; Zeng and Xie 2004) and representation at the managerial level (Hirschman and Wong 1984; Woo 2000), Asians actually fare worse than whites. The model minority image also conceals the fact that the poverty rate among Asian Americans (12.3%) is higher than that of whites (Sakamoto, Goyette, and Kim 2009). Additionally, the success stories of selected Asian groups are often not a result of individual efforts rewarded by a fair system, but rather a "success" of the American immigration policies that have targeted highly skilled professionals since the 1960s (Mallick 2010).

The model minority image also obscures the racial subordination of Asian Americans (C. Kim 1999; N. Kim 2007). Despite the group's perceived socioeconomic success, the typical Asian is also often viewed as an outsider or a perpetual foreigner (Okihiro 1994; Ancheta 1998; C. Kim 1999; N. Kim 2007) who "clings to the culture of his own group" (Siu 1952:34). Studies in history (Okihiro 1994), sociology (Danico and Ng 2004; Tuan 1998) and psychology (Devos and Banaji 2005; Devos and Heng 2009) have provided strong evidence that almost all segments of the Asian American population, including first and later generations, youth and elderly, English and native-language only speakers and across most ethnic groups, suffer from this stereotypical image.

Although research in Asian American studies has effectively juxtaposed such contradictory images of Asian Americans as "model minorities" and "perpetual foreigners," and social psychologists have also constructed a similar two-dimensional stereotype content model (Fiske, Xu and Cuddy 1999; Lin et al. 2005), the racial triangulation perspective for the first time provides a *dynamic* (i.e., relative racial positioning) and *systemic* (i.e., a field of racial positions on multiple dimensions) theoretical framework to essentialize the racialized experiences of Asian Americans and race relations in the United States more generally.² Despite the important implications of racial triangulation theory for research on race and ethnicity, there has been little quantitative examination of its specifications, especially regarding perceptions of the relative positions of Asian Americans along multiple dimensions.

Racial Differences in Attitudes Toward Asian Americans

Although racial triangulation theory provides an innovative approach to studying attitudes about Asian Americans, it does not explicitly address potential variations in perceptions of Asian Americans. An important social cleavage in public

opinion is the black-white divide (Bobo 1998; Hunt 2007), which reflects more than just differences between individuals in each group, but groups' structural locations (Blumer 1958). We would therefore expect to see differences between blacks and whites in their attitudes toward Asians. The lack of discussion about such variation in racial triangulation theory is problematic because although the black-white binary is not powerful enough to fully delineate the mosaic of color lines, race discourse is largely dependent upon black-white dynamics.

In this study, we extend the racial triangulation theory by examining differences between blacks and whites in their relative ratings of Asian Americans. Little research has examined the relations among Asians, blacks and whites (Jackson, Gerber, and Cain 1994), but we suggest three possibilities for race differences in attitudes toward Asian Americans. One possibility is that blacks, on average, view Asians more negatively than do whites. The model minority image of Asians has been used to discount the disadvantages that the African American community faces and to disregard their call for racial equality (Lee 1996; Zhou 2004). Blacks may respond to this with unfavorable views of Asians. Moreover, scholarship on race has suggested that economic competition, cultural and religious differences, and the belief that Asians hold racial prejudices against blacks could contribute to a high level of hostility toward Asians (Shankman 1978; Cummings and Lambert 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2010). Because Asians were once used as labor replacement for African slaves and still serve as the middleman between blacks and whites (Bonacich 1973; Okihiro 1994), blacks may bear negative feelings toward Asians, particularly in areas where blacks have been denigrated and unfairly assessed historically.

A second possibility is that blacks view Asians more as allies than competitors. They may empathize with Asian Americans' experiences since both have experienced racial discrimination and subjugation (Lee and Bean 2010; Tang 2011). African Americans have allied with Asian Americans to fight against racial discrimination in the era of Asian Exclusion, the school desegregation protest in California in the early 1900s, the labor union movement in the 1920s and the Civil Rights Movement in the late 1960s (Okihiro 1994). Jackson, Gerber, and Cain's (1944) finding that blacks in Los Angeles hold favorable attitudes towards Asian Americans despite increasing economic and residential competition is suggestive of this possibility. Therefore, we might find that blacks have more favorable ratings of Asians than do whites, especially regarding civic acceptance.

A third possibility is that blacks' attitudes toward Asians are similar to those of whites (Cummings and Lambert 1997). First, the perpetual foreigner and model minority myths are so pervasive that they influence general views of Asians, regardless of race/ethnicity. Media portrayal of Asians is either so stereotypical, or too vague to be memorable (Lee 1999; Ono and Pham 2008), that blacks and whites may hold similar views. Second, Asian Americans usually do not weigh into major sociopolitical battles (Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004; Watson 2004; Kao 2006), and so blacks and whites may both perceive Asians as "outsiders" (Sakamoto, Goyette and Kim 2007). Because of these factors, black-white differences in attitudes towards Asians might be trivial.

Racial Triangulation of Hispanics

One could also imagine that Hispanics are also racially triangulated, given some similarities to Asian Americans in their histories of assimilation in the United States. Both groups were used as cheap labor, and continue to immigrate to the United States in substantial proportions, seeking employment and competitive wages. Because of this, both groups are often met with prejudice and discrimination arising from nativist sentiments among the American public (Alcoff 2003). Therefore, the perpetual foreigner image could also be relevant to Hispanics, as they are often perceived to be outsiders regardless of their immigrant status (Alcoff 2003). In addition, there is some evidence that whites also valorize Hispanics relative to blacks (Marrow 2009). On the other hand, Hispanics and Asian Americans may be racialized differently from each other because of the pervasiveness of the model minority stereotype of Asians in particular. Although there may be broader processes at work that position both Asians and Hispanics as *outsiders* in the field of racial positions, a unique valorization process for Asians would substantiate C. Kim's (1999) hypothesis.

There has been some research on the racial triangulation of Hispanics, including Maldonado's (2006) study of immigrant Hispanic, native-born Hispanic and white workers and King's (2010) study of Mexicans, Native Americans and whites. However, these studies did not assess multiple dimensions of racial stratification, nor did they make clear reference to blacks, a shaping force of racialized politics in the United States. So, to examine whether Hispanics are triangulated in ways similar to Asians, we conduct parallel analyses of Hispanics. Although the focus of this paper is on the racialization of Asian Americans, the examination of the relative position of Hispanics compared with whites and blacks can help determine whether Asian Americans are racialized in distinct ways or if the simultaneous valorization and ostracism applies to contemporary immigrant groups more generally.

Data and Methods

This study uses data from selected years (1990, 1994, 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2006) of the GSS, which provide information on attitudes towards Asians (and Hispanics in our supplemental analyses), blacks and whites. The GSS is a sample of English-speaking adults living in households in the continental United States and has tracked the opinions of Americans since 1972 (Davis and Smith 2009). It is one of the best sources for attitudinal studies, including those on race relations. Our samples consist of blacks and whites for whom there was no missing data on the dependent variables of interest.³ Those who did not respond to or marked "Don't Know" for the racial attitude items were excluded from the analyses (ranging from 1.8% to 12.8% of the cases depending on the item).⁴ Not all items were asked in every year, nor were they always asked about all groups. So, in-sample respondents are those who provided ratings of all three groups in the same survey years. Our final sample sizes for the analyses of the racial triangulation of Asians range from 1,122 to 3,609, and from 1,120 to 3,565 for that of Hispanics.

Beyond individual characteristics, socio-demographic characteristics of the area in which an individual resides could also affect race relations and the attitudes about the relative position of Asian Americans (Taylor 1998; Dixon 2006). Contextual variables (for details, see our discussion in the *Independent Variables* section) are derived from Metropolitan Area and county-level data based on the 1990 and 2000 Census 5 percent Public Use Microdata Sample. We first identified the Metropolitan Area or county that corresponded to the respondent's Primary Sampling Unit (PSU), and then merged the GSS data with the corresponding census data.⁵ We combined the 1990-1998 GSS surveys with data from the 1990 Census, and we merged the 2000-2006 GSS data with information from the 2000 Census.

Dependent Variables

Appendix table A1 lists the year(s) each question was asked, question wording and coding schema for the variables used to construct our measures of racial valorization and civic ostracism. Original responses were recoded so that a higher value corresponds to a more favorable rating. We use respondents' ratings of each group's *family commitment*, *intelligence*, *nonviolence*, *wealth*⁶ and *work ethic* to assess the *valorization* of Asians relative to blacks and whites. Because *civic ostracism* refers to the extent to which Asians are perceived to be unassimilable, and thus excluded from being "insiders," we use measures of respondents' acceptance of living in the same *neighborhood* with at least half of the neighbors being from each racial group, and having a close family member *marrying* a member of each group, as well as measures of respondents' beliefs about each group's level of *patriotism* and their ratings of each group on the *feeling thermometer*.⁷

We construct measures of *relative position* by comparing the ratings of the same characteristics that respondents provided for Asians, blacks and whites. As mentioned earlier, not all variables are available for all years, since respondents were not asked the same questions or about the same groups each year. For example, attitudes about patriotism were measured only in 1990, and questions about living in the same neighborhood were asked only about Asians, blacks and whites in 2000 (respondents were asked about Asians and blacks in 1990, but the white category was divided into Northern and Southern whites). Using the ratings of all three groups, we create a set of categorical-dependent variables that measure the position of Asians relative to blacks and whites.

There are 13 possible combinations of how Asians are rated compared with blacks and whites. Because of the small number of cases for some categories, as well as the problem of dimensionality, we collapse the relative ratings into four categories for each of our dependent variables (see Appendix table A2 for details). If the scores for Asians, blacks and whites are the same, then all groups are assumed to have equal status ("all groups equal"). If a respondent rates Asians higher than blacks and whites, or higher than one group and equal to the other group, then we consider Asians as being rated relatively high on the racial hierarchy ("Asians high"). We do this because even if Asians share the top

position with another group, we argue that it is still considered to be a high position.⁸ If a respondent rates Asians between blacks and whites, then we consider Asians to assume a “middle” status (“Asians middle”). If a respondent rates Asians lower than blacks and whites or lower than one group and equal to the other, then we code Asians to be at the bottom of the racial hierarchy (“Asians low”).^{9,10}

Using measures of relative position has advantages over simpler measures used in previous studies. First, they can effectively extract the crucial information about the implicit comparisons that respondents usually make across different groups for similar questions asked in consecutive order. This is essential for the racial triangulation perspective, as the evaluation of Asian Americans is only meaningful when considered in relation to other groups. Second, the idiosyncrasy in respondents’ ratings may cast doubt over conclusions drawn from analyses of nonrelational social positions. For example, highly educated people are more inclined to provide socially desirable responses (Jackman and Muha 1984) and may give high ratings to all races. With a nonrelative measure of respondents’ evaluations of Asians, we might conclude that education is positively related to favorable ratings of Asian Americans. We would not know, however, if more educated individuals would rank Asians higher or lower than other groups.

Independent Variables

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the independent variables included in each analysis. *Race* is measured with a dichotomous indicator, with “1” referring to black and “0” to white. We control for *age* (in decades), *gender* (male = 1 and female = 0 [reference]), and *region* (North, South, Midwest, and West [reference]). To account for individuals’ socioeconomic status, we include *education*, which is measured by years of schooling, *family income* (logged)¹¹ and *employment status* (part-time employed, unemployed, other types, and full-time employed [reference]). We also add *party affiliation* (Republican, Democrat, Independent, and other party affiliation [reference]) and survey year (year dummies) to account for the influence of political orientation and period effects.¹²

For PSU-level characteristics, we control for *percent non-Hispanic Asian*, *percent Hispanic*, *percent non-Hispanic black*, *population size* (logged), and *median household income* (logged) to account for the sociodemographic characteristics of the area. In addition, we examine whether the socioeconomic status of the surrounding Asian community influences attitudes about Asians by including the *percent of Asians who have a college degree or higher*.

Analytic Strategy

Our analyses proceed in three steps. First, we look at descriptive statistics of the relative ratings of Asians to assess the average racial valorization and civic ostracism of Asian Americans. Second, to examine predictors of attitudes about the relative position of Asians and to assess whether black-white differences

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables

Variable	Mean	(SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Survey Year				
Year 1990	.09	.29	.00	1.00
Year 1994	.20	.40	.00	1.00
Year 2000	.19	.39	.00	1.00
Year 2002	.18	.39	.00	1.00
Year 2004	.18	.39	.00	1.00
Year 2006	.16	.37	.00	1.00
Race				
White	.85	.35	.00	1.00
Black	.15	.35	.00	1.00
Age (in 10 years)	4.68	1.72	1.80	8.90
Gender				
Female	.56	.50	.00	1.00
Male	.44	.50	.00	1.00
Region				
West	.19	.39	.00	1.00
Northeast	.19	.39	.00	1.00
Midwest	.25	.43	.00	1.00
South	.37	.48	.00	1.00
Education	13.36	2.93	.00	20.00
Imputed Income	9.97	1.01	5.62	11.86
Employment				
Full-time	.52	.50	.00	1.00
Part-time	.11	.31	.00	1.00
Unemployed	.03	.17	.00	1.00
Other employment	.34	.47	.00	1.00
Party Affiliation				
Republican	.29	.45	.00	1.00
Democrat	.34	.47	.00	1.00
Independent	.36	.48	.00	1.00
Other party	.01	.12	.00	1.00
PSU-Level Contextual Variables				
Asian college percent	.43	.16	.00	1.00
Hispanics college percent	.14	.09	.00	1.00
Log median HH Income	10.54	.27	9.49	12.48
Log total population	13.39	2.18	7.72	16.87

(Continued)

Table 1. continued

Variable	Mean	(SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Percent NH Asian	.03	.03	.00	.26
Percent NH black	.12	.11	.00	.57
Percent Hispanics	.10	.13	.00	.85

Note: Descriptive statistics for all independent variables are based on pooled survey years (N = 14,116). SD = standard deviation.

in these attitudes remain after taking into account other individual and contextual characteristics, we conduct multinomial logistic regression analyses, with “Asians low” as the reference category. In the multivariate analyses, we account for the nonindependence of observations within PSUs by using the cluster option and robust standard errors in STATA.¹³ Third, to illustrate the differences between blacks and whites, we generate predicted probabilities using the estimates from multinomial logistic regressions. We derive these predictions using a “typical” respondent, who is set to have the mean values for all independent variables in the model, and we only vary the individual’s race (black = 1 and whites = 0).

We also conduct parallel analyses for ratings of Hispanics. As with the coding of the relative position of Asians, we use respondents’ ratings of Hispanics, blacks and whites to determine the relative position of Hispanics for the same set of racial valorization and civic ostracism indicators. We use the same independent variables in our multivariate analyses except that we replace contextual variables with those that are pertinent to Hispanics (e.g., percent of Hispanics who have a college degree or higher).

Results

Table 2 shows the marginal distribution of each relative rating measure for Asian Americans. In the full sample, in terms of racial valorization, the modal category is to position Asians higher than other groups for family commitment (47.0%), nonviolence (40.3%), wealth (40.0%) and work ethic (48.2%). On this dimension, intelligence is the only characteristic for which “Asians high” is the second largest category. Most Americans rate all groups equal for intelligence (39.4%). This last finding is somewhat surprising given that a pervasive stereotype of Asians is their educational success. The overall valorization of Asians on these indicators suggests that the perceptions of Asian Americans as the model minority are quite prevalent. The fact that Asians are rated high suggests that Asian Americans are not just viewed as the model among *minorities*, but rather they are perceived to be at the top of the racial hierarchy. Thus, C. Kim’s hypothesis that Asian Americans fall between blacks and whites for racial valorization does not exactly correspond to American public attitudes.

Another picture, however, emerges when one looks at the civic ostracism of Asian Americans. Although some may be reassured by our finding that about

Table 2. Relative Frequency Distribution of Relative Placement of Asian Americans

	Full Sample (%)
Racial Valorization (Superior/Inferior)	
<i>Family Commitment</i>	
Asians high	47.0
Asians middle	9.4
Asians low	13.6
All groups equal	30.1
<i>Intelligence</i>	
Asians high	30.4
Asians middle	8.7
Asians low	21.5
All groups equal	39.4
<i>Nonviolence</i>	
Asians high	40.3
Asians middle	13.0
Asians low	16.7
All groups equal	30.0
<i>Wealth</i>	
Asians high	40.0
Asians middle	21.3
Asians low	29.7
All groups equal	9.0
<i>Work Ethic</i>	
Asians high	48.2
Asians middle	11.6
Asians low	17.4
All groups equal	22.8
Civic Ostracism (Insider/Foreigner)	
<i>Feeling Thermometer</i>	
Asians high	9.4
Asians middle	7.2
Asians low	33.4
All groups equal	50.0
<i>Neighborhood</i>	
Asians high	10.9
Asians middle	7.0

(Continued)

Table 2. continued

	Full Sample (%)
Asians low	30.4
All groups equal	51.8
<i>Marriage</i>	
Asians high	5.9
Asians middle	13.1
Asians low	33.2
All groups equal	47.8
<i>Patriotism</i>	
Asians high	11.6
Asians middle	7.4
Asians low	48.2
All groups equal	32.8

half of Americans have racially egalitarian views for three out of four measures (except patriotism) on this dimension, others may instead be concerned that about half still have discriminatory views. Moreover, among those who do have discriminatory views, Asians are perceived to be in a low position on the racial hierarchy. “Asians low” is the second largest category for the feeling thermometer (33.4%), living in the same community (30.4%) and marriage (33.2%), and the percent of respondents in this category on these measures is much higher than the percent of respondents who rated Asians high or in the middle. Even more striking is that 48 percent of the respondents rated Asians low on patriotism.¹⁴ Descriptive statistics of attitudes toward Asians among blacks and whites separately show similar patterns to those of the full sample except that whites on average rate Asians higher than blacks do, especially on indicators of racial valorization.

These results indicate the need to focus on multiple dimensions of racial inequality, as suggested by racial triangulation theory. Asian Americans do not fall “closer” to, or in between, whites or blacks on a single racial hierarchy; instead, they occupy a unique position in a field of racial positions. On one dimension, they may fall “closer” to whites, but on another, they fall “closer” to blacks. In fact, supplementary descriptive statistics (available upon request) also show that to great extent, the American public rates Asians and blacks equally when it comes to indicators of civic acceptance. This suggests that the common perception of Asians falling somewhere “in between” blacks and whites might be an artifact of the simultaneous high and low positions of Asians on both axes.

Black-White Differences in Relative Ratings of Asian Americans

We next conduct multinomial logistic regressions to examine the predictors of attitudes towards Asian Americans as well as to explore black-white differences.

Table 3. Multinomial Logit Estimates for Race^a

	Racial Valorization (Superior/Inferior)				Civic Ostracism (Insider/Outsider)				
	Family	Intelligence	Nonviolence	Wealth	Work Ethic	Feeling Therm.	Neighborhood	Marriage	Patriotism
<i>Asians High vs. Asians Low</i>	-0.91** (.29)	-.35 (.19)	-.59** (.19)	-.43** (.14)	-.14 (.17)	-.34 (.29)	-.64 (.36)	-.16 (.24)	.27 (.34)
<i>Asians Middle vs. Asians Low</i>	-.98** (.31)	-1.59*** (.40)	-.67* (.30)	.14 (.16)	-.67** (.23)	.28 (.24)	-.68 (.51)	-1.15*** (.25)	-.84 (.49)
<i>All Groups Equal vs. Asians Low</i>	-.53 (.37)	-.01 (.20)	.02 (.21)	-.50* (.25)	-.17 (.20)	-.01 (.17)	.22 (.19)	.46** (.14)	.44 (.25)

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Note. ^aRace is coded as 1 if black and 0 if white.

Detailed results from our analyses vary with specific dependent measures. For the sake of parsimony, we do not discuss every significant effect in every model. Instead, we focus on the general patterns that emerge regarding black-white differences in the relative ratings of Asians.

There are black-white differences in attitudes about the relative position of Asians, especially among our indicators of racial valorization. For ease, we present only the coefficients for race in Table 3 (all individual and contextual-level variables are included in the models). For detailed results, see Appendix table A3. The reference category for the dependent variables is “Asians Low.” A statistically significant, positive coefficient for race suggests that blacks are more likely than whites to have more favorable views of Asians (i.e., rating Asians high, in the middle, or all equal vs. rating Asians low). A statistically significant, negative coefficient for an independent variable suggests that black respondents tend to have more negative views than whites do about the relative position of Asian Americans.

After accounting for individual and contextual sociodemographic characteristics, blacks on average have less favorable views of Asian Americans relative to blacks and whites. They are significantly less likely than whites to rate Asians high or in the middle as opposed to low for all measures of racial valorization. Specifically, blacks are significantly less likely to rate Asians high along the racial hierarchy as opposed to being low for family commitment ($b = -.91$), nonviolence ($b = -.59$) and wealth ($b = -.43$). They are also less

likely to perceive Asians as being in the middle as opposed to low for family commitment ($b = -.98$), intelligence ($b = -1.59$), nonviolence ($b = -.67$) and work ethic ($b = -.67$). In no case are blacks more likely than whites, with statistical significance, to view Asians as being in the high or middle position relative to other groups. We also find that blacks are slightly less likely than whites to rate all groups equally as opposed to rating Asian low for wealth ($b = -.50$).

By contrast, the only significant black-white difference that exists in the civic ostracism of Asian Americans is on attitudes about marriage with Asians. Blacks are less likely than whites to rate Asians in the middle as opposed to low for marriage ($b = -1.15$). It should be noted, however, that blacks are more likely than whites to rate all racial groups equal for marriage as opposed to rating Asians low ($b = .46$).

We next examine the predicted probabilities generated from the multinomial logit estimates, which are presented in Table 4. The general pattern is about the same, that is, both blacks and whites are most likely to have racially egalitarian views (i.e., all groups are equal) or to rate Asians high for indicators of racial valorization. Additionally, these predicted probabilities show that blacks are more likely than whites to have racially egalitarian views (all groups equal) except for wealth, work ethic and the feeling thermometer, for which there are trivial racial differences in rating all groups equal.

Although rating Asians high for family commitment is the modal category for both blacks and whites (black: .38; white: .50), whites are more likely than blacks to rate Asians high or in the middle, whereas blacks are about twice as likely as whites to rate Asians low (black: .22; white: .12). Predicted probabilities of ratings of intelligence and nonviolence follow a similar pattern to that of family commitment. Both blacks and whites are least likely to feel that wealth is equally distributed among the three racial groups, but whites are more likely than blacks to rate Asians high (black: .22; white: .32). For work ethic, blacks and whites have almost the same probability of rating Asians high (black: .50; white: .49), but blacks are slightly more likely than whites to rate Asians low (black: .20; white: .17), which results in whites' higher probability of placing Asians in the middle.

In regard to civic ostracism, with the exception of patriotism, both blacks and whites are most likely to rate all groups equal, followed by "Asians low." There are smaller racial differences in attitudes about the relative position of Asian Americans on this dimension. Whites are about twice as likely as blacks to rate Asians high for living in the same community (black: .05; white: .11), but they are also seven percentage points more likely than blacks to rate Asians to be least patriotic (black: .43; white: .50). In addition, whites are about three times more likely than blacks to place Asians in the middle (black: .04; white: .13) and five percent more likely to place Asians low (black: .30; white: .35) for marriageability. With the exception of the feeling thermometer, blacks are more likely than whites to report racially egalitarian views.

Overall, our results suggest that there are black-white differences in racial attitudes and about the relative position of Asians. Blacks are more likely than whites to have racially egalitarian views (i.e., rating all groups equal). Among

Table 4. Predicted Probabilities for Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans

	Black	White
Racial Valorization (Superior/Inferior)		
<i>Family Commitment</i>		
Asians high	.38	.50
Asians middle	.06	.09
Asians low	.22	.12
All groups equal	.33	.29
<i>Intelligence</i>		
Asians high	.28	.33
Asians middle	.02	.08
Asians low	.24	.20
All groups equal	.46	.39
<i>Nonviolence</i>		
Asians high	.32	.43
Asians middle	.08	.12
Asians low	.21	.16
All groups equal	.39	.29
<i>Wealth</i>		
Asians high	.32	.42
Asians middle	.28	.20
Asians low	.34	.29
All groups equal	.06	.09
<i>Work Ethic</i>		
Asians high	.50	.49
Asians middle	.07	.11
Asians low	.20	.17
All groups equal	.23	.23
Civic Ostracism (Insider/Foreigner)		
<i>Feeling Thermometer</i>		
Asians high	.07	.09
Asians middle	.08	.06
Asians low	.34	.34
All groups equal	.51	.51
<i>Neighborhood</i>		
Asians high	.05	.11
Asians middle	.03	.07
Asians low	.30	.31
All groups equal	.62	.51

(Continued)

Table 4. continued

	Black	White
<i>Marriage</i>		
Asians high	.04	.06
Asians middle	.04	.13
Asians low	.30	.35
All groups equal	.62	.45
<i>Patriotism</i>		
Asians high	.11	.10
Asians middle	.03	.08
Asians low	.43	.50
All groups equal	.43	.33

those that do discriminate between racial groups, blacks tend to have less favorable views towards Asian Americans than do whites, particularly for our indicators of racial valorization.

Findings for Other Predictors of Relative Ratings of Asian Americans

We next turn our attention to other predictors of relative ratings of Asian Americans (see Appendix [table A3](#)). For almost all indicators of racial valorization and civic acceptance and for the three sets of odds (i.e., placing Asian high, middle and equal vs. low) of the dependent variables, education is consistently associated with favorable views of Asian Americans. However, many of the other independent variables show different patterns as we examine across analyses predicting the nine relative ratings of Asians. For example, when it comes to rating Asians high as opposed to low, other than race, only age, gender, education and percent of Hispanics in the PSU have more than one statistically significant coefficient (out of nine) in the same direction. Older individuals are less likely to rate Asians high versus low on intelligence and nonviolence (but they are more likely to rate them high vs. low on patriotism). Males are more likely than females to rate Asians high as opposed to low on work ethic, the feeling thermometer and marriage. Individuals who reside in areas with a greater percentage of Hispanics (but interestingly not Asians) are more likely to rate Asians high versus low on wealth, feeling thermometer and marriage.¹⁵

Besides race, there are no discernible patterns for rating Asian Americans in the middle as opposed to rating them low. When it comes to the odds of having racially egalitarian views versus rating Asians low, age, education, being an Independent or some other party affiliation and percent black in the PSU are the only (somewhat) consistent predictors. Older respondents are less likely to feel that all groups are equal as opposed to ranking Asians low on intelligence, nonviolence, work ethic and marriage. It is interesting to note that education is positively related to egalitarian views about intelligence, nonviolence, work ethic, the feeling thermometer, living in the same community and marriage.

Compared with Republicans, Independents are more likely to rate blacks, whites and Asians as being equal to each other as opposed to rating Asians low for work ethic, living in the same community and marriage, and those with a political party affiliation other than Democrat, Republican or Independent are more likely to rate all groups as equal as opposed to rating Asians low on intelligence, feeling thermometer and marriage. Respondents who live in areas with a greater percentage of blacks are *less* likely to have egalitarian views as opposed to rating Asians low for the feeling thermometer and patriotism.

A pooled analysis of data spanning almost 20 years may not adequately take into account the shifting nature of racial stratification. To assess whether attitudes about the relative position of Asian Americans have changed over time, we divided the GSS data into two waves—between 1990 and 1994, and 2000 and after—and conducted the same set of multinomial logit models for each wave. We then constructed predicted probabilities of relative ratings of Asians by blacks and whites. For these analyses, we include only those variables ascertained both before 2000 and after.

As mentioned earlier, the only indicator of civic ostracism that was asked about Asians, blacks *and* whites before 2000 was patriotism, and this was asked only in 1990. Unfortunately, this leaves us with no civic ostracism variables that were measured in the same way in both periods.¹⁶ The results from these analyses are presented in Table 5. We find that, in general, as time progresses people have become more likely to rate Asians high or equal to blacks and whites in the realm of racial valorization. Based on the predicted probabilities, there is a significant increase among average blacks and whites in rating all groups equal, an obvious decrease in the probability of rating Asians low, and to a lesser degree an increase in rating Asians high (both blacks and whites for intelligence and wealth, and whites for nonviolence).

Supplementary Analysis of Hispanics

We also conducted parallel analyses for Hispanics to compare the experiences of Asians with another large immigrant group. As in our analysis of attitudes about Asians, we conducted multinomial logistic regressions of attitudes about the relative positions of Hispanics compared with blacks and whites, with rating Hispanics low as the reference category. To directly collate substantive findings from our analyses of Asians with those of Hispanics, we focus on postestimation results from multivariate regressions (full results available upon request).

Table 6 presents predicted probabilities of the relative ratings of Hispanics by blacks and whites, derived from estimates of our multinomial logistic regressions. These predictions reveal interesting similarities and important differences between the attitudes about the relative position of Hispanics and that of Asian Americans. We again find that respondents are most likely to rate all groups equally among all indicators of civic acceptance, with the exception of patriotism, for which the modal response is to rate Hispanics low.¹⁷ Also similar to our findings about Asians, we note that the category with the second highest percentage across all of these indicators is “Hispanics low.” Thus, we find evidence that the foreigner image that is pervasive among Asians also applies to Hispanics.

Table 5. Predicted Probabilities for Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans in the 1990s and 2000s

	1990/1994		2000	
	Black	White	Black	White
Racial Valorization (Superior/Inferior)				
<i>Intelligence</i>				
Asians high	.24	.31	.31	.35
Asians middle	.03	.12	.01	.04
Asians low	.26	.25	.20	.13
All groups equal	.47	.32	.49	.48
<i>Nonviolence</i>				
Asians high	.34	.41	.29	.44
Asians middle	.09	.18	.08	.07
Asians low	.26	.19	.16	.13
All groups equal	.32	.22	.47	.36
<i>Wealth</i>				
Asians high	.32	.41	.34	.45
Asians middle	.25	.20	.31	.22
Asians low	.37	.32	.28	.23
All groups equal	.06	.08	.07	.11
<i>Work Ethic</i>				
Asians high	.51	.49	.50	.49
Asians middle	.06	.13	.06	.07
Asians low	.20	.19	.18	.12
All groups equal	.22	.19	.26	.32
Civic Ostracism (Insider/Foreigner)				
<i>Neighborhood</i>				
Asians high	.12	.15	.06	.11
Asians middle	.04	.06	.03	.07
Asians low	.35	.30	.30	.31
All groups equal	.49	.49	.61	.51
<i>Marriage</i>				
Asians high	.03	.23	.05	.06
Asians middle	.05	.12	.04	.13
Asians low	.36	.32	.30	.36
All groups equal	.55	.33	.61	.45

Table 6. Predicted Probabilities for Racial Triangulation of Hispanics

	Black	White
Racial Valorization (Superior/Inferior)		
<i>Family Commitment</i>		
Hispanics high	.37	.44
Hispanics middle	.06	.10
Hispanics low	.26	.16
All groups equal	.31	.31
<i>Intelligence</i>		
Hispanics high	.10	.08
Hispanics middle	.03	.08
Hispanics low	.28	.36
All groups equal	.59	.48
<i>Nonviolence</i>		
Hispanics high	.26	.22
Hispanics middle	.09	.14
Hispanics low	.24	.32
All groups equal	.41	.32
<i>Wealth</i>		
Hispanics high	.12	.11
Hispanics middle	.21	.19
Hispanics low	.61	.61
All groups equal	.06	.09
<i>Work Ethic</i>		
Hispanics high	.27	.25
Hispanics middle	.11	.15
Hispanics low	.29	.30
All groups equal	.33	.30
Civic Ostracism (Insider/Foreigner)		
<i>Feeling Thermometer</i>		
Hispanics high	.08	.11
Hispanics middle	.06	.06
Hispanics low	.34	.32
All groups equal	.52	.51
<i>Neighborhood</i>		
Hispanics high	.07	.07
Hispanics middle	.04	.05

(Continued)

Table 6. continued

	Black	White
Hispanics low	.27	.36
All groups equal	.62	.52
<i>Marriage</i>		
Hispanics high	.05	.07
Hispanics middle	.04	.14
Hispanics low	.29	.34
All groups equal	.62	.45
<i>Patriotism</i>		
Hispanics high	.08	.05
Hispanics middle	.03	.06
Hispanics low	.45	.56
All groups equal	.45	.33

However, differences exist between the relative position of Asian Americans and that of Hispanics vis-à-vis blacks and whites along the “superior/inferior” axis. Recall that in our analyses of Asians, for all but one indicator, the category with the highest predicted probability was “Asians high.” In our analysis of Hispanics, however, for three of the five indicators of racial valorization (intelligence, non-violence and work ethic), respondents tended to view all three groups as being equal. For these measures, the category with the second highest predicted probability was “Hispanics low.” Furthermore, the modal category for wealth was also Hispanics low. The only measure in which Hispanics were rated high is family commitment. Furthermore, when comparing the attitudes about the relative position of Hispanics between whites and blacks, we find fewer significant black-white differences than we did in our analyses of attitudes about Asian Americans.

Overall, these results suggest that while Hispanics may also suffer from the foreigner image, they do not appear to experience the simultaneous civic ostracism and racial valorization process that Asian Americans experience. Instead, the position of Hispanics on our relational measures of valorization is relatively low, with the exception of family commitment. The fewer black-white differences in the relative position of Hispanics might be attributable to the fact that the model minority myth has often been used to pit Asians against other minority groups, including Hispanics more recently.

Discussion

Scholarship on race relations in the United States has typically focused on blacks and whites, and to a lesser degree, Hispanics. Surprisingly, little attention has been devoted to Asian Americans, even though they are among the fastest growing racial/ethnic groups in the United States. When Hispanics or Asian Americans are the focus of research on race relations, studies have usually been informed

by two dominant paradigms—one that sees Asians and Hispanics as falling between blacks and whites along one dimension, and another that emphasizes distinct racialized experiences of each group. However, we suggest that C. Kim's (1999) multidimensional racial triangulation theory is a more useful approach to studying American's attitudes about the relative positions of Asians.

We examine two important facets of racial stratification: racial valorization and civic ostracism. Our findings in general substantiate the multidimensional framework of "the marginalized model minority" suggested by the racial triangulation perspective. In essence, this view combines ideas from the racial hierarchy approach with the racial formation perspective. One can view race relations as comprising a group's relative position on multiple dimensions, resulting in a unique place in the field of race relations. On average, Asians receive relatively high ratings with regard to family commitment, work ethic, intelligence and socioeconomic status. At the same time, we find that Asians are considered to be the least patriotic, and rated low in terms of desirability to live in the same community and marriageability.

The specific predictions of the racial triangulation approach (i.e., Asian Americans fall somewhere between whites and blacks in the racial valorization process and below blacks in the civic ostracism process) are not fully supported by our findings. For all of our indicators of racial valorization, Asians are least likely to fall in the middle; instead they are rated as high as, if not higher than, whites. Furthermore, Asians are often perceived to be in a position similar to, but not necessarily lower than, blacks when it comes to civic ostracism. However, our findings are consistent with C. Kim's general idea of multidimensionality, as there is a clear shift from a high to a low placement of Asian Americans when we move from racial valorization to civic ostracism.

Furthermore, we have provided evidence of black-white differences in perceptions of Asian Americans. Our findings indicate that blacks and whites differ in their respective likelihood of providing racially discriminatory views, with whites being more likely than blacks to valorize Asians on certain traits like family commitment, nonviolence and wealth. This difference may be a result of the model minority image of Asians, which is often used to discount structural and cumulative disadvantages that the African American community faces by pitting Asians and other minorities against each other (Osajima 1988; Tang 2011). This combined with perceived economic competition may lead blacks to assume less favorable views about Asians. Results from this study also suggest that the two-dimensional racial triangulation view of Asians Americans does not similarly describe the racialized experiences of Hispanics, who are also ostracized like Asians but rated differently on various group traits.

Some of the general patterns found in this study might differ with more nuanced data. First, although our measure of attitudes about patriotism indicates a shared sense of peoplehood, this information is only available in 1990. Thus, our measures of civic ostracism primarily focus on social distance, which is not equivalent to perceptions of foreignness. Second, some indicators of racial attitudes were only measured in 1 or 2 years of the GSS. With more data consistently collected over multiple time points in different realms using robust measures, we

could assess whether the racial triangulation of Asian Americans would attenuate, persist or intensify. Third, we examined only two dimensions of racialization: racial valorization and civic ostracism. C. Kim (1999) does not rule out the existence of more than two axes of racial domination; neither do we. Future research should examine whether there are other facets of racial subordination. Last, we examined only the attitudes of blacks and whites because of insufficient data on other racial groups. It would be useful to look at self-perceptions among Asian Americans, as studies within social psychology have suggested that objects of stereotypes often hold the same stereotypes of themselves (Correll et al. 2002).

Despite these limitations, our research advances current scholarship on race relations by using a multidimensional approach to examine racial differences in attitudes toward Asian Americans. Although current research on racial inequality tends to focus on a single dimension of privilege, our analyses of attitudes about Asians in particular uncovers multiple aspects of racial subordination. Thus a multidimensional view of racial stratification is a more fruitful approach than the traditional top-down hierarchy or color line perspectives. For instance, scholars often assume that a key to eliminating racial inequalities is to improve the socioeconomic attainments of minority groups. Our results, however, suggest that prejudice, stereotypes and racism could well be multifaceted, and that the attainment of a high socioeconomic level might not be the end of a struggle for racial inequality, but rather a new beginning.

Notes

1. We also use the term *Asians* to refer to Asian Americans throughout this article.
2. Research on Asian *immigrants* has attempted to capture these dual images of Asian Americans, particularly the work by Gibson (1988) on “accommodation without assimilation,” Bonacich (1973) and Min’s (1996) work on Asians as “middleman minorities” and Portes and Rumbaut’s (2001) work on the selective acculturation of children of immigrants.
3. Prior to 2000, the GSS race question only included “black,” “white” and “other,” so we are not able to examine the attitudes of Asians and Hispanics. For survey years since 2000, additional race information is available, but the data have small sample sizes for Asians and Hispanics, not allowing enough statistical power to make inferences.
4. To examine the potential effect of missing data on our substantive conclusions, we conducted sensitivity analyses, including performing the same analyses by combining “Don’t Know” with all equal, high, middle and low respectively, and conducting a two-step Heckman correction analysis. Findings from each set of analyses generated similar substantive conclusions.
5. We were unable to use county-level data because the respondents’ county was identified only from 1994 on.
6. Arguably, evaluations of Asian Americans’ wealth may not be based on attitudes or perceptions, but rather on more objective information (e.g., median household income). However, recent research has indicated that Asian Americans have less wealth than whites, and this finding is inconsistent with popular perceptions (Ong and Patraporn 2006). Still, our results on perceptions of wealth should be read with caution.
7. These social distance measures follow the traditional wisdoms of the Chicago School of sociology and of assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 2003), and they align well

with perceptions of several dimensions of assimilation proposed by Gordon (1964), including structural (i.e., socialization with in-group members in their sociopolitical circles in the host society), marital (i.e., intermarriage), identificational (i.e., the share of a “collective identity” dominant in the host society) and attitude receptional (i.e., neutral or even favorable views without bias).

8. For most of the dependent variables, within this category Asians are rated higher than either blacks or whites.
9. Within this category, for all the insider/outsider variables except patriotism, Asians are more likely to share the low position with another group (most often blacks) than to be rated lower than both groups.
10. We recognize that our categorization system is one of a few possible ways to measure the relative position of Asians. We conducted additional analyses (not shown) in which we coded “ranking Asians second and tied with another group” as “Asians middle” instead of “Asians low.” These results produce a similar substantive finding that Asians were rated high for racial valorization but middle to low on civic acceptance/ostracism. We also found similar racial differences.
11. For family income, we used the “impute” command in Stata 11 to replace missing values with predictions from a regression on age, gender, race, education, employment status, year and population size of respondents’ city of residence.
12. Research has examined the influence of exposure to groups on racial attitudes (Jackman and Crane 1986; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Powers and Ellison 1995; Dixon 2006). Unfortunately, questions about knowing Asians were asked only in 2000, and thus this variable was not included in the analyses. Additional analyses including this measure using only the 2000 data (not shown) indicate that knowing Asians is associated with more favorable views about the relative position of Asians and partially explains some of the black-white differences. However, significant differences between blacks and whites remain.
13. We also used multilevel modeling techniques to analyze the contextual effects on the relative position of Asians. Results are in agreement with those presented in this article.
14. Results from descriptive and multivariate analyses of patriotism are slightly different than those for other dependent variables. It could be that this measure reflects different views about assimilability, or it may be because of the fact that data for this variable were only collected in 1990, instead reflecting a cohort/period issue.
15. Although this could be a result of multicollinearity among some of the independent variables, none of the variables has a variance inflation factor (VIF) greater than 10, a threshold above which statistical practitioners can infer that results are relatively robust without major concerns about multicollinearity.
16. In 1990, respondents in the North were asked about marriage and living in the same neighborhood with whites in the South, and respondents in the South were asked the same about whites in the North. Because of the differences in question wording, we included these 1990 measures in supplementary analyses to explore whether there are any differences in the civic ostracism of Asian Americans over time. Predicted probabilities show that although both blacks and whites have become racially more egalitarian, the proportion of whites that rate Asians low has stayed the same (for living in the same community) or has increased (for marriageability) from 1990 to post-2000 (see Table 5). However, we cannot be sure that these results reflect a factual trend that the civic ostracism of Asians has changed, or if the difference is an artifact of wording changes in the GSS questionnaire.
17. Again, it should be noted that this difference could be attributed to the fact that attitudes about patriotism were only assessed in 1990.

Appendix

Table A1. Descriptions of Raw Dependent Variables

Raw Dependent Variables	Question Wording
Racial Valorization (Superior/Inferior)	
<i>Family Commitment</i> (2000)	<p>Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of people in a group can be rated.</p> <p>In the next statement, a score of 1 means that you think almost everyone in the group "lacks a commitment to strong families." A score of 7 means that you think almost all of the people in the group have a "commitment to strong families." A score of 4 means that you think that the group is not towards one end or the other, and of course you may choose any number in between that comes closest to where you think people in the group stand.</p> <p>1 (no commitment) →4 (neutral) →7 (strong commitment)</p> <p>So what about <i>group name</i> in general on this scale?</p>
<i>Intelligence</i> (1990, 2000)	<p>Do people in these groups tend to be intelligent or unintelligent?</p> <p>1 (unintelligent) →4 (neutral) →7 (intelligent)</p> <p>So what about <i>group name</i> in general on this scale?</p>
<i>Nonviolence</i> (1990, 2000)	<p>The next set asks if people in each group tend not to be prone to violence.</p> <p>1 (violence prone) →4 (neutral) →7 (not violence prone)</p> <p>So what about <i>group name</i> in general on this scale?</p>
<i>Wealth</i> (1990, 1994, 2000)	<p>In the next statement, a score of 1 means that you think almost everyone in the group is "poor." A score of 7 means that you think almost all of the people in the group are "rich." A score of 4 means that you think that the group is not towards one end or the other, and of course you may choose any number in between that comes closest to where you think people in the group stand.</p> <p>1 (poor) →4 (neutral) →7 (rich)</p> <p>Where would you rate <i>group name</i> on this scale?</p>
<i>Work Ethic</i> (1990, 1994, 2000)	<p>Do people in <i>group name</i> tend to be hard-working or lazy?</p> <p>1 (lazy) →4 (neutral) →7 (hard-working)</p>
Civic Ostracism (Insider/Foreigner)	
<i>Feeling Thermometer</i> (2002)	<p>In general, how warm or cold do you feel toward <i>group name</i>?</p> <p>1 (very cold) →9 (very warm)</p>

(Continued)

Table A1. continued

Raw Dependent Variables	Question Wording
<i>Neighborhood</i> (2000)	Now I'm going to ask you about different types of contact with various groups of people. In each situation would you please tell me whether you would be very much in favor of it happening, somewhat in favor, neither in favor nor opposed to it happening, somewhat opposed, or very much opposed to it happening? Living in a neighborhood where half of your neighbors were <i>group name</i> ? 1 (strongly oppose) →3 (neither favor nor oppose) →5 (strongly favor)
<i>Marriage</i> (2000, 2004, 2006)	How about having a close relative or family member marry a <i>group name</i> ? 1 (strongly oppose) →3 (neither favor nor oppose) →5 (strongly favor)
<i>Patriotism</i> (1990)	Do people in <i>group name</i> tend to be patriotic or unpatriotic? 1 (unpatriotic) →4 (neutral) →7 (patriotic)

Notes: Variables are recoded such that higher scores correspond to more positive ratings. Numbers in parenthesis correspond to survey year/s that the data for racial triangulation are available. All question wording is extracted from the GSS cumulative codebook with minor revisions (Davis and Smith 2009).

Table A2. Classification Schema of Dependent Variables

Relative Position	Relative Rating
All equal	Asians = whites = blacks
Asian high	Asians > whites > blacks
	Asians > blacks > whites
	Asians > whites = blacks
	Asians = whites > blacks
	Asians = blacks > whites
Asian middle	whites > Asians > blacks
	blacks > Asians > whites
Asian low	whites > blacks > Asians
	blacks > whites > Asians
	whites = blacks > Asians
	whites > blacks = Asians
	blacks > whites = Asians

Note: We also used the same classification schema for our analyses of the racial triangulation of Hispanics by simply replacing Asians with Hispanics.

Table A3. Multinomial Logit Regressions of Racial Valorization and Civic Acceptance with Selected Independent Variables

	Racial Valorization				Civic Ostracism				
	Family	Intelligence	Nonviolence	Wealth	Work Ethic	Feeling Therm.	Neighborhood	Marriage	Patriotism
<i>Asians High Versus Asians Low</i>									
Black	-.91** (.29)	-.35 (.19)	-.59** (.19)	-.43** (.14)	-.14 (.17)	-.34 (.29)	-.64 (.36)	-.16 (.24)	.27 (.34)
Age/10	-.02 (.07)	-.08* (.04)	-.18*** (.04)	-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.04)	-.01 (.05)	.06 (.06)	-.03 (.05)	.19** (.07)
Male	.06 (.22)	-.13 (.14)	-.10 (.13)	-.07 (.09)	.29** (.10)	.34* (.15)	-.03 (.19)	.39** (.13)	.04 (.22)
Northeast	-.82* (.40)	-.07 (.22)	-.17 (.25)	-.23 (.17)	-.22 (.21)	.04 (.22)	-.03 (.38)	.04 (.30)	-.17 (.40)
Midwest	-.75 (.42)	-.07 (.27)	.11 (.26)	-.22 (.18)	-.037 (.22)	-.04 (.23)	.25 (.41)	.14 (.29)	.36 (.42)
South	-.49 (.43)	-.14 (.28)	-.12 (.27)	-.43* (.18)	-.20 (.23)	-.17 (.24)	-.16 (.45)	-.13 (.29)	.10 (.45)
Education	.09* (.04)	.14*** (.03)	.10*** (.02)	.05** (.02)	.16*** (.02)	.07* (.04)	.05 (.05)	.03 (.03)	.06 (.04)
Imputed income	-.02 (.12)	.05 (.08)	-.09 (.08)	.01 (.06)	.09 (.06)	-.15* (.07)	.11 (.13)	-.09 (.08)	-.09 (.14)
Part-time employed	-.38 (.33)	.04 (.21)	-.24 (.23)	-.13 (.14)	-.00 (.18)	.30 (.23)	-.01 (.31)	-.51 (.34)	-.38 (.29)

(Continued)

Table A3. continued

	Racial Valorization					Civic Ostracism			
	Family	Intelligence	Nonviolence	Wealth	Work Ethic	Feeling Therm.	Neighbor-hood	Marriage	Patriotism
Unemployed	-.37 (.65)	-.21 (.43)	-.71* (.36)	-.18 (.31)	-.03 (.32)	.24 (.38)	.28 (.57)	-.59 (.52)	-1.44 (1.11)
Other type employment	-.44 (.27)	.04 (.16)	-.13 (.16)	-.12 (.12)	-.20 (.13)	.14 (.21)	-.17 (.24)	.17 (.19)	-1.11*** (.27)
Democrat	.07 (.29)	-.17 (.16)	.17 (.15)	-.09 (.11)	-.07 (.13)	-.06 (.20)	-.26 (.25)	-.03 (.19)	.33 (.23)
Independent	-.07 (.26)	-.09 (.18)	.14 (.15)	-.17 (.10)	.08 (.12)	-.04 (.17)	-.48* (.23)	.02 (.18)	.65* (.28)
Other political affiliation	.85 (.88)	.06 (.78)	-.48 (.75)	.86 (.47)	-.11 (.37)	1.49** (.54)	-.79 (.94)	.36 (.62)	-11.89*** (.73)
PSU Asian percent college degree	.57 (.83)	.55 (.54)	1.07* (.44)	.63 (.35)	-.08 (.43)	.97 (.50)	.74 (.93)	-1.68* (.66)	.12 (.71)
PSU Ln median household income	.25 (.90)	-.05 (.39)	-.30 (.26)	.35* (.16)	.14 (.24)	.05 (.52)	.89 (1.18)	.65 (.66)	.07 (.29)
Ln(Total Population)	.08 (.10)	-.02 (.06)	.06 (.05)	-.02 (.04)	.08 (.05)	.09 (.06)	-.10 (.13)	.05 (.06)	.02 (.08)
PSU NH-Asian percent	-.27 (6.92)	8.38* (3.82)	.33 (3.00)	2.66 (1.95)	.30 (2.51)	-.29 (2.25)	.78 (3.97)	-.19 (2.42)	-.40 (5.19)
PSU NH-black percent	-.65 (1.27)	1.77 (.96)	.61 (.66)	1.98*** (.56)	.71 (.73)	-1.07 (1.02)	.15 (1.57)	.17 (1.03)	-.52 (1.64)

PSU Hispanic percent	-.53 (1.37)	.16 (.60)	-.17 (.76)	1.06* (.48)	-.02 (.54)	2.03** (.66)	1.76 (1.31)	1.24* (.58)	1.02 (1.38)
<i>Asians Middle Versus Asians Low</i>									
Black	-.98** (.31)	-1.59*** (.40)	-.67* (.30)	.14 (.16)	-.67** (.23)	.28 (.24)	-.68 (.51)	-1.15*** (.25)	-.84 (.49)
Age/10	.00 (.09)	.11 (.06)	.02 (.05)	-.01 (.03)	.04 (.04)	.09 (.05)	.08 (.08)	.17*** (.04)	.07 (.09)
Male	-.15 (.24)	.05 (.17)	-.08 (.17)	.18 (.11)	.08 (.13)	.78*** (.15)	-.14 (.32)	.20 (.13)	-.04 (.25)
Northeast	-.77 (.61)	-.16 (.29)	.10 (.31)	-.03 (.20)	.45 (.26)	.43 (.24)	-.16 (.48)	.08 (.21)	.42 (.45)
North Central	-.72 (.57)	-.04 (.33)	.54 (.28)	-.03 (.20)	.20 (.26)	.44 (.28)	.23 (.50)	.19 (.20)	.31 (.48)
South	-.65 (.48)	.02 (.34)	.28 (.32)	-.021 (.22)	.47 (.27)	.40 (.26)	.72 (.47)	.30 (.22)	.55 (.45)
Education	-.10 (.05)	.01 (.03)	.00 (.02)	.08*** (.02)	-.02 (.02)	.00 (.03)	.02 (.05)	.01 (.02)	-.04 (.04)
Imputed income	.01 (.14)	.04 (.10)	-.08 (.09)	-.00 (.06)	.01 (.07)	-.11 (.09)	.27 (.14)	.00 (.07)	.00 (.17)
Part-time employed	-.05 (.48)	-.02 (.30)	-.21 (.25)	.11 (.14)	-.06 (.23)	-.11 (.37)	.69 (.39)	-.34 (.20)	-.71 (.46)

(Continued)

Table A3. continued

	Racial Valorization					Civic Ostracism			
	Family	Intelligence	Nonviolence	Wealth	Work Ethic	Feeling Therm.	Neighbor-hood	Marriage	Patriotism
Unemployed	-1.95 (1.24)	1.06* (.46)	.56 (.42)	.50 (.29)	.37 (.36)	.46 (.42)	-.14 (1.05)	-.16 (.30)	.88 (.63)
Other type employment	-.58 (.35)	.08 (.23)	-.18 (.21)	-.16 (.13)	-.15 (.16)	.08 (.24)	.45 (.32)	-.10 (.15)	-.08 (.33)
Democrat	.20 (.44)	.11 (.22)	.05 (.21)	-.07 (.13)	.20 (.17)	-.16 (.22)	-.00 (.32)	.10 (.15)	-.03 (.32)
Independent	-.31 (.34)	.04 (.22)	.02 (.19)	-.28* (.12)	.03 (.16)	-.41* (.19)	.13 (.29)	-.06 (.14)	-.09 (.32)
Other political affiliation	.41 (1.37)	.15 (1.32)	-.46 (.94)	.70 (.51)	-.74 (.82)	.39 (.79)	.83 (.90)	.08 (.60)	.99 (1.23)
PSU Asian percent college degree	1.03 (1.54)	.76 (.67)	.13 (.63)	.80 (.42)	.13 (.51)	-.84 (.61)	-.10 (1.01)	-.16 (.44)	.42 (.59)
PSU Ln median household income	-1.95 (1.17)	.14 (.17)	.33* (.16)	.27 (.26)	-.30 (.39)	-.53 (.62)	.82 (1.08)	-.05 (.39)	.17 (.23)
Ln(total population)	.22 (.16)	-.01 (.08)	-.05 (.07)	-.00 (.05)	.02 (.06)	.07 (.07)	.11 (.11)	-.03 (.05)	-.00 (.08)
PSU NH-Asian percent	-13.53 (9.30)	-2.34 (6.10)	1.36 (4.35)	-1.19 (2.72)	-4.08 (3.87)	5.50* (2.75)	.01 (4.50)	-2.99 (2.80)	2.24 (5.71)
PSU NH-black percent	-.83 (1.32)	.81 (1.43)	1.70 (1.01)	1.12 (.76)	.14 (.84)	.19 (.78)	-2.71* (1.08)	-.26 (.87)	.93 (1.48)

PSU Hispanic percent	1.24 (1.44)	-.33 (.81)	1.37 (.89)	1.08 (.56)	.44 (.65)	.36 (1.05)	-.12 (1.07)	1.31** (.41)	-.38 (1.10)
<i>All Groups Equal Versus Asians Low</i>									
Black	-.53 (.37)	-.01 (.20)	.02 (.21)	-.50* (.25)	-.17 (.20)	-.01 (.17)	.22 (.19)	.46** (.14)	.44 (.25)
Age/10	-.05 (.07)	-.18*** (.04)	-.13** (.04)	-.08 (.04)	-.16*** (.04)	-.00 (.03)	-.03 (.04)	-.24*** (.03)	.01 (.05)
Male	-.41 (.23)	-.08 (.13)	-.35* (.15)	-.07 (.13)	.17 (.11)	.14 (.10)	.16 (.15)	.08 (.08)	-.06 (.17)
Northeast	-.96* (.46)	-.22 (.22)	-.43 (.22)	-.13 (.26)	-.11 (.26)	.32 (.21)	.08 (.30)	-.19 (.19)	.21 (.31)
North Central	-1.22** (.46)	-.16 (.24)	-.27 (.23)	-.06 (.26)	-.18 (.26)	.23 (.20)	-.03 (.31)	-.18 (.17)	.03 (.29)
South	-.88 (.47)	.06 (.27)	-.26 (.26)	.07 (.29)	.03 (.29)	.08 (.18)	.18 (.33)	-.44* (.20)	.40 (.36)
Education	.06 (.04)	.20*** (.03)	.14*** (.03)	.03 (.03)	.15*** (.02)	.05** (.02)	.09** (.03)	.08*** (.02)	.04 (.03)
Imputed income	-.17 (.11)	-.02 (.07)	-.08 (.09)	-.29*** (.08)	.00 (.07)	.02 (.05)	-.04 (.09)	-.02 (.04)	.07 (.09)
Part-time employed	-.16 (.34)	.16 (.20)	.09 (.22)	.13 (.18)	.25 (.17)	.19 (.15)	.02 (.21)	-.06 (.14)	-.20 (.24)
Unemployed	-.35 (.76)	-.04 (.38)	-.60 (.44)	.29 (.40)	.14 (.35)	-.04 (.26)	.30 (.42)	-.18 (.22)	-.05 (.50)

(Continued)

Table A3. continued

	Racial Valorization					Civic Ostracism			
	Family	Intelligence	Nonviolence	Wealth	Work Ethic	Feeling Therm.	Neighbor-hood	Marriage	Patriotism
Other type employment	-.51* (.25)	-.03 (.16)	-.25 (.17)	-.09 (.19)	-.00 (.15)	-1.1 (.13)	-.03 (.19)	.03 (.10)	-.23 (.18)
Democrat	0.06 (.31)	.01 (.17)	.30 (.18)	-.01 (.18)	.16 (.15)	-.12 (.11)	.11 (.20)	.45*** (.10)	-.07 (.16)
Independent	-.09 (.26)	.25 (.17)	.17 (.16)	.05 (.16)	.29* (.14)	.09 (.12)	.35* (.16)	.50*** (.10)	-.06 (.18)
Other political affiliation	.88 (1.09)	1.53* (.68)	.80 (.58)	.34 (.75)	.10 (.46)	1.25* (.49)	.82 (.52)	.86* (.40)	.64 (.82)
PSU Asian percent college degree	.23 (.70)	.11 (.45)	.34 (.45)	-.43 (.47)	-.38 (.44)	.05 (.35)	.56 (.61)	-.42 (.42)	-.41 (.53)
PSU Ln median household income	.33 (.77)	.10 (.22)	.08 (.19)	.34 (.25)	.35 (.30)	.03 (.39)	.55 (.61)	.44 (.34)	-.08 (.29)
Ln(total population)	.21* (.09)	.03 (.05)	.02 (.04)	-.06 (.05)	.05 (.05)	-.04 (.04)	-.00 (.08)	.00 (.04)	.06 (.06)
PSU NH-Asian percent	-10.95 (6.90)	3.34 (3.58)	-2.02 (2.88)	2.22 (3.65)	-3.62 (3.29)	4.63* (1.98)	-3.22 (3.13)	-.95 (1.98)	2.92 (4.03)
PSU NH-black percent	-1.09 (.85)	-1.15 (.88)	-1.31 (.77)	.17 (.88)	-1.13 (.82)	-1.68*** (.47)	-1.22 (.82)	-.55 (.73)	-2.83* (1.43)
PSU Hispanic percent	-2.93 (1.60)	-.58 (.53)	-.02 (.69)	.42 (.64)	-.06 (.62)	.59 (.46)	-.48 (.84)	1.02** (.37)	-.62 (.70)
Observations	1122	2276	2251	3560	3531	2490	1173	3609	1102

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

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