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The selling of Asian Americans : teen perceptions of Asian Americans in the media

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**THE SELLING OF ASIAN AMERICANS:
TEEN PERCEPTIONS OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN THE MEDIA**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Maki Nagao

December 2002

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ABSTRACT

THE SELLING OF ASIAN AMERICANS: TEEN PERCEPTIONS OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN THE MEDIA

by Maki Nagao

This study explores how teenage Asian Americans perceive mainstream print advertisements that have stereotypical portrayals of Asian models or that lack Asian models. One hundred and twenty-six teenagers of various ethnicities from two San Jose high schools answered a questionnaire while being shown slides of mainstream print advertisements featuring Asians and non-Asians. The researcher then quantitatively analyzed the results.

Although the results revealed that the subjects had no statistically significant different perception of about either stereotypical or non-stereotypical portrayals of Asian models, several aspects of the results appear to support the literature on cultivation theory, expectancy, and stereotyping. The findings support the hypothesis that teenage Asians would prefer advertisements that presented Asian models. This result is attributed to "in group" versus "out group" bias. To improve understanding of media effects, further studies should use more media types, a larger sample size, and multiple locations.

DEDICATION

**This thesis is dedicated to my father, Ichiro Nagao; my mother, Fumiko Nagao;
and my husband, Nathan Joseph Janken.**

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Chapter I

Introduction

For most of American history, people have referred to the United States as the world's "melting pot." The emphasis has been on the "melt," not what was in the pot (Bowen & Schmid, 1997). According to this perspective, acculturation and assimilation are the keys to nation building, and an "integrated" society where a diverse grouping of people work together and live in harmony is an institutional imperative. How can one examine a society on whether it is integrated or harmonized culturally? Bowen and Schmid (1997) state that mass media, in general, and advertising, in particular, are important windows on the melting pot, where progress, or lack thereof, are readily apparent. Moreover, Wilkes and Valencia (1989) say that advertising is one of the most visible institutions in American culture. Therefore, an examination of how minority groups are portrayed in advertising can provide a picture of how the minority group is viewed by society at large

The large numbers of studies since 1960s focusing on minority portrayals in advertising reflects the importance of minority groups (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). Lai, Tan, and Tharp (1990) discuss how the object of the studies has changed over time in accordance with the change in social and cultural values from the times when they were written.

The majority of studies in the 1970s examined minority portrayal in mainstream advertisements as a reflection of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The studies in the 1980s found that advertisers launched various campaigns to diminish racial

segregation, which was considered a social taboo. Current studies show that advertisers are extending their efforts to promote racial harmony and to ensure more equality in resource allocation among various ethnic groups. However, a number of researchers point out that many efforts have been made not for these reasons, but for a simple marketing purpose, to maximize profits under capitalism (Lai, Tan, & Tharp, 1990).

The studies, both practical and academic, create awareness of the meaning of the melting pot. One of the basic analyses of minorities and advertising compares the representational percentage of minorities in advertising with the representational percentage in the U.S. population. Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) discuss the point that the analyses are not simply a measurement issue but carry implications for the societal valuation of minorities. They assert that when a segment of the population is found to be underrepresented in advertising, the covert message from the portrayals may be that the societal majority is indifferent or hostile to the minority groups in question. They also indicate that another conventional way of examining minority and advertising has focused on the nature of portrayals of the group in advertising.

Advertising has managed to chalk up modest gains in the inclusion of African Americans in mainstream print media. Stevenson and Stevenson (1988) found that African Americans' visibility in advertisements, or the percentage of advertisements in which minority models appeared was at a scant .05% in 1953. It reached a high of 8.6% in a study of four mainstream magazines conducted in 1985. Zinkhan, Qualls and Biswas' (1990) study of five mainstream magazines in 1986 reported not only an inclusion rate of 4.4%, but also argued that they found an upward trend in portrayals of

African Americans in magazines. Bowen and Schmid (1997) conducted an analysis comparing inclusion, portrayals, and integration of minorities in mainstream magazines in 1987 and 1992. They found that the figures for the use of African Americans in advertising increased from 6.8% to 10.6%, a finding which is significantly higher than the percentages reported in the study conducted by Zinkhan et al. mentioned above. Regardless, the empirical studies find a range of increase from 1985 to 1992 of 4.4% to 10.6%.

The frequency analysis also occupied early studies of Hispanic Americans, for whom infrequent media appearances tended to be the norm (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). For example, only three (1.5%) magazine advertisements out of a 1982 sample of 206 contained Hispanic models (Czepiec & Kelly, 1983). Unlike African Americans, the representation of Hispanic Americans seems not to have increased in mainstream advertising, according to Bowen and Schmid (1997). Their study shows that the use of Hispanic models was 1.5% in 1987 and fell to 0.6% in 1992.

As for analyzing Asian Americans in advertising, Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) cite the lack of studies, pointing out that there is virtually no data, nor any major published study that has examined the frequency or nature of portrayals of this group. Only two academic works are found, one directed by Bowen and Schmid (1997), and the other conducted by Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995).

The study directed by Bowen and Schmid (1997) analyzed the frequencies of the portrayals of Asian Americans in mainstream magazines in 1987 and 1992, and also examined the changes in these frequencies. In 1987, they found the frequency of the

appearance of Asian models in magazine advertising at 2.5%; in 1992, this figure decreased to 1.8%. The representation of Asian Americans in mainstream magazine advertisements follows the same pattern as that of Hispanic models from 1987 to 1992.

Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) found that the frequency of Asian models in popular mainstream magazine advertisements published from September 1992 through August 1993 was 4.0%. This figure is higher than the overall U.S. population they represent (3.3% at the time of the study). They concluded that Asian Americans were overrepresented in magazine advertising.

Another basic method of examining minorities and advertising has been to analyze the nature of the group's portrayal. Many studies in this area point out that mainstream advertisements have mostly depicted minority groups in stereotypical ways.

Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) indicate that stereotypes, or social stereotypes, are prevalent, and frequently occurring images of one uniform (rather than individually differentiated) group are used to categorize all members of the group on a limited number of dimensions. Many studies provide further explanation, noting that stereotypes do not necessarily have to claim negative or positive attributes; rather, they are only the generalization of one group's widely accepted beliefs about the personal attributes of members of another group (Ashmore & Del Boca 1981; Dates & Barlow, 1990; Taylor & Stern, 1997).

Prior research has indicated that advertising has historically perpetuated social stereotypes of African Americans as uneducated, low-status members of society, according to Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995). Referring to an earlier study conducted by

Pettigrew in 1965, they report that the only exceptions are entertainers and athletes), Bowen and Schmid (1997) quote Humphrey and Schuman's research (1984) to support this point, arguing that roles of African American models pictured in mainstream advertising are often limited or demeaning. They conform, for the most part, to a social stereotype of African American life that breaks into two major lines: those who entertain and those who serve. Similarly, advertising has tended to reinforce stereotypes of Hispanic Americans as uneducated blue-collar workers who are not well assimilated into mainstream culture and who have large, close-knit families (Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987). Although there is less information on the portrayals of Asian Americans than other minority groups, they are mostly described as technically competent, hardworking, serious, and well-assimilated. These depictions agree with the model minority images, generated by mass media since 1965 (Cheng & Yang, 2000), that society in general has held toward Asian Americans.

The portrayals of stereotypes in advertising can have harmful effects on minority groups as a whole and on each individual in the groups (see Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987; Folkes and Kiesler, 1990; Taylor and Lee, 1994; Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). For an impact on a group, cultivation theory (e.g., Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980) asserts that repeated exposures to stereotyped media portrayals will result in viewers' accepting the portrayals as being reflective of reality. The repeated portrayal of a stereotype perpetrates a distorted view of the minority group and at the least, may lengthen the assimilation process. Additionally, stereotyped portrayals can send a signal

to minorities that the host society is not interested in understanding or knowing the truth about their culture (Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987).

Regarding impacts on individuals in minority groups, Folkes and Kiesler (1990) assert that when individuals are perceived as generic, perceivers often evaluate each person based on a set of incorrect beliefs about the entire group, thus forming the basis of "in-group bias" ---the tendency to regard one's own group (the "in- group") positively and to regard other groups ("out-groups") negatively. Such bias supports prejudice by fostering the evaluation of individuals on the basis of generic expectations ("all" Xs are like that). This bias makes the minorities' assimilation into the mainstream difficult and delayed. Moreover, stereotyped portrayals may contribute to undue pressure being placed on individuals as well as groups themselves because of expectancies that are built and reinforced by stereotyped media representation of minorities (Taylor & Lee, 1994). In addition, this pressure may harmfully affect the self-esteem of members of minority groups. When an individual in a minority group cannot meet an expectation fostered by a social stereotype, he or she may feel bad about himself or herself, an emotion which will lower his or her self-esteem (see Taylor & Lee, 1994).

Shinagawa and Pang (1996) state that ethnicity and ethnic identity are not one and the same. They define ethnicity as a group of individuals who share, communicate and act from the basis of a common history and culture, whereas ethnic identity refers to how an individual chooses to identify with ethnic and/or racial group(s). They state that people can, to different degrees, choose how they wish to express their ethnic attachment. Some may act to distance their membership so as not to be mistaken and suffer the blame

for presumed misdeeds of that group, while others may strongly identify with their ethnic group and derive meaning and a sense of roots from such membership. The choice seems to be totally up to an individual; however, the authors claim that it does not depend on a personal preference. Rather, family, the community, and the larger society mutually reinforce and mold the ethnic identity of the individual.

As the media, which includes advertising, are considered to be the primary common source of socialization and everyday information for an otherwise heterogeneous population (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Singnorielli, 1994), it is possible to place it as one of the most important elements that constitute a society. It can be perceived as the primary channel through which individuals perceive society (see Gerbner et al., 1994) and a source from which they derive their stereotypes.

Applying social stereotypes formulated by the mainstream to minority portrayals, the advertising industry has achieved economic success in the US. What does this trend imply to minorities and society? Are members of minority groups expected by society to act and behave as individuals who obey social stereotypes, or as hyphenated Americans? How does the majority perceive the portrayals? Do minorities totally saturate themselves in mainstream culture? Are they willing to act and behave as those who are portrayed in the media, or as a result of the effect of the media, do they do so without noticing it? Alternatively, do they have critical eyes toward the portrayals? Are minorities willing to accept the portrayals? If not, how can society be indifferent to their pain? As Shinagawa and Pang (1996) point out, identification of individuals' ethnicity and the degree of expression of their ethnicity vary from person to person. Does the media happen to

produce or reinforce reasons for ingroup conflicts or isolation, in terms of the differences in the identification of individuals' ethnicity? The researcher believes that an in-depth analysis focused on the differences of individuals' cultural backgrounds and the difference in their interpretations of minority portrayals in advertisements can to some extent answer these questions and provide a more accurate picture of American society.

Statement of the Problem

Advertisements, which advertisers create in order to communicate with a mass audience, function as one of the forms of mainstream cultural indicators since they are considered to be particularly reflective of culture and are tied to cultural norms and practices (Hong, Muderrisoglu, & Zinkhan, 1987). They also serve as an engine to drive people, not only because they penetrate people's minds and create economic activity, but also because people use them as resources to evaluate themselves as well as others.

Mass communication scholars researching how the mass media influences the attitude, beliefs, and actions of people have found that media impacts personal opinions, beliefs, and values (Baran & Davis, 1995; Stephenson, 1967). Having interacted with multiple cultures, including American, British, Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, Japanese, and others, the researcher strongly agrees with the idea that culture affects how people identify themselves and how they perceive society (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997).

As a result, the researcher has questioned whether teenage Asian Americans perceive advertisements differently from teenage Americans in other racial groups, since Asian culture, or so to speak, eastern culture, and American culture, or western culture,

are frequently considered as poles apart from each other as indicated by the notions of “East” and “West.” The researcher has additionally questioned whether the stereotypical portrayals in magazine advertisements cultivate the teenage Asian Americans’ way of identifying themselves as “socially expected Asian Americans.” The last question is if individuals’ ethnic background has an influence on how the individuals perceive advertisements.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine how teenage Asian Americans, both foreign-born and US-born, perceive the images of Asians in mainstream advertising. How does the media portray Asians? Furthermore, what kind of messages do they send to society?

Significance of the Study

This study examines how stereotypical portrayals in magazine advertisements of Asian Americans influence teenage Asian Americans. The focus of the study is whether the cultural as well as ethnic differences between east and influence the perceptions of teenage Asian Americans, or whether the social stereotypes of Asian Americans reinforced by magazine advertising affect their perception.

Sociologists Calhoun, Keller, and Light (1994) describe adolescence as the age of identity versus role confusion, quoting a statement by Eric Erikson, author of *Children and society* (1950), who focused on the issue of stage of life and development. An

adolescent attempts to develop his or her identity, which is built on a sense of continuity about one's past, present, and future, through his or her view of the self with perceptions of the view of others. From this point of view, it is possible to consider that portrayals of advertisements are perceptions of the view of others, since advertisements describe certain social situations through the eyes of the mass media. Thus, this study will present how racial portrayals in the concentration of American culture, or advertisements, have an influence on adolescents' ideology construction.

The results will benefit advertisers in understanding the current teenage market situation as well as foreseeing the future market that involves images of Asian Americans. In addition, the results will benefit educational organizations and educators in understanding how teenage Asian Americans and their counterparts, teenage non-Asian Americans, perceive society.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Profile of Asian Americans

Though currently the third largest minority group in the United States, following African Americans and Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans stand out from other groups for several reasons. Many scholars represent various demographic descriptions that will help to depict contemporary Asian Americans.

The Asian American population in the United States has grown rapidly since 1965, when the Immigration Act went into effect. The population of Asian/Pacific Islanders is projected to have increased 64 % from 1990 to 2000, 11 times the rate of increase of the general United States population and twice that of the Hispanic population (Fisher, 1994; Taylor & Stern, 1997). The predicted number of Asian Americans was calculated by referring to the information released by the US Census Bureau in 1996 (Taylor & Stern, 1997). The number of Asian Americans in the United States is predicted to jump from a current 9.4 million (3.6% of the total population) to 16 million (6%) in 2010 and to 20 million (8%) in 2020 (Taylor & Stern, 1997). According to the census 2000, the population of Asian/Pacific Islanders has exceeded 10 million, accounting for 3.7 percent of the nation's 281.4 million residents (Garcia, Martinez & Mangaliman, 2001). Shinagawa (2000) predicts that Asian Americans will comprise 10% of total United States population by the year 2050.

Rapid growth can often be accompanied by affluence. The census data for population and housing in both 1980 and 1990 show that the median household income

of Asian Americans was higher than that of other minorities, including African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and American Indians, and it outstripped income in white households as well (Wiesendanger, 1993). In addition, Taylor and Stern (1997) indicate that Asian Americans have a median household income of \$44,460 a year, 19% more than the national average, which includes white as well as minority households¹. Shinagawa (2000) provides further information. Comparing the median household income of Asian American married-couple families with that of non-Hispanic white married-couple families, he concluded that Asian American married-couple families had a higher median family income than comparable non-Hispanic white families (\$49,510 compared with \$45,240). Moreover, Wiesendanger (1993) points out that the percentage of Asian Americans earning more than \$50,000 is higher than that of any other demographic group. According to her, the percentage of households with inflation-adjusted incomes of more than \$50,000 increased from 27% to 35% between 1979 and 1989. By contrast, the percentage of Caucasians in this income bracket grew from 22% to 26%.

This high economic achievement of Asian Americans is examined by many scholars. In 1993, one out of six Asian American men 25 or older worked in executive occupations (Shinagawa, 2000). When it comes to business ownership, they outstrip Caucasians, African Americans, and Latinos: 5.7% are entrepreneurs, more than double

¹ Among Asian American scholars there exists literature critiquing the use of household income as a comparative indicator of economic success (Osajima, 2000). These studies suggest the use of per capita income as a more accurate unit of analysis and argue that income statistics must be controlled by education level, relative population density of Asian Americans, and cost of living for each geographic region.

the percentage of any other minority group, including African Americans and Latinos (Taylor & Stern, 1997; Wiesendanger, 1993).

Many scholars have pointed out that the educational achievement of Asian Americans helps this strong economic background (see Taylor & Stern, 1997; Wiesendanger, 1993). The information released by the US Census Bureau in 1994 shows two-fifths of Asian Americans 25 years of age or older had at least a bachelor's degree (46% of men, 37% of women, as opposed to Caucasians of the same age, 28% of men, 21% of women) (Shinagawa, 2000).

Although these demographic facts surely attract marketers, perhaps the most compelling reason to reassess the viability of Asian Americans is the future growth of their market. Asians comprise only 4% of the U.S. population, yet in 1999 they outspent all other segments. In 1998, Asian Americans raised their spending 17.7%, edging out the majority, Caucasians, at 13.7% growth (Konig, 2000). Citing from a report in *Marketing Review* (1994, p.15), Taylor and Stern (1997) describe Asian Americans as a segment big enough to be meaningful to U.S. marketers. To show their support for Asian Americans' cultural heritage as well as to promote their products and services, big name corporations such as GTE Corp. and AT&T Corp. have sponsored the Asian American Expo, held annually around the Chinese Lunar New Year and known as one of the biggest events for Asian American communities in California (Fitzgerald, 1998). Ford Motor Corp., J.C. Penny Corp., and Sears, Roebuck and Co. have launched promotion campaigns targeted on the Asian American market, foreseeing prospects in the market (see Cuneo & Halliday, 1999; Whalen, 1994).

On one hand, U.S. marketers have been analyzing the Asian American segment seeking to maximize their profit. On the other hand, U.S. marketers show their concern to a larger segment in society. How they show it is well described by analyzing how the mainstream advertising portrays Asian Americans.

Portrayals of Asian Americans in Mainstream Advertising:

Stereotyping and Struggle

Asian Americans are stereotyped as having a strong work ethic, self-discipline, outstanding math and science skills, and an ability to assimilate into the American culture (Taylor & Lee, 1994), as well as being technically competent and serious (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Taylor & Stern, 1997; Yim, 1989). Furthermore, Delener and Neelankavil (1990) found that in general, other Americans view Asian Americans as hard-working and thrifty.

What do these stereotypical images say to this society? Advertising should be examined in this inquiry since, as Bowen and Schmid (1997) state, it has been seen as an important window into society. Moreover, as Wilkes and Valencia (1989) assert, it represents the essence of American culture. Many researchers have been attracted to the relationships among advertising portrayals, society, and culture. Taylor and Lee (1994), two of the researchers who have studied mainstream magazine portrayals of Asian Americans, conclude their study with a content analysis of magazine advertisements as follows, comparing the type of representation of Asian Americans with that of other minority groups.

First, Asian models appear more frequently in advertisements for technology based products than for products not based on technology. Of advertisements featuring Asian Americans in the sample, 75.4% are for technology-based products and just 24.6% of the advertisements in which they appear are not technology-based products. Some 34.8% of African American models appear in advertisements for technology based products, and Hispanic Americans exhibit an even split for technical and non technical products.

Second, Asian Americans appear far more frequently in the popular business press and popular science/mechanics publications, such as *Business Week* and *Scientific American*, than in women's or general interest magazines, such as *Good Housekeeping*, or *Time*. Of the portrayals of Asian American models, 72.3% are in popular business press publications compared with just 27.7% in general and women's magazines. In contrast, 53.8% of the portrayals of African American models and 51.3% of Hispanic American models appear in women's and general interest magazines.

Third, they appear regularly in business settings, but are seldom shown in other settings. 60% of the advertisements in the sample with Asian models occur in business settings, such as factories, sales, and office settings, including retail settings in which consumers are depicted inside stores. African Americans and Hispanic Americans are portrayed much less frequently in business settings, with African Americans appearing in business settings 34.8% of the time and Hispanic Americans 30.2%.

Finally, in terms of relationships to other models in the sample advertisements, Asian models are depicted frequently as coworkers of other models in the advertisements,

but are seldom seen in family or social settings. 60% of the sample advertisements that present Asian models portray them as coworkers who are not involved in any personal relationships with others. On the other hand, only 5.7% of the sample advertisements with Asian models depict family ties. By contrast, African Americans and Hispanic Americans are depicted as coworkers less frequently--40.2% and 48.2% respectively--and as members of family more frequently--18.8% and 24.1% respectively--than Asian Americans.

The result of the study conducted by Taylor and Lee (1994) indicates that magazine advertising reflects societal stereotypes. It tends to portray Asian Americans in advertisements for technology related products, in popular business publications, and in business settings and business relationships because society views them as hardworking and strong in business and technical fields. This is generally considered a positive perception; however, to many Asian Americans, it is a negative perception. The fact that magazine advertising portrays Asian Americans in a business/work context treats them as if they lack social skills, or portrays them as a group of people who are "all work, no play" type of folks, or even "workaholics" (Taylor & Stern, 1997), which is usually considered a negative perception.

This perception of Asian Americans in society has led to many arguments about how society evaluates and treats them. Folkes and Kiesler (1990) argue this point, referring to social cognition theory in which many perceive individuals as generic and tend to evaluate each person on the basis of a set of often incorrect beliefs about the entire group. They describe this as a source of "ingroup bias," which is the tendency to

regard a person's own group (the in-group) positively and to regard "other" groups (out-groups) negatively. They claim that such bias establishes prejudice by nourishing the evaluation of individuals based on generic expectations, or in other words, by perceiving "all Xs are like that."

Jussim (1990b) discusses another argument in light of expectation theory.

According to Jussim, minorities are likely to behave in conformance to expectations established by stereotypes. If individuals in a minority group cannot conform to a socially stereotypical image, reinforced by advertising, they may put pressure on themselves, which may cause psychological problems. For example, both society and the minority group itself expect Asian Americans to excel in the fields of mathematics and science. However, not all Asian Americans are gifted in such fields. Pressure to conform to stereotypes may harm the self-esteem of individuals who are not strong in those fields. On the other hand, some Asian Americans do not want to mold themselves into such stereotypes regardless of their capability to deal with the field. Such individuals may become irritated because they find themselves in between the social expectation of being Asian Americans and being themselves. This may result in identity conflicts and harm to their self-esteem (Taylor & Lee, 1994).

Faber, O'Guinn, and Meyer (1987) dispute the perception that positive images of Asian Americans in media indicate that society views them as assimilated and accepted. They believe that positive stereotyping of a minority group can lead to hostility on the part of other minorities and the majority culture, which consequently inhibits assimilation or reinforces the social perception of the minority as generic and unidimensional. For

example, society has labeled Asian Americans as group of people who are good in math or science (Cohen, 1992; Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Taylor & Stern, 1997). This stereotype contributes to the perception that they are the educationally favored “in group” in a system that discriminates against African Americans and Hispanic Americans (Onishi, 1996; Taylor & Stern, 1997).

Cultivation theory adds further arguments for this issue. Cultivation theory asserts that repeated exposure to stereotypical portrayals will result in viewers’ accepting the portrayals as being reflective of reality (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980; Taylor & Lee, 1994). The repeated portrayal of a stereotype immortalizes a distorted view of the minority group and can delay its assimilation process. In addition, stereotypical portrayals can send a signal to minorities that the host society is not interested in knowing the truth or understanding their culture (Faber, O’Guinn, & Meyer, 1987).

Cultivation theory explains how people have influences on the mass media, which is an information source. First, before discussing of the issue of stereotypes, the mass media and audience effects, and cultivation theory, the researcher will to discuss the process by which individuals process information.

Attribution Theory

People want to know why other people act as they do or why events have turned out in a specific way. Such knowledge is crucial for people to make sense out of the social world. Did others’ behavior stem mainly from internal causes (their own traits,

motives, and intention), mainly from external causes (some aspect of the social or physical world), or from a combination of the two? For example, a student might wonder whether he/she received a lower grade than expected because he/she did not study enough (an internal cause), because the questions were too difficult (an external cause), or perhaps, because of both factors. Kelley proposed a theory that provides insight into how to carry out this initial attribution task (Baron & Byrne 1997; Kelley, 1972; Kelley & Michela, 1980).

According to Kelley, people focus on information relating to three major dimensions in attempting to answer the questions about others' behavior (Baron & Byrne, 1997).

- Consensus---The extent to which reactions by one person are also shown by others.
- Consistency---The extent to which an individual responds to a given stimulus or situation in the same way on different occasions (i.e., across time).
- Distinctiveness---The extent to which an individual responds in the same manner to different stimuli or different situations.

Kelley states that people are most likely to attribute another's behavior to internal causes under conditions in which consensus and distinctiveness are low, but consistency is high. In contrast, people are most likely to attribute another's behavior to external causes under conditions in which consensus, consistency, and distinctiveness are all high. Finally, people usually attribute another's behavior to a combination of internal and external factors under conditions in which consensus is low, but consistency and distinctiveness are high.

Kelley's attribution theory provides a mechanism that can be applied to understand others' behavior. Indeed, a number of researchers apply this theory in attempting to seek answers for people's cognitive structure or people's information processing mechanism.

Many researchers have pointed out that people often separate judgments about themselves from their judgments about others, and that mass media heightens this tendency (Cohen, Mutz, Price, & Gunther, 1988; Davison, 1983; Gunther, 1991; Tyler & Cook, 1984). Tyler and Cook (1984) discuss the impact of the mass media through the lens of attribution theory. They write that the media has an "impersonal impact," primarily affecting a person's perceptions of the lives of other peoples rather than judgement about his or her own. Gunther (1991) found similar results when examining media effects on people's making judgments of others and themselves.

Gunther (1991) designed a survey to research to what degree the media outcome, which was a news story created for this research, would influence subjects. The research contributes to a growing body of evidence that people commonly perceive greater effect of media messages on others rather than on themselves. The results show that there was a significant difference in judgment between self and others, which is consistent with attribution bias. In addition, observers tend to overestimate a news story's effect on the opinion of others and underestimate that effect on themselves. Furthermore, they tend to believe that others are more likely to change their attitude due to media effects than themselves.

This conclusion has also been supported by Davison's study (1983). Davison (1983), who labels this self-other distinction the "third-person effect," argues that people tend to see, often erroneously, a stronger media influence on the beliefs and attitudes of others than on themselves.

Efforts to explain the third-person effect can be found in experimental research manipulating both attributions of the audience and characteristics of the message source. In analyzing the effect of media and attributions, Cohen et al. (1988) varied intention behind a message by attributing a news story to a source either biased against or friendly toward the subject of the story and found that hostile intent would magnify the perceived effect on others.

Cohen et al.'s findings are explained by two theoretical perspectives (Gunther, 1991). First, those who consider themselves as highly involved with information think that they are far less likely to be influenced by information in the mass media, especially information that might be biased, than those who they think are uninvolved with the information. Second, those who consider themselves as well aware of a hostile source bias may see others as more vulnerable to the source's intent, whereas they consider their own reactions perceptive enough to discount the bias and resist undue attitude change.

These findings are consistent with a judgment bias called self-serving bias, which is found in attribution theory (Gunther, 1991). The self-serving bias is the tendency to attribute our own positive outcomes to internal causes (e.g., own traits of characteristics), but negative outcomes or vents to external /situational factors (e.g., chance task difficulty) (Baron & Byrne, 1997). For example, people tend to attribute their own faults

to an external cause: “ My assignment was late because I had a flat tire.” On the other hand, people attribute others’ faults to internal causes: “ My friend’s assignment was late because he was lazy.”

Various explanations for this attribution bias have surfaced. Researchers suggest that the self-serving bias stems from people’s need to protect and enhance self-esteem or the related desire to look good in the eye of others (Baron & Byrne, 1997; Gunther 1991, Svenson, 1981; Weinstein, 1980). Others suggest that observers have access to internal cues so that they are quite aware of the role of situational factors in their own actions, but that such cues are only part of the perception of others; thus, observers see other people, not the situations surrounding other peoples’ actions (Gunther, 1991; Jones & Nisbett, 1971).

The attribution analysis is related to cognitive responses (Gunther, 1991; Rucinski & Salmon, 1990). A number of researchers have pointed out the consistent attribution bias in estimating the situational (external) responses. The attribution bias can be explained in the following manner: When judging message impact on others, observers will underestimate the effect of situational (external) factors and attribute relatively more opinion change to those others; but in judging themselves, observers will estimate modest, if any, opinion change, attributing it to their greater awareness of, and discounting of, situational factors like persuasive intent (Gunther, 1991).

Although the researcher agrees that the attribution bias is not the only element that makes audiences decide their attitude or behaviors, attribution theory and the bias based on this theory provide this research project with more in depth discussion since the

research focused on how the audience perceived differently to the negative outcome (stereotyped advertisements) and to the positive/neutral outcome (non-stereotyped advertisements).

Expectancy and Stereotypes: The role of Expectancies

Expectancy theory is defined as follows:

Cognitive learning consists of the acquisition of expectancies and of the resultant tendency to react to certain objects as signs of certain other objects previously associated with them in the environment. (Wolman, 1973)

Stereotypes, on which expectancies are mostly based (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990), do not have to necessarily claim negative or positive attributes; rather, they are only the generalization of one group's widely accepted beliefs about the personal attributes of members of another group (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Dates & Barlow, 1990; Taylor & Stern, 1997). Courtney and Whipple (1983) report that the tendency to generalize has been pervasive in advertising. They further point out that advertising messages must employ stereotypes, because stereotypes are a shorthand that helps to convey ideas and images quickly and clearly. Although this thought makes sense in that an advertisement needs to attract attention to fulfill its assignment, many arguments have cast doubt on the issue.

Expectancies are mostly based on stereotypes of the groups to which they belong. They influence people's perceptions of social reality and contribute to social problems, such as prejudice and inequalities in educational opportunities, because stereotypes are often viewed as a primary source that leads to unfavorable expectations regarding

individuals from stereotyped groups (Jussim, 1990a). Research demonstrates that racial, ethnic, and gender stereotype-based expectancies in personal perceptions may provide obstacles to education or occupational advancement and to the establishment of interpersonal relationships for stereotyped groups, such as minorities and women (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; Jussim, 1990a; Pettigrew & Martin, 1987; Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974).

Expectancies weave people and events into a person's social life. People use them in processing and interpreting information and making judgments on events and other people. People also use them when they lack information about these events and other people. Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo (1990) state that all of these people's inner activities, based on causal attributions about why certain events occurred and about why they react in certain ways to others, are likely to be subject to the influence of stereotyped-based expectancies. They further discuss that these processes are crucially important in social perception because the information elaborated in these ways becomes represented in memory and thus available to guide the perceiver's subsequent judgements and behaviors.

Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo (1990) argue that the perceiver's mental representation of the available information can differ in significant ways from the actual information on which representation is based due to the influence of stereotypes on these processes. Additionally, they found that stereotype-based expectancies can result in more serious misconceptions and biases that may have undesirable consequences and ramifications.

Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo (1990) also discuss how stereotype-based expectancies affect people's information processing. Others' behaviors or information whose meanings are unclear (e.g., a person giving a mild push to another during a heated discussion; one child poking another with a pencil) are more likely to be interpreted as aggressive when performed by an African American than by a Caucasian, because African Americans are stereotypically considered to possess a more aggressive nature than Caucasians. Similarly, socioeconomic class stereotypes influenced perceivers' interpretation of a girl's academic performance, because girls are stereotypically considered to be more diligent than boys (see Darley & Gross, 1983). Once an individual's group membership is confirmed, the relevant stereotype provides the basis for inferring additional knowledge of what else is likely to be true of the individual (Schneider & Blankmeyer, 1983), what was true of the person in the past (Snyder & Uranowitz, 1978) and what is likely to be true of the individual in the future (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985). Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo (1990) conclude that stereotypical expectancies can guide understanding of information and help its processing.

Stereotypes not only influence people's information processes, but also are interrelated with information processing as they serve to reinforce each other. People recall expectancy-consistent information better than information irrelevant to the expectancy (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; Rothbart, Evans, & Fulero, 1979; Stangor & Ruble, 1989). This point conforms to what the perceiver already believes to be true; expectancy-consistent information may be more "believable" and thus be given

greater credibility as information worth retaining. Another reason is that it easily fits into an existing cognitive structure; it may trigger more inferences about the events or target person (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990).

Stereotyped expectancies further influence judgement making. When people make a judgment about others, the perceiver has two kinds of information about those who are judged. One is information about the individual's attributes or behaviors, and the other is information about that person's membership in some group. Stereotypical expectancies are influential to the extent that information processing and judgment making are based on group membership information rather than on individual information (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990). Considering this point in light of racial stereotypes provides a perspective common throughout society, "all Xs (Asians, Hispanics, or African-Americans) are alike."

Many studies have shown that stereotyped expectancies have influence on the perceivers' awareness. In addition to these findings, Jussim discusses that targets' awareness of perceivers' expectations influences on the behavior of the targets or their reaction to events (Jussim, 1990b). For example, female students expressed more traditional gender role attitudes and scored more poorly on an anagrams test when they believed they would interact with a desirable man who was holding traditional gender role attitude in comparison to when they believed they would interact with a desirable man holding nontraditional gender role attitudes (Jussim, 1990b; Zanna & Pack, 1975).

The targets' awareness of perceivers' expectations mediates targets' attitudes toward goals. Hilton and Darley's (1985) study showed that when the perceiver has

something the target wants (such as a job), an awareness of perceivers' attitudes and beliefs allows targets to adjust their behavior to appeal to the perceiver (Jussim, 1990b).

In addition to perceivers' expectations of the targets' behaviors or attitudes, people are also influenced by environmental expectancies. People may be more susceptible to confirming others' beliefs when they enter new situations. Whenever people engage in major life transitions, such as entering a new school, starting a new job, or taking on any new role, they may be less clear and confident in their self-perception. Unclear self-perceptions often render people especially vulnerable to all sorts of social influence (Bem, 1970; Jussim, 1986; Jussim, 1990b; Markus, 1977; Swann & Ely, 1984). People who enter a new environment tend to mold themselves into stereotyped images, or adjust their behavior or attitudes into socially perceived images, in order to be accepted by the environment.

This analysis explains the reinforcement of stereotyped expectancies. For example, when employers and co-workers led by the stereotyped image of minorities believe affirmative action employees are inferior to others, they may create an environment that undermines the performance of the beneficiaries of such programs (Jussim, 1990b; Nacoste, 1987; Pettigrew & Martin, 1987). This environment may prevent the beneficiaries from successful performance in their office. As a consequence, the employers and co-workers evaluate that the beneficiaries are poorly talented, and they begin to confirm what they may have already believed from stereotyped expectancies.

Stereotypes are the products of what people have learned in their early years, how they reflect the values of their peer groups and their culture, and how they incorporate the

knowledge people have acquired and the beliefs that people have formed through their own experiences. They may reflect the predominant characteristics of certain groups; in this sense, they may be an accurate characterization of certain groups. However, such group level characterization cannot be equally accurate of all individuals who belong to a certain group. Stereotypes tend to reflect vulnerable inaccuracy, according to Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo (1990).

Many studies demonstrate that people tend to make expectancies based on stereotypes. Therefore, these expectancy effects can result in inaccurate judgment and potentially discriminatory behaviors and interpretation of events or others.

Interestingly, inaccurate information may have the potentiality to become accurate. Perceivers' expectancies influence the awareness of targets. The targets tend to believe what they are labeled as true or adjust their behavior in order to be accepted by perceivers, who mostly belong to a majority group (Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo, 1990).

Expectancies can be a factor that influences people's cognitive construction, and they are likely to reflect images of negatively skewed stereotypes. What will happen to expectancies of people who are daily exposed to such stereotyped images?

Media Exposure and Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory, which was formulated and popularized by Gerbner and his colleagues, is based on the results of research finding a persistent and pervasive pull of the television mainstream on a great variety of conceptual currents and countercurrents

(Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994). Their central argument is that television “cultivates” or creates a world view that, although possibly inaccurate, becomes the reality simply because we, as a people, believe it to be the reality and base our judgements about our own, everyday worlds on that “reality” (Baran & Davis, 1995).

The concept of “cultivation” in cultivation theory is described as the independent contributions television viewing makes to viewer conceptions of social reality (Gerbner et al., 1994). Discussing one of the limitations of the effects of cultivation and explaining that layers of demographic, social, personal, and cultural contexts also determine the shape, scope, and degree of the contribution television is likely to make, Gerbner and his colleagues claim that the meaning of those contexts and factors are in themselves aspects of the cultivation processes (Gerbner et. al., 1986; Gerbner et al., 1994; Potter, 1991). That is, although a viewer’s gender, age, or class makes a difference in perspective, television viewing can make a similar and interacting difference, or may help define what it means (Gerbner et. al., 1994).

The cultivation analysis has been applied to more than violence, crime, and the judicial system in media exposure (Baran & Davis, 1995). Gerbner and his colleagues (1980) provide evidence of cultivation by using the Mean World Index, which is composed of a series of three questions:

1. Are most people just looking out for themselves?
2. Can’t you be too careful in dealing with people?
3. Would most people take advantage of you if you got the chance?

According to Gerbner and his colleagues (1980), the answers to these questions are “yes.” According to Baran and Davis (1995), Gerbner and his colleagues conclude in their research that heavy viewers, regardless of their educational background, annual income, and social classes, are much more likely to see the world as a mean place than are light viewers; in other words, heavy viewers hold a mainstreamed perception of the world as a mean place.

The cultivation occurs in two ways. The first is mainstreaming. Assuming that television’s central role in our society makes it the primary channel of the mainstream of this culture, mainstreaming means that heavy viewing may absorb or override differences in perspectives and behavior that ordinarily stem from other factors and influences (Gerbner et al., 1994). Therefore, people’s internalized social realities eventually move toward the mainstream, not a mainstream in any political sense, but a culturally dominant reality that is more closely aligned with the reality to which they are exposed than with any objective reality (Baran & Davis, 1995).

The second way occurs through resonance. Viewers see things on television that are most congruent with their own everyday realities. In other words, viewers get a “double dose” of cultivation because that to which they are exposed to resonates with their actual lives (Baran & Davis, 1995).

Based on Gerbner’s research discussed above, cultivation analysis has been considered by many researchers in various areas, such as sex roles, materials and family difficulties, physical disability, health, attractiveness, age-role stereotypes, science, educational achievement, politics, and religion.

Potter (1990) discusses the assumption that deals with adolescents' prime values, (honesty, diligence, justice, etc.), their selection of television programs (news, sports, situation comedies, soap operas, cartoons, etc.), and amount of time spent watching television. He provided several statements to his subjects, who were randomly selected middle school and high school students, such as "Truth wins out in the end; honesty is the best policy," "Good wins out over evil, " and "Don't take things too seriously; relax and have fun, " then they examined the relationships between theme selection and amount of time they were exposed.

The results of this study showed the clear pattern in the relationships and adolescents' theme selection. For example, heavy viewers of soap operas and sports were more likely to perceive the theme of "Truth wins" than those who preferred situation comedies or news; heavy viewers of cartoons were more likely to select the theme of "Have fun" than those who were movie viewers. Unfortunately, Potter (1990) does not provide a rationale for the relationships between the subjects' program preference and their nature; he concludes his study without further discussion. Adolescents are more likely to have perceived the theme to which they are more exposed than the theme to which they are less exposed.

Another example of extrapolated assumptions relates to the image of women. Although the dominant majority status of men on television does not mean that heavy viewers ignore daily experience and underestimate the number of women in society, underrepresentation in the world of television means a relatively narrow (and thus

stereotyped) range of roles and activities. Most groups of heavy viewers score higher on a sexism scale (Signorielli, 1989).

Furthermore, several other studies have examined assumptions relating gender roles in samples of children and adolescents. Morgan (1982) found that television exposure cultivated such notions as “women are happiest at home raising children” and “men are born with more ambition than women.” Rothschild (1984) further found that 3rd- and 5th-grade children who watched more television were more likely to stereotype gender-related qualities, such as warmth or independence, along traditional gender-role lines.

Researchers have also applied cultivation analysis to stereotypes and portrayals of minorities in the media. Gerbner et al. (1980) assert that repeated exposure to stereotypical media portrayals results in audience acceptance of the portrayals as being reflective of reality. Further, Taylor and Lee (1994) state that the repeated, distorted, one-dimensional portrayals of minorities in the media shape public perceptions of minorities.

Cultivation analysis was originally based on television exposure, and much research has indicated the relationships between the consequences of television exposure and its recurrent patterns of stories, images, and messages. It has also contributed to various areas of study, such as advertising or marketing, because of the nature of its study: audience effects and media exposure (Taylor & Lee, 1994; Taylor & Stern, 1997).

Despite the fact that, cultivation analysis shows much evidence of how strongly the mass media affects audiences, it has led to many arguments. One of the arguments

that challenge cultivation analysis attributes perceptual differences to the individual. For example, viewers may have derived their beliefs about the television world, or what they see, not by media exposure but by listening to what parents or friends say and then reacting sensitively to certain issues (Hawkins, Pingree, & Adler, 1987; Potter, 1991). Moreover, it is likely that a concept like violence is defined differently by each viewer (Hall, 1980). This point is strongly argued by Newcomb (1978). He claims that cultivation analysis did not permit the possibility that individual members of the television audience can apply different, individual meanings to what they see on the television (Baran & David, 1995; Newcomb, 1978).

Indeed, when it comes to considering the individuals' media perception, it is important to examine the social and cultural background of individuals, since individuals' perception of society is closely connected with these elements. The next section discusses the social and cultural profile of Asian Americans along with cultural differences between the United States and Asian countries from a macroscopic view.

Culture: West meets East / East meets West

Keesing (1974) defines culture as follows:

Culture is simply an ordered collection of symbols fitted together by the analyst as a system of knowledge, shaped and constrained by the way the human brain acquires, organizes, and process information and creates 'internal model of reality' (p.89).

Gudykunst and Kim (1997) assert that culture is a theory of the "game being played" in society. People use this theory of the game being played in interacting with

other people they encounter. It tells them how to communicate with others and how to interpret their behavior.

Culture and people's behavior and attitude are closely connected with each other. Gudykunst and Kim (1997) claim that the only way people can understand the behavior of others is in the context of their own culture, since cultural norms and rules guide everyone's behavior. They further discuss, quoting Herskovits' (1973) work that behaviors must be understood "relative to the cultural background out of which they arise." Cultures tell people what is wrong or what is right in ethical or moral ways; however, no one cultural trait is "right" or "wrong," it is merely "different" from alternative cultural traits (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997).

It is difficult to identify the exact essence of any culture such as Asian culture or American culture. However, since culture affects people's attitudes and behavior, and since culture has an influence on the construction of an individual's identity, which Turner (1987) assumes guides people's behavior, an attempt to understand culture needs to be pursued. For this pursuit, an approach that compares one culture with another will be taken.

Cultures differ in many dimensions. Many researchers have discussed culture with various approaches, such as the value orientation approach (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), the approach of variability (Hofstede, 1980), and the approach of structural tightness (Parsons, 1951). The approach of individualism-collectivism will be applied to this section because the approach is, according to Gudykunst and Kim (1997), the major dimension that indicates cross-cultural understanding.

Most western cultures, such as American, Canadian, French, and German, are considered to be individualistic cultures, whereas most Asian cultures, such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, are considered collectivistic cultures (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997).

In an individualistic culture, goals of individuals are emphasized more than group goals, which means that individualistic cultures are more likely to promote self-realization. In contrast, group goals take precedence over individuals' goals in collectivistic cultures; in addition, collectivistic cultures are more likely to require individuals to contribute their efforts to the group. For example, in individual cultures, "people are supposed to look after themselves and immediate family only," while in collectivistic cultures, "people belong to in-groups or collectivities which are supposed to look after them in exchange for loyalty" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Hofstede & Bond, 1984). There is an old Japanese saying, "The nail that sticks out gets hammered down," implying that any individual should fit in their group and clearly indicating the nature of collectivistic cultures.

The relative importance of in-groups is one of the major factors that differentiate individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Triandis, 1988). The people in individualistic cultures tend to be universalistic and apply the same value standards to people regardless of those who belong to ingroups (their groups) or outgroups (other groups). In contrast, the people in collectivistic cultures tend to be particularistic and, therefore, apply different value standards for members of their ingroups and outgroups (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997).

Another example of ingroup-outgroup approach is that collectivistic cultures emphasize the goals, needs, and views of the ingroup over those of the individual; the social norms of the ingroup, rather than individual pleasure; shared ingroup beliefs, rather than unique individual beliefs; and cooperation with ingroup members, rather than the maximizing of individual outcomes (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997).

The differences between individualistic cultures and collectivistic cultures are examined through the way individuals perceive themselves, because how individuals perceive the self is one of the major determinants of their behavior. A number of studies have focused on the point of self construal; one of the studies, which has been widely used, was conducted by Markus and Kitayama (1991).

Markus and Kitayama (1991) focused on two different self construals: the independent and the interdependent construals of the self. Although they did not directly connect conceptualization with individualism and collectivism, many researchers have perceived the study as an indication of a direct relationship between self-construal and cultures. For example, the independent construal of self predominates in individualistic cultures, and the interdependent construal of self predominates in collectivistic cultures (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997).

Markus and Kitayama (1991) state that the important tasks for people emphasizing an independent self-construal, which Gudykunst and Kim (1997) believe are features applied to individualistic cultures, are to be unique, to strive for their own goals, to express themselves, and to be direct. Therefore, an individual's self-esteem is based on that person's ability to express and validate his/her internal attributes. On the

contrary, people in collectivistic cultures emphasize an interdependent self-construal that views the self as a part of an encompassing social relationship. This relationship recognizes that an individual's behavior is determined by, contingent on, and to a large extent, organized by what the individual perceives to be the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others in the relationship (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

The above conceptualization is, however, not universal. The following example presents how difficult it is to generalize cultures by showing that there are some differences even in the same cultural classification. Nakane (1970) and Triandis (1988) report that there are differences in terms of rank-order in collectivistic cultures. Triandis (1988) indicates that some cultures, for example, put family ahead of all other groups, while others put company ahead of their groups. According to Nakane (1970), the company often is considered the primary ingroup in Japan, while the family is the primary ingroup in many other collectivistic cultures.

There is another example that also demonstrates that conceptualization of cultures is not universal. It is, for example, true that there are some Americans who hold as collectivistic a tendency as Japanese do. In addition, it is also true that some Americans hold more collectivistic personalities than Japanese do. Each individual has different interests, thoughts, personalities, and identities from others. Even people who live in the same culture are different from others in every degree.

Asian Americans: Assimilation and Self-conflicts

The diversity of Asian Americans makes it difficult to speak about any one generalizable Asian American identity. However, it is common to hear that the success of Asian Americans has everything to do with their values, such as work ethics or group cohesion, and ethnic identities, which are deeply rooted in the rich cultural resources that they brought from their Asian homelands (Fong, 1998).

Fong discusses how psychologists Stanley Sue and Derald Sue analyzed the personality structure of Asian Americans and constructed four categories: traditionalist, assimilationist, bicultural, and marginal, referring to ethnic culture with respect to American white racism and assimilation theory (1998). The traditionalists usually represented recent immigrants who held the strong cultural heritage of their homelands. The assimilationists were those who chose fully to adopt American values and behavioral norms as their own. Furthermore, they tended to have little ethnic identity and generally associated with people outside of their groups. The biculturals, however, maintained a strong ethnic identity, but were also able to move freely in both Asian and American cultures, unlike the marginals, who rejected both Asian and American cultures, and thus were isolated, alienated, and alone.

Many researchers have examined the development and influence of ethnic identities of Asian Americans. Uba (1994) claims that the development of ethnic identities is a complex phenomenon and can vary from one individual to another. She points out that there are two factors that affect development of individuals' ethnic identity. First, experience, especially related with racism, become the root of individual

differences in ethnic identities. She claims that it may cause individuals to reject any ethnic affiliation. Second, nativity and generational differences are important factors that cause individuals either to create or reject their ethnic identities. The first generation of Asian immigrants are considered to be assimilationists with a greater sense of ethnic identities, while subsequent generations become much more assimilated into the dominant society and have less ethnic identification.

Although many elements influence the construction or deconstruction of individuals' ethnic identities, many researchers have asserted that there are several burdens commonly faced by Asian Americans. Fong (1998) indicates that the burdens have negative impacts on the development of ethnic identity. They also cause self-conflicts because these burdens mainly stem from their minority status or physical distinctiveness, both of which attract racism. Consequently, racial awareness may serve to create a sense of anger, frustration, and self-hate among some Asian Americans (Fong, 1998).

Phinney (1989) found that more Asian Americans would prefer to be Euro-Americans than Asian Americans. According to his research, this negative ethnic awareness among Asian Americans is higher than that of any other ethnic minority group, including African Americans and Hispanic Americans.

According to Fong, (1998), Phinney (1989) proposes several reasons: Asian Americans tend to internalize negative "oriental" stereotypes and images (Fong does not provide any further information, such as what kind of stereotypes Asian Americans have, for this rationale); Asian Americans are especially threatened by anti-Asian sentiment;

and Asian Americans have limited experience with ethnic holidays and do not have strong ethnic identification compared with other minorities.

In addition to the Asian Americans' self-conflict with their ethnic identities, many researchers have pointed out that cultural and generational conflicts cause more stressful situations to Asian Americans. Fong (1998) indicates that the most common cultural and generational conflicts among Asian Americans regard the issue of individualism. In the United States, the concept of the independent, spontaneous, outspoken, and aggressive individual is valued, whereas filial piety (obligation to one's parents), modesty, and respect for others are valued in Asian cultures. This gap especially creates distress within their social group and family if young Asian American students' wishes or talents do not match social and parental expectations (see Fong, 1998, pp. 87-91). Moreover, Wong (1995) points out that Asian American high school students have a tendency to feel guilty if they cannot meet their parents' expectations.

Yet, when it comes to Asian American issues as in other diverse populations, scholars argue that it is difficult to generalize Asian Americans. The assimilation process and the degree of self-conflict are different from one individual to another. Fong (1998) discusses that from socio-cultural perspectives, the differences in ethnicity, class, and nativity among Asian Americans make it extremely difficult to unify, and consequently, these differences influence the assimilation process and the degree of self-conflict. He also indicates that the reasons will be rooted in each individual due to different social status, experiences, environment, or language proficiency, including whether they came to the United States as immigrants or refugees, if they were born in the United States or

in an Asian country (including the length of residency in the United States), whether they live in an ethnic community (e.g., Flusing, New York, or Monterey Park, California) or a suburban town where most of the residents are Caucasians, or if they are fluent in English or have limited English skills.

Chapter III

Method

Research Hypotheses

The three research hypotheses used in this study are based on Kelley's attribution theory (1972), Gerbner et al.'s cultivation theory (1980), and Jussim's expectancy theory (1990a, & 1990b). Types of portrayal in advertisements, the ethnicity of the models presented in the advertisements, and ethnicity and birthplace of research subjects are the variables of the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 (H1) is constructed to analyze reactions of teenage Asian Americans as well as teenage non-Asian Americans to mainstream advertisements that show Asians in a manner associated with social stereotype of Asian Americans (stereotyped advertisements) and to mainstream advertisements that show Asians in non-stereotypical portrayals (non-stereotyped advertisements). Three categories, overall impression of images, impression of models presented, and perception of models in terms of socioeconomic status, will be used to analyze the students' responses.

The media affect how audiences see self and others. Based on cultivation theory, the repeated exposure to stereotyped images will result in audiences' accepting the images as being reflective of reality (Gerbner, et al., 1994; Taylor & Lee, 1994). Tyler and Cook (1984) assert that according to attribution theory, the media primarily influence a person's perception of the lives of others rather than judgments about himself or

herself. Because of these perspectives, non-Asians may view Asians through the lens of the standardized images of Asian Americans in the media. Further, non-Asians may feel more comfortable with seeing what they think is right than with the actual reality. Asians are also exposed to such images; however, unlike non-Asians, they may be disturbed by the skewed generalization (Lee, 1996).

H1-a Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive stereotyped advertisements less positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

H1-b: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive stereotyped advertisements more positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

H1-c: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

H1-d: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

H1-e: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner lower economic status.

H1-f: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner higher economic status.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 (H2) is designed to examine perception of US-born Asian American teenagers as well as foreign-born Asian American teenagers to stereotyped advertisements and to non-stereotyped advertisements. Three categories, overall impression of images, impression of models presented, and perception of models in terms of socioeconomic status, will be also used to analyze the students' responses.

Many Asian American families have recently immigrated into the U.S. to seek better lives. Some have already achieved financial success; however, others are still in the transition period (Fong, 1998; Fong & Shinagawa, 2000). They will perceive the stereotyped/model minority portrayals as a desirable image to be achieved. According to Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997), some Asian Americans viewed the model minority label positively because it seemed to provide the promise of positive labeling of the self by others. They quote a Vietnamese-American college student's words in their study: "It's nice because due to stereotypes, this will be associated with me." However, they also found that Asian Americans have critical eyes to the model minority label because they did not want to be tied to a group or committed to a social identity. A Korean-American states, "Because regardless of the label of model minority's positive connotation, it is still stereotype.... I try with all my ability to avoid being labeled." Another Taiwanese

American student wrote, “To be referred to as a model minority seems to me like we are being petted and told ‘good dog’” (Oyserman and Sakamoto, 1997).

H2-a: Teenage US-BORN Asian Americans will perceive stereotyped advertisements less positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

H2-b: Teenage FOREIGN-BORN Asian Americans will perceive stereotyped advertisements more positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

H2-c: Teenage US-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

H2-d: Teenage FOREIGN-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

H2-e: Teenage US-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner lower economic status.

H2-f: Teenage FOREIGN-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner higher economic status.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 (H3) is designed to investigate the difference in perception between Asian American teenagers and non-Asian American teenagers to advertisements that feature Asians and advertisements that do not feature Asians. When the sample advertisements are labeled as “advertisements presenting an Asian/Asians,” it means that at least one Asian model is presented in a major role or as one of the major characters in the advertisement, not as a background character.

Based on attribution theory, people tend to process information focusing on a self-serving bias, “our group” versus “their group” (Gunther, 1991). People’s perception of their “in-group” does not necessarily imply disfavor toward members of the “out-group;” however, Folkes, Kiesler, and Brewer agree with Gunther that people tend to have a favorable bias towards their own group (see Folkes & Kiesler, 1990; Brewer, 1979). A study focused on the responses of African Americans to advertisements presenting African Americans and to advertisements presenting only Caucasians indicated that the respondents showed more positive responses to advertisements featuring African Americans than to all Caucasian advertisements (Schlinger & Plummer, 1972). Based on these findings, teenage Asian Americans should react more favorably to advertisements

presenting models from “our group” than to advertisements presenting models from “their group.”

H3-a: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive advertisements presenting Asians more positively than advertisements not presenting Asians.

H3-b: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive advertisements presenting Asians less positively than advertisements not presenting Asians.

Research Approach

An experiment was conducted to examine the reactions of teenage Asians (foreign-born and US-born) and non-Asians to mainstream print advertisements containing social stereotypes of Asian Americans and mainstream print advertisements that did not contain such stereotypes. The researcher showed 126 respondents 39 different print advertisements and gave them questionnaires designed by herself (see Appendix B).

Research Subjects

One hundred and twenty-six high school students in the San Jose area were self-selected to participate in the survey based on their willingness to participate. Sixty-five of them were not of Asian heritage; 61 of them considered themselves from Asian

heritages. In the Asian population, 43 were born in the U.S.; 18 of them were born in foreign countries.

The demographics of students are presented in Appendix A.

Research Materials

Thirty-nine sample advertisements were selected from US magazines that have relatively large circulations in various magazine categories. The names of the magazines from which the sample advertisements were selected are listed in Table 1.

Table I

Magazines from which the Sample Advertisements for the Study were Selected

Category	Name of magazine
Business	Business Week
	Money Magazine
General interest	Time
	U.S. News & World Report
Men's	Sports Illustrated
Women's	Glamour
	Good Housekeeping
	In Style
	Marie Claire
	Sunset
	Vanity Fair
	Vogue
Technology	PC Magazine
	Windows Magazine
	Wired
Young adult	Teen People
	Young & Modern
Other	Condé Nast Traveler
	Dog Fancy

Twenty-three advertisements were used for the analysis of H1 and H2. H1 is constructed to analyze perceptions of teenage Asian Americans as well as teenage non-Asian Americans to stereotyped advertisements and non-stereotyped advertisements. H2 is designed to examine perceptions of teenage US-born Asian American students as well as teenage foreign-born Asian Americans to stereotyped advertisements and non-

stereotyped advertisements. Twenty of them presented at least one Asian model. Three advertisements that did not present any Asians were included to obscure the purpose of the study.

The twenty advertisements presenting Asians were divided into two groups, depending on how the models were presented. There were 10 stereotyped advertisements and 10 non-stereotyped advertisements. Whether the model was stereotyped or not, was influenced by the previous studies focused on portrayals of Asians in advertisements, such as those conducted by Cohen (1992) and by Taylor and Lee (1994). The stereotyped advertisements are those that present Asians in a manner associated with the social stereotypes of Asian Americans, such as:

- 1) Model minority images---an Asian who is portrayed as a high technology industry employee, a person in business, a scientist, a small business owner, or a good student, etc.
- 2) Traditional image---an Asian in a traditional Asian costume, with emphasized stereotypical physical features (slanted eyes or long black hair for women), engaging in Asian cultural activities, etc.
- 3) All work and no play image---an Asian who looks obsessed with work, etc.

The non-stereotyped advertisements are the ones that present Asians not in a manner presented above. An advertisement that portrays an Asian as a fashion model, as a person with authority, as a person at a party, and who looks easy going, etc. is considered a non-stereotyped advertisement.

Sixteen advertisements were selected for H3 and divided into eight pairs with not all pairs having unique members. One of the advertisements in each pair had an Asian model, and the other one did not. Each pair of advertisements had a similar theme (business, technology, party, etc.).

Each sample advertisement was carefully reviewed and graphically modified by the researcher to remove product names, logos, and advertisers' names, and alcohol and cigarette references in order to prevent the students from having bias or prejudice toward the advertised products or services. This was also done to fulfill ethical requirements from school administrators.

All advertisements used for this study appear in Appendix C.

Experiment

Four experimental sessions were conducted at two participating local high schools from November to December 2000. Each session needed approximately 45 minutes.

Two weeks before the sessions, each student received a parental consent form. The students were asked to get their parent or guardian's signature and return the form to the teacher or researcher. The parental consent form appears in Appendix E.

For the first five minutes, the students received a brief introduction to the study and instructions on participating in it. They were not informed that the study was focusing on Asian portrayals to prevent their biases from interfering with their answers. The researcher told them that the purpose of the study was to examine the responses of teenagers to the magazine advertisements.

A booklet containing the questions for the experiment was distributed to each student. The sample questions appear in Appendix B. The teenagers were shown a slide and asked to answer questions in the booklet. This was repeated 40 times.

After the experiment, the researcher collected the booklet and distributed refreshments. The researcher then passed out a debriefing statement, which gave the real focus of the study. The debriefing statement is found in Appendix F. She thanked them and dismissed the session.

Process of Statistical Analysis for Hypotheses

In order to provide enough evidence to analyze the results, Hypothesis 1 (H1) and 2 (H2) are broken down and examined as six sub-hypotheses respectively. Two sub-hypotheses are prepared to analyze Hypothesis 3 (H3). For statistical analysis, 2-tailed paired t- tests at .05 level were performed to examine all 14 sub-hypotheses (6 for H1 + 6 for H2 + 2 for H3).

Research question 1 (Q1: I think that this advertisement looks...) is used to analyze H1-a, H1-b, H2-a and H2-b since Q1 is constructed to examine the differences in reactions to the portrayals of Asian models in advertisements.

For the statistical analysis of the above hypotheses, the researcher assigned 1 to the words that are associate with positive outcomes. Table 2 shows the word selections of Q1, and whether a word reflected a positive or a non-positive outcome.

Table 2

Classification of the Selection of the Words for Q1: "I think that this advertisement looks..."

Word selections	
Positive outcome	Non-positive outcome
Credible	Disgraceful
Great	Deceptive
Pleasant	Efficient
Realistic	Naïve
Sophisticated	Unrealistic

The mean scores were determined by adding each subject's positive reactions to the stereotyped and non-stereotyped advertisements separately. The highest potential score in each category (stereotyped ad category and non-stereotyped category) is 30 since she/he was asked to choose three words and shown 10 advertisements in each category ($3 \times 10 = 30$). The lowest score is 0 ($0 \times 10 = 0$).

Research question 2 (Q2: I think that the person in this advertisement looks...) is used to examine H1-c, H1-d, H2-c and H2-d since Q2 is designed to explore the differences in reactions of individuals towards the ethnicity of the models shown in the advertisements.

For examining the hypotheses above, the same manner as discussed for analysis of H1-a, H1-b, H2-a and H2-b was applied. Table 3 presents the word selections for Q2 and which words were assigned as positive outcomes.

Table 3

Classification of the Selection of the Words for Q2: “I think that the person in the center of this advertisement looks...”

Word selections	
Positive outcome	Non-positive outcome
Friendly	Arrogant
Gorgeous	Hostile
Intelligent	Nerdy
Kind	Stupid
Reliable	Unreliable

To analyze H1-e, H1-f, H2-e and H2-f, the results of research question 3 (Q3: To what economic class do you think the person in the ad belongs?) are used. Q3 is designed to examine differences in perception of Asian American teenagers to Asian models in advertisements using an economic status scale.

The mean scores were determined by adding the individual's scores of Q3 for each stereotyped and non-stereotyped ads separately. The highest possible score for each category is 50 since a 1-5 scale (1: lower economic status or the most negative reaction ; 5: upper economic statuses or the most positive reaction) is used for answering the question, and the students were shown 10 advertisements in each category ($5 \times 10 = 50$). The lowest score, therefore, is 10 ($1 \times 10 = 10$).

For H3-a and H3-b, 13 matched pairs of advertisements were prepared for the analyses. The primary variables between pairs were the presence of the Asian models

and the setting shown in the advertisements. The research participants were asked to answer the questions provided (I like this advertisement very much) depending on the degree of their preference of the ad shown by using a 1-4 scale with 1 as the most negative attribute (strongly disagree) to 4 as the most positive attribute (strongly agree). A higher number indicates that the reaction is more positive. The matched pairs for H3 are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Matching Pairs for Hypothesis 3

Matched pair	Advertisement number		Setting/situation shown
	with Asians	without Asians	
Pair 1	A	C	Technology
Pair 2	G	B	Woman as a sex object
Pair 3	H	D	Party
Pair 4	M	I	Friendship
Pair 5	P	K	Technology
Pair 6	Q	L	Business
Pair 7	J	E	Romantic relationship
Pair 8	J	F	Romantic relationship
Pair 9	J	N	Romantic relationship
Pair 10	J	O	Romantic relationship
Pair 11	6	7	Fashion model
Pair 12	8	22	Family
Pair 13	21	13	A good student

CHAPTER IV

Results

Overview

Although the study results supported sub hypothesis H1-f, the hypothesis that says that teenage non-Asian Americans will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner higher economic status, the other five sub hypotheses were not supported. Therefore, H1 was rejected. It should be noted that the statistical analysis detected significant differences in the results of H1-b (the analysis of the perceptions of non-Asian Americans' overall impression of the advertisements) and H1-e (the analysis of the perception of the non-Asian Americans applying the socioeconomic index of the models presented in the advertisements), although the results were the opposite of what was expected.

None of the six sub hypotheses of H2 were supported. Therefore, H2 was rejected. However, the results of H2-b (the analysis of perceptions of the foreign-born Asian Americans of overall impression of the advertisements) and H2-e (the analysis of the perception of the US-born Asian Americans applying the socioeconomic index of the models presented in the advertisements) were statistically significant.

The results of the analyses indicated that the Asian American subjects perceived the advertisements presenting Asians more favorably than the advertisements that did not present Asians, and that the non-Asian American subjects perceived the advertisements that did not present Asians more favorably than the advertisements that presented Asians. Therefore, H3 is supported.

In rejecting H1 and H2, the study shows that Asian Americans are more accepting of stereotyped images than originally thought to be the case. This may be an indication that cultivation theory made the stereotyped images more acceptable to the subjects. Taking the birthplace of the Asian subjects into consideration, media cultivation was observed in the perception of the US-born Asian American students more than the foreign-born Asian American students. The result indicates that the US-born Asian American students tended to accept such images more than the foreign-born Asian students. It may also indicate that US-born Asian American students have been more exposed to mainstream American media images. The support of H3 points out that the “our group” and “their group” attitude, which is discussed by Gunther (1991), is involved in the information processing of teenage Asian Americans when they perceive the advertisements.

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis (H1) examined if teenage Asian Americans will perceive advertisements portraying social stereotypes of Asian Americans (stereotyped advertisements) less positively than advertisements portraying Asians in non-stereotyped situations (non-stereotyped advertisements). In contrast, teenage non-Asian Americans will perceive stereotyped advertisements more positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

Three aspects of each group were analyzed: overall portrayals, impression of models presented, and perception of models in terms of socioeconomic status. Therefore, H1 contained six sub-hypotheses.

A sample of the stereotyped advertisements is shown in Figure 1. The advertisement portrays the Asian model as a model minority, which is commonly considered as one of the stereotypes of Asian Americans. A sample of the non-stereotyped advertisements is shown in Figure 2. The portrayal does not associate with the social stereotypes of Asian Americans, such as “all work, no play” or excellence in math or science. All advertisements used for this study are found in Appendix C.

The students were asked to select three words to express their impressions of the advertisements shown. The researcher assigned one point for each positive word they selected. The final score of each student was obtained by adding his or her score for each advertisement. The selection of the words for the analysis of overall impression of the advertisement (Q1) is shown in Table 5. The selection of the words for the analysis of impression of models presented in Q2 is presented in Table 6.

Table 5

Classification of the Selection of the Words for Q1: "I think that this advertisement looks..."

Word selections	
Positive outcome	Non-positive outcome
Credible	Disgraceful
Great	Deceptive
Pleasant	Efficient
Realistic	Naïve
Sophisticated	Unrealistic

Table 6

Classification of the Selection of the Words for Q2: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) of this advertisement looks..."

Word selections	
Positive outcome	Non-positive outcome
Friendly	Arrogant
Gorgeous	Hostile
Intelligent	Nerdy
Kind	Stupid
Reliable	Unreliable

Although one out of the six sub-hypotheses, the one focusing on the perception of Asian American students in terms of socioeconomic status of the Asian models presented, was supported, overall, H1 was rejected.

H1-a: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive stereotyped advertisements less positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

The mean scores were obtained based on the positive outcome of the perception of the students. The highest score is 30.0, and the lowest score is 0.0. Higher mean numbers indicate the students' perceptions are positive.

Table 7 provides the result of the paired t-test for H1-a. The observed result is the expected result, showing a lower mean score for the stereotyped ads (M for stereotyped

ads = 16.2; M for non-stereotyped ads = 16.4); however, the result is not statistically significant ($t = 0.511$; $p = .611$). Therefore, H1-a is not supported.

H1-b: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive stereotyped advertisements more positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

Table 7 also shows the result of H1-b. The results indicate that the teenage non-Asian American students perceived the sample non-stereotyped advertisements more positively than the sample stereotyped advertisements. They showed a mean score of 18.0 for the non-stereotyped ads and a mean score of 16.7 for the stereotyped ads. The statistics show that the positive response to the non-stereotyped ads is significantly higher ($t = -2.514$; $p = .015$). However, this is not the expected result. Therefore, H1-b is rejected.

Table 7

H1-a and H1-b: Asian Americans' and Non-Asian Americans' Perception of Overall Portrayals of Stereotyped Advertisements and Non-stereotyped Advertisements

		Perceptions				Paired t-test results		
		Stereotyped ads		Non-stereotyped ads				
		<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
H1-a	Asian Americans N=53	16.2	5.2	16.4	5.2	52	-0.351	N/S
H1-b	Non-Asian Americans N=56	16.7	5.1	18.0	4.6	55	-2.514	.015

^a A 0-30 scale was used. A higher number means a more positive perception.

In an examination of the students' overall impression of the advertisements, although the degree of preference was different, both Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans responded more positively to the non-stereotypical advertisements.

The advertisement that both groups showed the most positive perception of in this analysis is AD 16. AD 16 attempts to sell a medicine that prevents dogs from contracting heartworm and fleas (see Appendix C). It shows a heartwarming picture of a gently smiling Asian female hugging a dog. The researcher noticed that many of the female students said "awww...." when the advertisement was shown to them during the survey. The mean scores of the Asian students and the non-Asian students of the ad are 2.50 and 2.45 respectively, where 3.00 is the highest score possible for this analysis.

As Table 8 shows, the responses to AD 2, which was given the second highest scores by the Asian students and third by the non-Asian students, conflict with the overall result of H1-a and H1-b. It is a stereotypical/model minority portrayal presenting a professional young Asian woman. She is dressed modestly in a dark business suit, with a simple hairstyle, no accessories, and little makeup. She is intended to be viewed as intelligent, confident, and naturally charming.

Both Asian and non-Asian students had positive perceptions of the portrayal; however, close analysis points out differences in their perception. The most selected word of the Asian students was “pleasant.” 59.6% of them chose it to express their impression of the advertisement. In contrast, the percentage of non-Asian students’ selecting the word was 45.2%. The most selected word by the non-Asian students of the portrayal was “realistic.” 54.1% of them chose it as their first perception of the image. For the same word, 48.1% of the Asian students selected it as the word to express their impression of the image. It seems an interesting dichotomy. A majority of the Asian Americans consider this a situation they would like to see, where a majority of the non-Asian Americans considers this to be a situation they expect to see.

The advertisement to which they showed the least positive perception is AD 11, which attempts to sell vodka to young adults. The Asian students perceived the advertisement less positively than the non-Asian students did. The mean scores of Asian students and non-Asian students on AD 11 are 0.71 and 0.86 on a 1-3 scale respectively; lower numbers indicate less positive perception.

Further analysis indicates that the three words that were most selected by both the Asian students and the non-Asian students are identical. “Unrealistic” was the most selected word (62.3% of Asian selected; 59.9% of non-Asian selected), followed by “disgraceful” (57.4% and 47.7% respectively) and “deceptive” (42.6% and 32.3% respectively).

The advertisement shows a nearly naked Caucasian female reclining comfortably and being served a beverage by a kneeling Asian female robed in a short red Chinese dress. The researcher heard many of the students quietly saying, “Whoa!” and other expressions of surprise when the advertisement was presented. She also recognized that others giggled for a short moment. While the advertisement did not generate any further reactions from the students in the experiment session, it raised louder voices from the Asian American community.

Although the marketing team only intended to catch audiences’ attention and entertain them, they instead disturbed many people. Members of an Asian-American Web site, Asianavenue.com, protested to the company that the ad was racially offensive. The September 2, 1999, edition of *The New York Times* (Kane, 1999) reports that the advertiser decided to discontinue the ad as a result of the protest.

The reason why the participating students in the study reacted in such ways is unknown. They might have been showing their feelings about the white master/Asian servant portrayal; they may have been attracted by the beauty of the imaginary; or they might have been titillated or disturbed by the nudity present in the advertisement.

Table 8 shows the three advertisements to which the students showed the most positive reaction. The three advertisements to which the students showed the least positive responses are listed in Table 9.

Table 8

Top 3 MOST Positively Viewed Advertisements by Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans(HI-ad overall)Question: "I think that the advertisement looks..."^a

Rank	Asian Americans				Non-Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal
1	AD 16	2.50	61	Non-stereotype Family	AD16	2.45	65	Non-stereotype Family
2	AD 2	2.31	57	Stereotype/ Model minority Professional	AD 6	2.33	64	Non-stereotype Fashion model
3	AD 6	2.25	60	Non-stereotype Fashion model	AD 2	2.30	61	Stereotype/ Model minority Professional

^a See Appendix B for the word choices.^b A 0-3 scale was used. The highest score is 3.00. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

Table 9

Top 3 LEAST Positively Viewed Advertisements by Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans(H1-ad overall)Question 1: "I think that the advertisement looks..."^a

Rank	Asian Americans				Non-Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal
1	AD 11	0.71	60	Stereotype Traditional/ China doll	AD11	0.86	65	Stereotype Traditional/ China doll
2	AD 1	0.97	61	Non-Stereotype Comical	AD 17	0.97	65	Stereotype Traditional/ Geisha girl
3	AD 17	1.02	61	Stereotype Traditional/ Geisha girl	AD 19	1.11	65	Non-Stereotype Fashion model

^a See Appendix B for the word choices.^b A 0-3 scale was used. The highest score is 3.00. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

H1-c: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

The statistical examination shows that the teenage Asian Americans perceived Asian models portrayed in a stereotyped manner more positively than the models portrayed in a non-stereotyped manner (M for stereotyped ads = 18.0; M for non-stereotyped ads = 17.7 on the same scale discussed in H1-a). This is not the expected

result. In addition, the result is not statistically significant ($df = 48$, $t = 0.600$, $p > .05$).

Thus, H1-c is rejected.

H1-d: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

The mean score for the stereotyped ads and non-stereotyped ads are almost identical (18.4 and 18.3 respectively, using the same scale as in H1-a), which explains why the teenage non-Asian Americans viewed the advertisements in almost the same way, regardless of how Asian models were presented in the ads. Indeed, statistics show no significant difference in the response to the Asian models ($df=56$, $t=0.125$, $p > .05$). Therefore, H1-d is rejected.

Table 10 shows the three images most positively evaluated by the Asian students. The responses of non-Asian students were also shown in the table. Table 11 presents the three images of Asian models that were evaluated least positively by the Asian students. The data of the non-Asian students is also listed in the table as well.

Interestingly, the first two results of both groups in Table 10 show disagreement with the overall results. They are non-stereotypical portrayals. In addition, two of the least positively perceived images are stereotypical images, which also conflicts with the overall results.

Further analysis focused on the images of the models. Some interesting trends were found regarding which images the students preferred. First, the students, regardless of their ethnicity, were attracted to smiling, friendly faces. As Table 10 presents, the first two advertisements that were perceived in the most positive manner by the students are AD 16 and AD 6. AD 16 portrays a gently smiling Asian female. AD 6 presents a lively, stylish Asian female. She has a friendly smile and opens her arms widely.

The three most selected words for AD 16 by the Asians and the non-Asians to the question, "I think that the model in the advertisement looks..." were identical. "Friendly" was the most selected word (91.8% and 86.2% respectively), followed by "kind" (77.8% and 83.1% respectively) and "reliable" (41.0% and 43.1% respectively).

Second, it seems that the students, regardless of their ethnic background, positively perceived portrayals showing the models as smart, sharp, and diligent. The analysis based on the preference of individual advertisements indicates that both the Asian and the non-Asian students perceived four out of five such images relatively positively. AD 21 (a female portrayed as a good student) was rated the third highest by the Asian students and fourth highest by the non-Asian students. AD 2 (a female portrayed as a professional) was rated the fourth highest by the Asian students, and the sixth by the non-Asian students. AD 20 (a female portrayed as a professional) was rated the fifth highest by the Asian students, and the third highest by the non-Asian students. AD 10 (a female portrayed as a scientist) was rated the seventh by both groups of students.

Third, the students were not very attracted to the portrayals that present models who are not smiling. The portrayal of the model in AD 19, which presents a fashionably dressed Asian in a white jacket, white shirt, and black pants holding a strand of 35mm movie film, received the least positive reaction from the students. They responded to the portrayal of the model in AD 4, which shows an Asian male wearing a white turtle neck sweater, in the second least positive manner. What both portrayals have in common, besides showing a male model, is that they look as if the models are staring at the camera without showing any emotion. This inanimate quality might explain why the images are less attractive to the students.

Although the model in AD 19 was perceived least positively among the sample advertisements by the students regardless of their ethnicity, the Asians and the non-Asian students used slightly different words to describe him. Asians' top three picks to describe the model in AD 19 were "nerdy," "stupid," and interestingly, "friendly." The percentages of the selections are 49.2%, 45.9%, and 31.1% respectively. Only 20.0% of the non-Asian students selected "friendly." The three most selected words by the non-Asian students were "stupid," "nerdy," and "arrogant." The percentages of the selections are 56.9%, 50.8%, and 35.4% respectively. The data show that only 23.0% of the Asian students selected "arrogant."

Asian and non-Asian students seem to have perceived AD 4 slightly differently. Asians selected "stupid" (42.6%), "arrogant" (39.3%), and "friendly" (34.4%). Only 18.5% of the non-Asian students selected "friendly." The non-Asians selected "arrogant"

(53.8%), “stupid” (40.0%), and “nerdy” (35.4%). 31.1% of the Asian students selected “nerdy.”

Table 10 Top 3 MOST Positively Perceived Models by Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans (H1-model)

Q: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) looks..."^a

Rank	Asian Americans				Non-Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal
1	AD16	2.56	61	Non-stereotype Family	AD 16	2.54	65	Non-stereotype Family
2	AD 6	2.54	61	Non-stereotype Fashion model	AD 6	2.51	65	Non-stereotype Fashion model
3	AD 21	2.30	57	Stereotype Model minority/ Good student	AD 20	2.49	65	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional

^a See Appendix B for the word choices.

^b A 0-3 scale was used. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

Table 11 Top 3 LEAST Positively Perceived Models by Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans (H1-model)

Q: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) looks..."^a

Rank	Asian Americans				Non-Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal
1	AD 19	1.00	60	Non-stereotype Fashion model	AD 19	0.86	65	Non-stereotype Fashion model
2	AD 4	1.05	61	Non-stereotype Fashion model	AD 4	0.93	60	Non-stereotype Fashion model
3	AD 9	1.18	60	Stereotype Traditional/ Dragon lady	AD 17	1.31	64	Stereotype Traditional/ Geisha girl

^a See Appendix B for the word choices.

^b A 0-3 scale was used. A lower number indicates a less positive perception.

The two most positively perceived models happened to be women. In addition, the two least positively perceived models happened to be men. There was the possibility that the difference in perception was caused by gender of the students, who were 37.3% male and 62.7% female.

An independent t-test was performed for this analysis. The statistical results did not detect any significant differences between the male and the female students in their responses to AD 6 and 16 (see Table 12), and AD 4 and 19 (see Table 13).

Table 12

Gender Analysis / Response to AD 16 & AD 6

Q: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) looks..."

Ad #		N	<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	Independent t-test		
					<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
AD 16	Male	47	2.51	0.75	124	-.136	N/S
	Female	79	2.57	0.78			
AD 6	Male	47	2.51	0.93	124	.417	N/A
	Female	79	2.53	0.78			

^a A 0-3 scale was used. The highest score is 3.00; the lowest score is 0. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

Table 13

Gender Analysis / Response to AD 19 & AD 4

Q: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) looks..."

Ad #		N	<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	Independent t-test		
					<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
AD 19	Male	47	0.92	1.00	123	-.113	N/A
	Female	78	0.94	1.01			
AD 4	Male	45	0.88	1.04	119	-1.006	N/A
	Female	76	1.07	1.06			

^a A 0-3 scale was used. The highest score is 3.00; the lowest score is 0. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

H1-e: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asians in non-advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner lower economic status.

The statistical results of H1-e and H1-f are presented in Table 14. The highest mean for both of the examinations was 50.0; the lowest score was 10.0. Higher mean scores indicate that the students perceived the models in the advertisements positively.

Statistics indicate the significance in the result of H1-e ($t = 5.734$; $df = 44$, $p = .001$). However, opposite to the prediction, the teenage Asian American students rated the Asian models portrayed in a stereotyped manner more positively than the Asian models portraying in a non-stereotyped manner ($\underline{M}$ for stereotyped ads is 35.6; $\underline{M}$ for non-stereotyped ads is 32.6). Therefore, H1-e is rejected.

H1-f: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner higher economic status.

As the data indicates in Table 14, the non-Asian American students perceived the Asian models portrayed in a stereotyped manner more positively than the Asian models portrayed in a non-stereotyped manner ($\underline{M}$ for stereotyped ads = 35.9; $\underline{M}$ for non-stereotyped ads = 33.4). This is the anticipated result. In addition, the data indicates that

the result is statistically significant ($t = 5.009$; $df = 49$; $p = .001$). Therefore, H1-f is supported.

Table 14

H1-e and H1-f: Ethnic Perceptions of the Socioeconomic Status of Asian Models in Stereotyped vs. Non-stereotyped Advertisements

Question: "To what economic class do you think the person belongs?"

		Economic status of Asian Models				Paired t-test results		
		Stereotyped ads		Non-stereotyped ads				
		<u>M</u> ^a	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u> ^a	<u>SD</u>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
H1-e	Asian Americans N=45	35.6	5.1	32.6	4.7	44	5.734	.001
H1-f	Non-Asian Americans N=50	35.9	5.7	33.4	5.1	49	5.009	.001

^a A 10-50 score was used. A higher number indicates a more positive perception.

Further analysis reveals that the students did not perceive all the stereotypical advertisements used in the study in the same manner. Although there are some exceptions, the images that present Asians as a model minority were perceived more positively than the images that did not present Asians in such a manner. The mean of

individual stereotype/model minority advertisement is 3.67 on a 1-5 scale; on the other hand, that of stereotype/non-model minority advertisements is 3.40 on the same scale.

This finding might be reflective of today's culture. Regardless of their ethnicity, high school students are encouraged by their teachers and families to pursue a career that will enable them to be financially independent. Their responses were favorable to the models portrayed as professionals because they might have seen them as their role models.

The three advertisements that the students perceived in the most positive manner are listed in Table 15. Both the Asian and the non-Asian students perceived the model in AD 20, a gently smiling female in a business suit portraying a business consultant who looks confident of herself, as someone who would belong to the highest socioeconomic class among the models shown. The data indicates that the non-Asian students viewed the socioeconomic status of the model slightly higher than the Asian students did (M: Non-Asians = 4.02; M: Asians = 3.82). 46.7% of the Asian students rated the socioeconomic class of the model as "5: highest"; 53.7% of the non-Asian students rated the socioeconomic class to which the model would belong as 5.

Table 15

Top 3 MOST Positively Perceived Models by Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans (HI-economic status)

Question: "To what economic class do you think the person belongs?"

Rank	Asian Americans				Non-Asian Americans			
	AD#	M ^a	N	Portrayal	AD#	M ^a	N	Portrayal
1	AD 20	3.82	60	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 20	4.02	65	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional
2	AD 2	3.76	55	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 23	3.91	58	Non-stereotype Luxurious/ Fun-loving
3	AD 14	3.75	59	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 10	3.86	65	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional

^a A 1-5 scale was used. A higher number indicates a high economic class.

Table 16 shows the three advertisements that the students perceived in the least positive manner. The results indicate that both the Asians and non-Asians perceived the socioeconomic status of the model presented in non-stereotypical portrayals as relatively low. However, further analysis points out that they did not respond to all non-stereotypical portrayals in the same manner. Their responses to the image of an Asian soldier, AD 3; a woman in a kitchen who is about to throw a turkey, AD 1; the models that emphasized exotic Asian culture, such as the geisha girl portrayal, AD 17 and the China doll portrayal, AD 18; and Asian males holding their surf boards on the beach running cheerfully, AD 12, were less positive than their reactions to the image

portraying Asians as fashion leaders, such as AD 4 or AD 6. In the fashion leader portrayals, the male models were considered less financially successful than the female models.

All advertisements used for this study are located in Appendix C.

Table 16

Top 3 LEAST Positively Perceived Models by Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans (H1-socioeconomic status)

Question: "To what economic class do you think the person belongs?"

Rank	Asian Americans				Non-Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal
1	AD 3	2.72	57	Non-stereotype Soldier	AD 1	2.73	63	Non-stereotype A cheerful woman
1 (2)	AD 1	2.72	60	Non-stereotype Comical	AD 12	3.00	65	Non-stereotype Fun-loving
3	AD 18 ^b	2.92	59	Stereotype Traditional/ China doll	AD 17	3.05	62	Stereotype Traditional/ Geisha girl

^a A 1-5 scale was used. The highest score is 5.00. A higher number indicates a high economic class.

^b The response is to the Asian model.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis (H2) was designed to analyze the perceptions of teenage Asian Americans born in the United States (US-born Asian Americans) and the

perceptions of teenage Asian Americans born in foreign countries (foreign-born Asian Americans) to stereotyped and non-stereotyped advertisements.

Six sub-hypotheses examined H2 from three perspectives: overall portrayals, impression of models presented, and perception of models in terms of socioeconomic status. Statistical results rejected all the sub-hypotheses. Therefore, H2 failed to be supported.

H2-a: Teenage US-BORN Asian Americans will perceive stereotyped advertisements less positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

H2-a is not supported. The US-born Asian Americans perceived the stereotyped advertisements slightly more positively than the non-stereotyped advertisements ($\bar{M}$ for stereotyped ads = 16.8; $\bar{M}$ for non-stereotyped ads = 16.6 on a 0-30 scale. A higher number indicates a more positive reaction); however, the statistical results show that there is no significant difference in the responses of US-born Asian Americans to the stereotyped and non-stereotyped ads ($t = .348, df = 39, p > .05$).

The results show that the US-born teenage Asian Americans view the stereotyped portrayals more positively than the non-stereotyped portrayals. The following analysis considers two perspectives of why they may have perceived the advertisements in this manner.

First, the US-born teenage Asian Americans may have difficulty recognizing the negative results of being stereotyped by mainstream culture. The problem with being

stereotyped by mainstream culture, according to Taylor and Lee (1994) and Faber, O'Guinn, and Meyer (1987), is the host culture is not interested in understanding the group. The teenagers' difficulties may be the result of having been immersed in a mainstream cultural environment since birth.

Second, the US-born teenage Asian Americans accept the images of Asians presented in the media as being more accepted by mainstream society. The environmental factor is considered to have an influence on this issue as well. They have been surrounded by mainstream society since they were born, and they naturally recognize its values, norms, and tradition in the process of maturation.

H2-b: Teenage FOREIGN-BORN Asian Americans will perceive stereotyped advertisements more positively than non-stereotyped advertisements.

Unexpectedly, the finding indicates that the responses of the foreign-born Asian Americans to the stereotyped advertisements was less positive than to the advertisements presenting Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements ($\bar{M}$ for stereotyped ads = 14.3; $\bar{M}$ for non-stereotyped ads = 15.8 on the same scale discussed in the H2-a section). However, the statistical result did not indicate significance ($t = -1.686$, $df = 12$, $p > .05$). Thus, H2-b is rejected.

As Table 17 shows, the most positively perceived advertisements by the US-born Asian students was AD 16 (see the brief description of the portrayals found in the

analysis section for H1-a & H1-b). The three most selected words by the students were “pleasant” (selected by 76.7% of the students), “realistic”(62.8%), and “great” (53.5%).

The second and third most positively perceived advertisements by the US-born Asian students were AD 2 and AD 20 respectively. They are both stereotyped portrayals. This result conflicts with the overall result of H2-a. The common feature of these two images, besides the gender of the models, is that the advertisements portray them as a model minority. The three words mostly selected by the students to describe AD 2 were “sophisticated” (selected by 65.1% of the students), followed by “realistic” (60.5%), and “pleasant” (58.1%); those for AD 20 are “pleasant” (62.8%), “sophisticated” (53.5%), and “realistic” (51.2%).

Table 17 also presents the three advertisements that the foreign-born Asian students perceived in the most positive manner. The most positively perceived advertisement for them was AD 16 ($M = 2.444$), a non-stereotyped advertisement, in conflict with the overall result of H2-b. The second and third highest perceived advertisements were AD 21 ($M = 2.111$) and AD 2 ($M = 2.071$), both of which are stereotyped portrayals.

The three most selected words by the foreign-born students for AD 16, the most preferred advertisement, (see the brief description of the portrayals is found in the analysis for H1-a & H1-b section), were “great,” pleasant,” and “realistic.” The percentages of students who selected these words are 72.2%, 55.6%, and 55.6% respectively. Although the order of the words selected by US-born Asian American students for AD 16 is different from that of foreign-born Asian students, the results

indicate that both the US-born and the foreign-born Asian students perceived the advertisement in a similar manner.

The shared characteristic seen in both AD 21 and AD 2, the foreign-born students' second and third favorite images, is that the models are portrayed as model minorities. The former presents a smiling Asian female student standing next to a Caucasian male student, who is also smiling. Their attire is simple and conservative, just like the styles that many parents desire their teenage sons or daughters to wear. Both of them hold their study materials, either text books or paper folders. The advertisement presents them as diligent college students who enjoy learning and who have good prospects in their future. The latter presents a young Asian female. The portrayal in this advertisement is discussed in the discussion section for H1-a & H1-b.

For the former advertisement, 66.7% of the foreign-born Asian American students perceived the advertisement as "great," 44.4% chose "pleasant," and 38.9% described the ad as "credible." For the latter, 64.3% chose "pleasant," 57.1% selected "great," and 35.7% chose "realistic."

The three least positively perceived advertisements by the US-born Asian students are listed in Table 18. The data shows that the US-born Asian students perceived AD 18, AD 1 and AD 17 least positively. The mean for AD 18 is 0.476, which is the least positive response, 0.770 for AD 1, which is the second least positive response, and 0.930 for AD 17, which is the third least positive response.

A shared element of AD 18 and AD 17 present are stereotyped images. Both of them highlight Asian culture from the Western perspective. AD 18 shows an Asian

female dressed in a short Chinese dress (details have been described in this discussion section. See the discussion for H1-a and H1-b), while AD 17 presents a comparison of the cultural icons of east and west. It shows a Caucasian male in a cowboy outfit, wearing a pair of sneakers rather than cowboy boots, and a heavily powdered Asian female robed in a traditional kimono, wearing a pair of sneakers, rather than *Zouri*, or Japanese-style sandals, which are more appropriate shoes for that style of dress.

An analysis was performed on AD 18 to examine the responses of the US-born students. 73.8% of the students choose to describe their impression of the portrayal as “unrealistic,” 64.3% chose “disgraceful,” and 52.4% choose “deceptive.” There were no positive words selected by an outstanding number of students in the group. The result indicates that they might be as disturbed by the portrayal as the members of the Asian American organization were.

The mean score analysis of AD 17 proves that US-born Asian Americans responded negatively to the portrayal. However, an additional analysis points out that their perception was not unanimously negative. 58.1% of the students in the group perceived the portrayal as “unrealistic.” 37.2% of the students in the group choose “disgraceful,” and “deceptive” was chosen by 30.2% of the students in the group. The selection of these three words is considered an expression of negativity to the portrayal. Interestingly, however, 30.2% of the students answered that the advertisement looked “pleasant,” a term which shows a respondent’s positive response to the portrayal.

AD 1 was also not perceived in a positive manner. However, the image presented in AD 1 differs from the elements highlighted in both AD 18 and AD 17. The

advertisement presents a comical middle-aged Asian female throwing a turkey. The combination of the vivid colors in the advertisement, orange, yellow, and green, may catch the audience's eye.

It seems that humor appeals to some people, but not to everybody in the same way. AD 1 did not appeal to the US-born students in a positive manner. 34.9% of the students perceived the image as "pleasant"; however, 76.7% of the students viewed it as "unrealistic," and 41.9% of the students saw it as "naïve."

The three advertisements rated least positively by the foreign-born Asian Americans are listed in Table 18 as well. The data shows that AD 17, AD 3, and AD 5 were the three least positively perceived images by the foreign-born Asian students. A brief description of the image in AD 17 has been given earlier in this section. AD 3 is a non-stereotypical advertisement. Printed in black and white, it shows young soldiers in a field or training camp. A smiling Asian male is present in the center of the advertisement, surrounded by his fellow soldiers. A soldier holding a gun on top of a tank stands behind them. AD 5 is a model minority/stereotyped advertisement presenting an Asian male wearing glasses. He appears to be a serious student.

Further analysis shows a different aspect to the responses of the foreign-born Asian students, a side which cannot be observed in the mean scores. The students' responses are not unanimously negative to the geisha girl portrayal (AD 17). 55.6% of the students selected "unrealistic" to express their impression on the image. "Disgraceful," which is also not positive, was chosen by 33.3% of the students. However, interestingly, 27.8% of the students selected "great."

A similar response was found for AD 3. 46.2% of the foreign-born students described that advertisement as “disgraceful” and 38.5% selected “deceptive.” However, additional analysis indicates that many students might have had positive views and negative views simultaneously. 38.5% of the students answered that the ad was “great,” and 30.8% selected “pleasant.”

The foreign-born Asian students perceived the model minority portrayals positively in most of the cases in this study; however, the data reveals that AD 5 was an exception for the foreign-born Asian students. The advertisement is from a private college that focuses on computer based technology and engineering education. The male model is portrayed as a diligent student, almost a geek. His black frame eyeglasses emphasize this image. No word was selected by more than 40% of the students. The general view of the students was, “That advertisement looked ‘efficient’ and ‘sophisticated’; although at the same time, it looked ‘naïve’ and ‘unrealistic.’” The percentages of the students that selected these words are 38.9%, 33.3%, 33.3% and 33.3% respectively.

Table 17

Top 3 MOST Positively Viewed Advertisements by US-born Asian Americans vs.Foreign-born Asian Americans (H2-ad overall)Q 1: "I think that the advertisement looks..."^a

rank	US-born Asian Americans				Foreign-born Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal
1	AD 16	2.465	43	Non-stereotype Family	AD 16	2.444	18	Non-stereotype Family
2	AD 2	2.395	43	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 21	2.111	18	Stereotype Model minority/ Good Student
3	AD 20	2.357	42	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 2	2.071	14	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional

^a See Appendix B for the word selections.^b A 0-3 scale was used. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

Table 18

Top 3 LEAST Positively Viewed Advertisements by US-born Asian Americans vs.Foreign-born Asian Americans (H2-ad overall)Q: "I think that the advertisement looks..."^a

rank	US-born Asian Americans				Foreign-born Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal
1	AD 18	0.476	42	Stereotype Traditional China doll	AD 17	1.222	18	Stereotype Traditional Geisha girl
2	AD 1	0.770	43	Non-stereotype Comical	AD 3	1.231	13	Non-stereotype Soldier
3	AD 17	0.930	43	Stereotype Traditional Geisha girl	AD 5	1.250	16	Stereotype Model minority/ Good student

^a See Appendix B for the word selections.^b A 0-3 scale was used. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

H2-c: Teenage US-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

H2-c is not supported. The paired t-test analysis did not detect a significantly less positive reaction for the stereotyped advertisements ($t = 1.147$, $df = 35$, $p > .05$). In opposition to expectations, the US-born Asian American teenagers perceived the Asian models in stereotyped portrayals more positively than the Asian models in the non-

stereotyped portrayals ($\underline{M} = 18.500$ and $\underline{M} = 17.750$ respectively on the same scale as the one applied to H2-a).

H2-d: Teenage FOREIGN-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asian models in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asian models in non-stereotyped advertisements.

The statistical results indicate that there were no significant differences between the responses to the Asian models presented in the stereotyped portrayals and the models in the non-stereotyped portrayals. The mean score of the students' perceptions of the Asian models in the stereotyped portrayals is 16.7, and that of the Asian models in the non-stereotyped portrayals is 17.4, using the same 0-30 rating scale as that used in H2-a. Although the observed result was not the result expected, no statistically significant result was found ($t = -0.481$, $df = 12$, $p > .05$). This failed to support H2-d.

Table 19 presents AD 16, AD 6, and AD 20, which are the three advertisements that US-born Asian American students perceived most positively. It includes both stereotyped and non-stereotyped images. The first two advertisements are the non-stereotyped portrayals, the third is the stereotyped portrayal. However, a close observation of the portrayals reveals a similarity in each portrayal. Friendliness and smiles are a common element in all three advertisements.

The most commonly selected words to describe these images were "friendly" and "kind." The percentage of the students who selected "friendly" to describe the models in

AD 16, AD 6, and AD 20 were 90.7%, 86.6%, and 72.1% respectively. Those who selected the latter word were 81.4%, 60.5%, and 48.8% respectively.

Table 19 also lists the three advertisements that foreign-born Asian American students perceived most positively. AD 16, AD 6, and AD 8 are non-stereotyped advertisements. The overall results show that the US-born Asians perceived the stereotyped ads more positively, whereas the foreign-born Asian students perceived the non-stereotyped ads more positively. However, foreign-born Asian students' first two results in the list, AD 16 and AD 6, were the same as the first two most preferred advertisements by the US-born Asians.

The common aspects of the models presented in the three most positively perceived advertisements by the foreign-born Asian students, besides the gender of the model, are smiles, friendliness, and kindness, the same elements found in the three most positively perceived models by the US-born Asian students.

The foreign-born students had a similar response to that of the US-born students. "Friendly" and "kind" are the most selected words for AD 16, AD 6, and AD 8. The percentages of students who selected "friendly" were 94.4%, 77.8%, and 66.7% respectively. Those who selected "kind" were 66.7%, 55.6%, and 72.7% respectively.

The three advertisements to which the US-born Asian students showed the least positive responses were AD 19, AD 1, and AD 9. Their responses appear in Table 20.

AD 19 presents a man. A brief description of the image in the advertisement is found in sections H1-c and H1-d. The male model appears to be smiling slightly, but he

could also be described as pale and dull. 52.4% of the students answered that he looked “nerdy,” 47.6% answered “stupid,” and 33.3% answered “unreliable.”

AD 1 shows a smiling Asian female. Despite her smile, she was unpopular among the US-born Asian American students; however, further examination indicates that many of the students might have had an ambivalent opinion of the portrayal. 72.1% of the students responded that she looked “stupid,” which might be a result of her comical actions. 46.5% of the students expressed their opinion of her as “nerdy.” In spite of these negative responses, however, 48.8% of the students perceived her as “friendly.” In addition, nearly one third chose “kind” to express their impression of her.

The students’ perception of her as “stupid” or “nerdy” may be influenced by their lack of exposure to Asians in comical situations in the media. Her comical role may make her seem odd or awkward to the students, and this view might lead to their perception.

The third least positive portrayal among the US-born Asian Americans is AD 9, which attempts to convey the exotic aroma of Asia. The advertisement is for a high end restaurant specializing in Asian cuisine. The stereotype of the advertisement is the Dragon Lady portrayal. The advertisement presents a young Asian female who has natural almond-shaped eyes; however, they are emphasized by heavy make-up to make them look more slanted. She wears a flower, probably an orchid, which usually symbolizes the exotic Orient from the Western perspective. She looks as if she is accusing something or somebody of challenging her.

The mean of responses from the US-born Asian American students was 1.095. 45.2% of the students answered that she looked “gorgeous,” one of the positive choices. However, 69.0% of the students chose “hostile” as their impression of the model; while another 52.4% answered that she looked “arrogant,” both of which are negative perceptions of an advertisement.

The three advertisements that the foreign-born Asian Americans responded to in the least positive manner are AD 19, AD 9, and AD 5. This result is also listed in Table 20.

The result is not consistent regarding how the models are portrayed. Two of them, AD 9 and AD 5, present Asian models in a stereotypical manner. Another advertisement, AD 19, portrays a male Asian model in a non-stereotypical manner. However, one aspect is found in all three images. The models are not portrayed as animated, and they appear slightly uptight.

For the model in AD 19, the words most selected by the students were “nerdy” (44.4% of the students selected) and “stupid” (44.4%). For the model in AD 9, the word most selected was “hostile” (55.6%). “Reliable” was also chosen by 55.6% of the students. For the model in AD 5, 47.1% of the students answered that he looked “intelligent,” but 64.7% selected that he looked “nerdy”.

Table 19

Top 3 MOST Positively Perceived Models by US-born Asian Americans vs. Foreign-born Asian Americans (H2-model)

Q: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) looks..."^a

rank	US-born Asian Americans				Foreign-born Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^b	N	Portrayal
1	AD 16	2.581	43	Non-stereotype Family	AD 16	2.500	18	Non-stereotype Family
2	AD 6	2.558	43	Non-stereotype Fashion Model	AD 6	2.500	18	Non-stereotype Fashion Model
3	AD 20	2.349	43	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 8	2.222	18	Non-stereotype Family

^a See Appendix B for the word choices.

^b A 0-3 scale was used. A higher number indicates a less positive perception.

Table 20

Top 3 LEAST Positively Perceived Models by US-born Asian Americans vs. Foreign-born Asian Americans (H2-model)

Q: "I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt, etc.) looks..."^a

rank	US-born Asian Americans				Foreign-born Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal
1	AD 19	0.976	43	Non-stereotype Fashion model	AD 19	1.056	18	Non-stereotype Fashion model
2	AD 1	1.020	43	Non-stereotype Comical	AD 9	1.189	17	Stereotype Traditional Dragon lady
3	AD 9	1.095	42	Stereotype Traditional Dragon lady	AD 5	1.353	17	Stereotype Model minority/ Good student

^a See Appendix B for the word choices.

^b A 0-3 scale was used. A lower number indicates a less positive perception.

H2-e: Teenage US-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements less positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner lower economic status.

A 10-50 scale was used to examine H2-e and H2-f. Higher numbers indicate that the perception of the students leaned towards the positive.

Table 21 shows the statistical result of H2-e. The means of the stereotyped portrayals and non-stereotyped portrayals are 36.2 and 32.9 respectively, which means that the US-born Asian Americans felt more positively towards the Asian models in the stereotyped advertisements than towards those in the non stereotyped advertisements. Indeed, the statistics detect a significant difference between the responses ($t = 5.921$, $df = 33$, $p = .001$); however, the observed result is opposite to what was expected. Therefore, H2-e is rejected.

H2-f: Teenage FOREIGN-BORN Asian Americans will perceive Asians in stereotyped advertisements more positively than Asians in non-stereotyped advertisements, giving the Asians presented in a stereotyped manner higher economic status.

The statistical analysis for H2-f is also presented in Table 21. As the result shows, the foreign-born Asian American teenagers gave a more positive response to the stereotyped advertisements than to the non-stereotyped advertisements. The comparison of the average mean responses for H2-e supports the hypothesis. M for stereotyped ads and non-stereotyped ads were 33.7 and 31.8 respectively. However, the statistics do not detect a significant difference ($t = 1.559$, $df = 10$, $p > .05$). Therefore, H2-f fails to be supported.

Table 21

H2-e and H2-f: US-born Asian Americans and Foreign-born Asian Americans'Perception of the Socioeconomic Status of Asian Models in Advertisements

Q: "To what economic class do you think the model (in the ad) belongs?"

		Socioeconomic status of Asian Models				Paired t-test results		
		Stereotyped ads		Non-stereotyped ads				
		<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
H2-e	US-born Asian Americans N=34	36.2	4.6	32.9	4.8	33	5.921	.001
H2-f	Foreign-born Asian Americans N=11	33.7	6.1	31.8	4.4	10	1.559	N/S

^a A 10-50 scale was used. A higher number indicates a positive perception.

Table 22 presents the three advertisements that the US-born Asian American students perceived in the most positive manner. The students perceived the models in AD 14, AD 20, and AD 23 as belonging to a relatively high socioeconomic class. AD 14 features a neatly dressed Asian businessman who smiles and holds a big blue ball on his hand. AD 20 features a businesswoman. AD 23 features a fashionable female who is enjoying driving her luxury convertible.

Further examination shows that the US-born Asian students gave the highest scores to stereotypes associated with business. AD 2 and AD 10, both of which present

Asian models as professionals, were given the highest scores among the sample advertisements. The mean scores are 3.81 and 3.71 respectively on a 1(low) to 5 (upper) scale. The portrayal of AD 15 is non-stereotypical. The image in the advertisement is a mature Asian male portrayed as a corporate executive. Despite its not being a stereotypical business portrayal, the students still made a connection with a high socioeconomic class.

Table 22 also lists the three advertisements that the foreign-born Asian students perceived in the most positive manner. The models who were perceived to have achieved high socioeconomic status are AD 16, AD 21, and AD 8. AD 16 features a young female cuddling her dog, AD 21 features a young female portrayed as a good college student, and AD 8 features a mother-figure with her daughter standing beside her.

What makes the responses of the foreign-born Asian students stand out is the different from the US-born Asian students. They did not give higher scores to the models in business settings, but rather associated those in family settings with higher socioeconomic status. This view is supported by the evaluation of AD 8 and AD 16, both of which present family situations. The mean scores are 3.47 and 3.65 respectively on a 1 (low) – 5 (upper) scale (see Table 22). Although AD 22 was not included in this analysis because it does not feature any Asian models, its mean score supports this view. AD 22 presents a daughter, practicing the guitar in a kitchen, and her mother, leaning on the kitchen counter and smiling as she watches her daughter practice. Both mother and daughter are Caucasian. The mean score the students gave the image is 3.53 on the 1 – 5 scale. This is one of the highest evaluations among all images shown. The evaluation of

the images of professionals will support the view as well. All four professional images, AD 2, AD 10, AD 14, and AD 20, scored lower than the images presenting family situations. The mean scores for these ads are 3.32, 3.25, 2.88, and 3.29 respectively on the same scale.

Table 22

Top 3 MOST Positive Perceived Models by US-born Asian Americans vs. Foreign-born Asian Americans (H2-economic status)

Q: "To what economic class do you think the person belongs?"

Rank	US-born Asian Americans				Foreign-born Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal
1	AD 14	4.07	43	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 16	3.65	17	Non-stereotype Family
2	AD 20	4.02	43	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional	AD 21	3.65	17	Stereotype Model minority/ Good student
3	AD 23	3.88	43	Non-stereotype Luxurious/ Fun-loving	AD 8	3.47	15	Non-stereotype Family

^a A 1(low) - 5 (upper) scale is used. A higher number indicates a higher socioeconomic class.

Table 23 lists the three advertisements to which the US-born Asian American students gave the lowest scores. As it shows, none of them are associated with business.

These three advertisements are AD 3, AD 1, and AD 18. AD 3 features a young Asian male portrayed as a soldier. AD 1 features a comical middle-aged Asian female throwing a turkey. AD 18 features a young Asian female serving her Caucasian customer.

Table 23 also lists the three advertisements to which the foreign-born Asian American students gave the lowest scores. The models that the students perceived as less economically established are those in AD 1, AD 14, and AD 19. AD 1 features a female portrayed in a comical manner. AD 14 features a businessman holding a big blue ball. AD 19 features a young male holding 35mm film. The mean scores are 2.86, 2.88, and 2.94 respectively on a 1 (low) to 5 (upper) scale.

Table 23

Top 3 LEAST Positively Perceived Models by US-born Asian Americans vs. Foreign-born Asian Americans (H2-economic status)

Q: "To what economic class do you think the person belongs?"

rank	US-born Asian Americans				Foreign-born Asian Americans			
	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal	AD#	<u>M</u> ^a	N	Portrayal
1	AD 3	2.62	42	Non-stereotype Soldier	AD 1	2.86	18	Non-stereotype Comical
2	AD 1	2.67	42	Non-stereotype Comical	AD 14	2.88	16	Stereotype Model minority/ Professional
3	AD 18	2.81	42	Stereotype Traditional/ China doll	AD 19	2.94	17	Non-stereotype Fashion model

^a A 1(low) - 5 (Upper) scale was used. A higher number indicates a higher socioeconomic class.

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis (H3) was proposed to examine the perceptions of teenage Asian Americans and teenage non-Asian Americans to advertisements presenting Asian models and advertisements not presenting Asian models.

H3 is composed of two hypotheses. These hypotheses are examined by having the students evaluate 13 pairs of advertisements. The complete list of the 13 pairs appears in Table 24.

Table 24

Matching Pairs for Hypothesis 3

Matched pair	Advertisement number		Setting/situation shown
	With Asians	Without Asians	
Pair 1	A	C	Technology
Pair 2	G	B	Woman as a sex object
Pair 3	H	D	Party
Pair 4	M	I	Friendship
Pair 5	P	K	Technology
Pair 6	Q	L	Business
Pair 7	J	E	Romantic relationship
Pair 8	J	F	Romantic relationship
Pair 9	J	N	Romantic relationship
Pair 10	J	O	Romantic relationship
Pair 11	6	7	Fashion model
Pair 12	8	22	Family
Pair 13	21	13	A good student

A 1-4 scale was used to examine the students' perception of the advertisements. Higher numbers indicate that the students perceived the advertisements favorably.

The results of both analyses detected statistical differences. Therefore, H3 was supported.

H3-a: Teenage ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive advertisements presenting Asians more positively than advertisements not presenting Asians.

The subjects showed a more favorable perception of the advertisements with Asian models than of the advertisement without any Asian models in eight out of thirteen pairs. These pairs were 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12. In five pairs, Pair 7 ($t = -7.384, p = .001$), Pair 8 ($t = -5.338, p = .001$), Pair 10 ($t = 2.299, p = .025$), Pair 11 ($t = 3.674, p = .001$), and Pair 12 ($t = 2.021, p = .048$), the statistics detect significant differences in perception between the advertisements with Asian models and those without Asian models.

Pair 4 was found to be significant ($t = 6.787, p = .001$); however, it does not support H3-a. The score for the advertisements with Asian models are lower than that for the advertisements without any Asians.

Nine out of thirteen samples support H3-a. Moreover, the statistical results of more than half of them prove that the reactions of the subjects toward the ads with and without Asian models are significantly different. Therefore, H3-a is supported.

Table 24 presents the statistical result of H3-a.

Table 25 Asian American Teens' View of Advertisements with vs. without Asians (N=61, df=60)

Pair	Portrayal	View of Teenage Asian Americans						Paired t-test	
		With Asians			Without Asians				
		<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	Model(s) presented	<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	Model(s) presented	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
2	Woman as a sex object	2.6	1.1	An Asian female & a black female	2.1	1.0	A white female	-1.351	N/S
3	Party	2.8	1.2	An Asian males & 3 White male & 2 White females	2.6	1.0	Ethnically diverse 3 females and 2 males	-1.000	N/S
4	Friendship	2.7	1.0	An Asian female & a White female & a White male	3.6	0.6	Ethnically diverse 4 females & 1 male	6.787	.001
5	Technology	2.2	0.9	An Asian male	2.1	0.9	A White male	-0.637	N/S
7	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.5	0.7	An Asian female & a White male	2.4	1.1	A Black female & a White male	-7.384	.001
8	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.5	0.7	An Asian female & a White male	2.7	1.1	A White female & a Black male	-5.338	.001
9	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.5	0.7	An Asian female & a White male	3.4	0.8	A black female & a Black male	1.183	N/S
10	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.5	0.7	An Asian female & a White male	3.1	1.0	A White female & a White male	2.299	.025
11	Fashion model	3.7	1.5	An Asian female	3.0	1.6	A White female	3.674	.001
12	Family	3.5	1.6	An Asian female and an Asian child	3.0	1.7	A White female and a White child	2.021	.048

^a A 1-4 scale was used. A higher number indicates a positive view.

The noticeable results are the analyses of Pair 7 (AD J and AD E), Pair 8 (AD J and AD F), Pair 9 (AD J and AD N) and Pair 10 (AD J and AD O), which are the analyses that focus on interracial romantic relationships. The results in Table 25 indicate that the responses of the Asian students to AD J, which shows a romantic relationship between an Asian female and a Caucasian male, were the most favorable among the five images presenting romantic relationships. The mean of AD J is 3.5 on a 1 (least favorable) to 4 (most favorable) scale. Three pairs, Pairs 7, 8, and 10, show the students' responses to the ads with and without an Asian are significantly different.

It appears that the Asian American students preferred the advertisements that present Asian models to those that do not present any Asian models. However, there are some no-Asian images to which the students responded more favorably than ads with Asians. The result of Pair 1 (AD A & AD C, not shown in Table 25) shows that they responded slightly less favorably to the advertisement that presents an Asian female in the high technology industry than the advertisement that presents a Caucasian male in the similar situation. The means are 2.61 and 2.70 respectively on a 1 (least favorable) to 4 (most favorable) scale.

The result of Pair 4 (AD M & AD I), which presents interracial friendships, also indicates that they preferred the non-Asian advertisement (AD I) to the advertisement with an Asian image. The means are 2.7 and 3.6 respectively. The result of the pair shows statistical significance (see Table 25). One thing to be mentioned regarding Pair 4 is that the visual quality of AD M is not as good as AD I. Some parts of the images were

missed in the mechanical process and could not be retrieved, thus creating an unnatural gap in the image. This might have disturbed the students' view.

Pair 6 (AD Q & AD L, not shown in Table 25) portrays teamwork in a multi-racial business situation. The data shows that the students responded to the ad without Asians more favorably than to the ad with Asians, but the responses could be considered almost identical. The means for AD Q and AD L are 2.38 and 2.39 respectively.

The results of Pair 13 (AD 21 & AD 13, not shown in Table 25), advertisements which present good students, indicate the students responded more favorably to AD 13 than to AD 21. AD 13 features a young African American male portrayed as a college student. AD 21 features a young Asian female standing with a young Caucasian male, both portrayed as college students. The building behind the male student in AD 13 appears to be one of the more prestigious universities in the nation. On the other hand, the image in AD 21 does not clearly show the background scenery. This panorama might have influenced the students' view. The means for each ad are 3.31 and 3.61 respectively.

The responses to Pair 2 (AD G & AD B) have no statistically significant difference. However, interesting results appear through additional analysis. Some elements of the advertisements, such as the color, design, and situation illustrated, are similar. Indeed, they are by the same advertiser introducing the same product. Another noticeable similarity of these portrayals is that both images present a woman (or women) who are enjoying being seduced by a highly masculine male. In other words, they are portrayed as a sex object. What differentiates the two advertisements is the ethnicity of

the females awaiting seduction. AD G presents an Asian female and an African American female, both of whom are young and attractive. On the other hand, AD B presents a Caucasian female, who is similarly young and attractive.

These advertisements were placed in magazines whose target audiences are young males. The images might be considered an imaginary world that their targets would enjoy. However, the imaginary might be seen as disturbing from the females' point of view.

Independent t-tests focusing on gender differences in opinion on these images detect that the female Asian students' responses to the images were different from those of the male Asian students. The responses of the female Asian students to AD G, which presents an Asian female, were much less favorable than those of the male students. The mean of the former is 2.03, whereas that of the latter is 2.63. The data reveals the significant difference in responses between the female and male Asian students. It suggests that the female students might have been disturbed by the image. The result is presented in Table 26.

The same analysis on AD B, which showed a Caucasian female, was performed and indicates similar results. The female students responded less favorably to the image than the male students. However, the difference in opinion was seen as moderate. The mean of the female students to the image is 1.95, whereas that of the male students is 2.38. The difference in opinion is not as statistically significant. The result of the t-test for AD B is presented also in Table 26.

The analyses emphasizing the gender difference and the responses to AD G and AD B still prove that both male and female Asian students responded more favorably to the image with an Asian than to that without any Asians.

Table 26

Gender Analysis / Asian Americans' Response to AD B & AD G

Q: "I like this ad very much."

Ad #		N	<u>M</u> ^a	<u>SD</u>	Independent t-test		
					<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
AD G (With Asian)	Male	24	2.63	0.92	59	2.251	.028
	Female	37	2.03	1.07			
AD B (Without Asian)	Male	24	2.38	1.01	59	1.658	N/A
	Female	37	1.95	0.97			

^a A 1 (least agree with the statement) to 4 (most agree with the statement) scale was used.

A higher number indicates a positive response.

H3-b: Teenage NON-ASIAN AMERICANS will perceive advertisements presenting Asians less positively than advertisements not presenting Asians.

Table 27 provides the result of H3-b. Comparisons of the average mean scores of nine out of thirteen pairs, Pair 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 13, show that the non-Asian American students perceived the advertisements that do not present any Asian models

more favorably than the advertisements that presented Asian models. Statistics point out that three out of those nine pairs of differences are significant (Pair 1: $t = -2.256$, $p = .028$; Pair 4: $t = 7.885$, $p = .001$; Pair 5: $t = 2.419$, $p = .018$). The results of four pairs among the thirteen pairs, Pairs 2, 3, 6 and 13, are not statistically significant at .05 level; however, they show statistical significance at .10 level ($t = 1.671$, $df = 60$, $p < .10$). Pair 7 shows the significant differences ($t = -4.693$, $p < .001$); however, it does not support H3-b.

In summary, nine out of thirteen pairs show support for H3-b. Statistics indicate that differences in responses to three out of the nine pairs are significant. Moreover, three other pairs are close enough to be evaluated as significant. Thus, H3-b is supported.

Table 27 Non-Asian American Teens' View of Advertisements with vs. without Asians (N=65, df=64)

Pair	Portrayal	View of Teenage Non-Asian Americans						Paired t-test	
		With Asians			Without Asians				
		<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	Model(s) presented	<u>M^a</u>	<u>SD</u>	Models(s) presented	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
1	Technology	2.2	0.8	An Asian female & ethnically diverse 5 males & 1 female	2.5	1.0	Ethnically diverse 5 males & 1 female	-2.256	.028
2	Woman as a sex object	2.1	1.1	An Asian female & a black female	2.3	1.2	A white female	1.894	N/S
3	Party	2.9	1.0	An Asian male & 3 White males & 2 White females	3.2	0.9	Ethnically diverse 3 females and 2 males	1.673	N/S
4	Friendship	2.2	1.0	An Asian female & a White female & a White male	3.2	0.9	Interethnic 4 females & 1 male	7.885	.001
5	Technology	1.9	0.9	An Asian male	2.3	1.0	A White male	2.419	.018
6	Business	2.2	1.0	An Asian male & ethnically diverse 7 males & 1 female	2.3	1.0	Ethnically diverse 4 males & 3 females	1.896	N/S
7	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.3	0.8	An Asian female & a White male	2.7	1.1	A black female & a White male	-4.693	.001
9	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.3	0.8	An Asian female & a White male	3.5	0.8	A black female & a Black male	-1.474	N/S
10	Ethnic/interethnic couple	3.3	0.8	An Asian female & a White male	3.4	0.8	A White female & a White male	-.599	N/S
13	A good student	3.3	1.6	An Asian female & a White male	3.7	1.5	A Black male	-1.845	N/S

^a A 1-4 scale was used. A higher number indicates a positive view.

Interestingly, when shown ads with business and technology settings, the non-Asian American students preferred ads without Asians. The data of Pair 1 (high technology setting), Pair 5 (high technology setting), Pair 6 (business setting), and Pair 13 (good students setting) present this tendency. The results of both high-technology settings (Pairs 1 and 5) show statistically significant results between the ad with and that without an Asian model ($p = .028$ and $p = .018$ respectively).

Another interesting finding is that the non-Asian students perceived interracial relationships in AD N (a female Caucasian and a male Caucasian), and AD O (a female African American and a male African American) more positively than interracial ones AD E (a female African American and a male Caucasian), AD F (a female Caucasian and a male African American), and AD J (a female Asian and a male Caucasian).

The non-Asian students had a statistically significant positive response to the Asian presented in Pair 7. Pair 7 consists of AD E (a female African American and a male Caucasian) and AD J (a female Asian and a male Caucasian). Additional analysis on the pair points out that the responses of the male non-Asian students to the image are much less favorable than those of the female non-Asians. When non-Asian students were given the statement, "I like the advertisement very much," about AD E, 60.8% of the non-Asian male students responded that they would disagree with the statement, whereas the number of female non-Asian students responding in the same manner was 28.5%. The mean of the male students for AD E was 2.2, whereas that of the female students was 3.0. When analyzing AD J, which is the ad in which an Asian is presented, the mean of the image for the male students is 2.9, and that of the female students is 3.6. These

results show that the female students' positive perceptions, especially their positive perception of AD J, are the cause for rejecting the hypothesis.

An analysis was performed on the female non-Asian students to examine their perceptions of the images portraying women as sex objects. The target pair is Pair 2, AD G (Asian presented in ad) and AD B (no Asian presented in ad).

The result of a t-test indicates that the female non-Asian students responded less favorably to both images than the male non-Asian students. The mean of the females to AD B is 2.17 and that of the males is 2.52. The difference in the responses is not statistically significant.

With regard to AD G (Asian presented in ad), the mean of the female students is 1.88 and the male students is 2.48. The difference is detected as statistically significant. The results to both images are presented in Table 28.

The same result observed in the analysis with the female Asian students was obtained. It is difficult to analyze the responses of the students accurately due to the limited information about the students. The result indicates their negativity toward AD B and AD G is higher than the male students', since the mean score of the female students is lower than the mean score of the males. This implies they might be disturbed by the images. In terms of ethnicity in the images, their responses were still more favorable to the images with no Asian presence.

Table 28

Gender Analysis / Non-Asian Americans' Responses to AD B & AD G

Q: "I like the ad very much."

Ad #		N	<u>M</u> ^a	<u>SD</u>	Independent t-test		
					<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
AD B (Without Asian)	Male	23	2.52	1.27	63	1.135	N/A
	Female	42	2.17	1.17			
AD G (With Asian)	Male	23	2.48	1.27	63	2.095	.400
	Female	42	1.88	0.99			

^a A 1 (least agree with the statement) to 4 (most agree with the statement) scale was used.

A higher number indicates a positive response.

Further Analyses

The researcher conducted three analyses that are not related to the hypotheses in order to further explore the students' perceptions. The analyses were designed by focusing on the perceptual differences between different student groups on types of advertisements. The data collected for the investigation of the research hypotheses was used. No hypothesis was created for the analyses. A series of independent t-test at .05 level were performed to analyze the perceptions of the students.

Ethnic background analysis

The first analysis focuses on differences in the ethnic background of the students and their perception of the sample advertisements. The students were divided into two

groups: Asian (N=53) and Non-Asians (N=56). The 20 advertisements were divided by two categories: stereotyped (10 ads) and non-stereotyped (10 ads), depending on how Asians were portrayed in the advertisement. Six independent t-tests at .05 level compared the perceptions of the Asian students with those of the non-Asian students on 1) overall impression of the stereotyped advertisements, 2) overall impression of the non-stereotyped advertisements, 3) impression of the models in the stereotyped advertisements, 4) impression of the models in the non-stereotyped advertisements, 5) socioeconomic class of the models in the stereotyped advertisements, and 6) socioeconomic class of the models in the non-stereotyped advertisements.

The analyses show that the non-Asian American students viewed the advertisements more positively than the Asian American students. The mean scores of all six examinations of the former students are higher than those of the latter students. However, none of the six analyses indicates statistical significance in their perceptions between the two groups of advertisements. As a summary of the analysis, the difference in ethnicity of the students creates different views in terms of how they see the advertisements portraying Asians. However, the difference is not outstanding.

Gender analysis

The second analysis focuses on differences in the gender of the students and their perception of the advertisements. The students were divided into 2 groups: male (N=38) and female (N=70). The advertisements were divided into two categories in the same method used in the previous analysis.

The same six examinations as the previous analysis were conducted to analyze the perceptual differences between the male and the female students. The results show that the male students overall perceived the sample advertisements more positively than the female students except in two analyses. One is the analysis focused on the impression of the models in the stereotyped advertisements. The other is the analysis focused on the socioeconomic status of the models in the stereotyped advertisements. All six t-tests indicate no significant difference between the perceptions of the male and the female students of the advertisements. This result indicates that gender differences do not contribute to creating perceptual differences when teenagers see the advertisements.

Analysis of Asian Americans

The third analysis focuses on the Asian Americans and their perceptions of the sample advertisements. Asian students (N=61) were divided into three groups depending on the country where the students or their ancestors immigrated from and the political/economic reasons that brought them into the United States. The rules for the division of the groups are the following:

Voluntary migrants (N=12): Asians who are considered to have migrated to the U.S. voluntarily to seek better opportunities. The Asian students in the sample who identified themselves as of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, and Indian descent are categorized in this group.

Refugee migrants (N=20): Asians who are considered to have migrated to the U.S. as refugees. The Asian students in the sample who identify themselves as Vietnamese, Laotian, and Hmong descendants are categorized in this group.

Colonized migrants (N=29): Asians who are considered to have migrated into the U.S. from former U.S. colonies or territories of the U.S. The Asian students in the sample who identify themselves as Filipino, Hawaiian, etc. are categorized in this group.

Each group was compared with other groups (voluntary vs. refugee, voluntary vs. colonized, refugee vs. colonized) using the six examinations used in the previous analysis. Therefore, 18 independent t-tests (6 examinations used in the previous analysis x 3 testing pairs) at .05 level were performed.

The analyses that focused on overall impression of the stereotyped and non-stereotyped advertisements show that the voluntary migrants group perceived all advertisements the most positively, and the refugee migrants group perceived all advertisements the least positively among the three groups. However, the differences between the three groups are subtle. The t-tests did not detect any significant differences in the perception of the stereotyped ads among the three groups. Examining the perceptions of the models in the stereotyped portrayals and non-stereotyped portrayals shows the same results.

The analysis focused on the socioeconomic status of the models in the stereotyped advertisements indicates different results. The perception of the voluntary migrant group is the most positive among the three groups, the same result as the previous analyses. However, the group that showed the least positive perception toward both stereotyped and non-stereotyped advertisements is not the refugee migrant group but

the colonized migrant group. However, the differences among the groups are not outstanding. No statistical significance was found in the examination.

The order of the groups in terms of the perception of the socioeconomic status of the models in the non-stereotyped advertisements was found to be the same as the previous analysis. The examination analyzing perceptual difference between the voluntary migrant group and the colonized migrant group in terms socioeconomic status of the models in the non-stereotyped portrayals shows statistical significance ($df = 34, p = .004$). The result is shown in Table 29.

A statistical difference is detected in the analysis of the socioeconomic status of the models in the non-stereotyped advertisement. However, it is only one out of eighteen analyses. Therefore, the results indicate that there is no statistically significant difference between voluntary migrants, refugee migrants, and colonized migrants perceptions.

Table 29

Analysis of Asian Americans: Voluntary Migrants vs. Refugee Migrants on
Socioeconomic Status of the Model in the Non-Stereotyped Advertisements

Q: "To what economic class do you think the person belongs?"

	Socioeconomic status of the models in the non-stereotyped ads			Independent t-test		
	N	<u>M</u> ^a	<u>SD</u>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Voluntary	12	35.45	3.50	39	3.058	.004
Refugee	29	30.89	4.37			

^a A 5-50 scale was used. A higher numbers indicate a positive perception.

CHAPTER V

Discussion and Conclusion

Portrayals of Asians in the Print Media and the Teenagers' Perceptions of the Portrayals

Hypothesis 1 sought to analyze the perception of teenage Asian Americans and teenage non-Asian Americans. Hypothesis 2 was designed to analyze the ingroup perception of teenage US-born and foreign-born Asian Americans. They both looked at the portrayals of Asians in mainstream advertisements in terms of the students' overall opinion of the advertisements, the students' opinion of the models in the advertisements, and the students' opinion of the socioeconomic status of the models in the advertisements. Though the data collected for this study failed to support the specified hypotheses, several aspects of the results appear to support the literature on cultivation theory, expectancy and stereotyping, and culture presented in the literature review portion of this study.

To begin, analysis of the teenage Asian American student responses, regardless of their birthplace, suggests results supporting cultivation theory. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli (1994) assert that the media contributes to cultivating the social reality of audiences. Cultivation theory then proposes that the perceptions of the Asian American teenagers in this study are cultivated by mainstream media portrayal of Asians through stereotypic "positive" images. Thus, they would perceive stereotyped images introduced in the study as normal, or more accepted. Indeed, the results of H1-a show that the Asian American students did not perceive the stereotyped portrayals more positively than the non-stereotyped portrayals. Since the differences in the responses of the Asian American

students between the stereotyped and non-stereotyped advertisements were insignificant statistically, the result implies that cultivation theory made the stereotyped images more acceptable to the subjects.

Analysis of the results of H1-c and H1-e demonstrate even stronger support for cultivation theory. These findings show that the Asian American students did not perceive the stereotyped images less positively than non-stereotyped images. It should be noted that the results of H1-c were not statistically significant. However, the slight inclinations of the Asian American students towards the stereotyped images may be a reflection of their view of reality.

Data analysis suggests--that is the rejection of this study's original hypothesis of less favorable perceptions by Asian American teenagers--that cultivation theory offers an explanation of the responses of the Asian American students, in which they perceived the stereotyped advertisements more positively than the non-stereotyped advertisements. As Gerbner et al. (1994) state in their study of media cultivation and audience perception, the sample non-Asian American students might make judgments about Asian Americans in mainstream print media based on social images that the media cultivates. It should be noted that the results, except those on the socioeconomic status of Asian models presented in the advertisements, are not statistically significant.

Second, the overall results of portrayals of Asians in the print media supports Jussim's statement that social expectations have an influence on people's perception of social reality (1990a). Although there are some exceptions in the responses of the sample students, the students perceived the stereotyped images more positively than the non-

stereotyped images. This result suggests that socially expected images of Asian Americans (stereotyped images of Asian Americans) in the media encourage students to perceive such images as more adequate. The favorable responses of the students to such images result in this perspective. However, this rationalization should be considered carefully since the students' responses, except those on the socioeconomic status of Asian models presented in the advertisements, are not statistically significant.

Third, some elements in advertisements appeal to teenagers. The analyses of the data show that the sample teenagers overall preferred the images presenting warmth, friendliness, or intelligence over monotonous images, regardless of the types of those images. Among the sample advertisements, the portrayals that have a warm and friendly appeal are mostly found in the non-stereotyped category. The portrayals that have an intelligent appeal are mostly found in the stereotyped and model minority category. If this is true, it might be obscuring the difference in their perceptions of stereotyped and non-stereotyped advertisements. However, if this is confirmed, it would be helpful for advertisers when they target the teen market.

Fourth, the results of this study suggest that the assimilation of foreign-born Asian Americans proceeds more quickly than was expected, as articulated in the literature. It is difficult to obtain an accurate scope of how and to what degree teenage Asian Americans retain the Asian culture and incorporate it into the US culture, and how and to what degree teenage Asian Americans assimilate into the host culture. Although perceptual differences are found between the Asian and the non-Asian students, and between the US-born Asian and the foreign-born Asian students, in many cases they are subtle.

Through education and exposure to the US culture in their daily lives, especially through pop culture (e.g., music, movies and the Internet), both in the US and abroad, teenagers might share a similar view regardless of their ethnic or cultural background.

Fifth, the result indicates that teens may lack an awareness of ethnic stereotypes. One possible reason for this is that they may be too young to recognize them. Thus, a “positive” stereotype is seen as a good thing, implying acceptance by the general society. The study did not ask them to differentiate which image is a stereotyped or a non-stereotyped image. However, it was looking for some recognition of stereotypes in mainstream print advertisements and the teenagers’ opinions of those stereotypes. Although no further analyses were performed to evaluate the sample students’ degree of the awareness, a lack of comprehension might affect the results of the study. Knowing that teens are not aware of social stereotypes could be of interest to advertisers targeting the teen market.

Though teenagers may be having trouble recognizing ethnic stereotypes, this is different from lacking awareness of the stereotypes. Teenagers may be aware of the ethnic stereotypes in dominant culture and mainstream media, both of which frequently represent minorities in a one-dimensional way. Their awareness may also be diluted because they are in a transition period in which they fight with peer pressure and debate their personal and social values in the process of searching for their identities.

Teenagers may or may not develop an awareness of ethnic stereotypes. Some, who equate their value to the dominant values in society, may never recognize stereotypes. Others may have a critical view of the media and dominant culture. There

may be some teenagers who ignore such ideology and instead are apathetic about society. Whatever way they choose, it is difficult to determine if the dominant culture and/or mainstream print media further helps to dilute and erase their awareness of social stereotypes, or helps them recognize social and ethnic stereotypes.

The geographic area where advertisements are presented may play a significant role. The percentage of Asian population in San Jose, where the study was conducted, is much higher than the national average (see the demographic fact in the Limitation section). The presence of Asian models portrayed in non-stereotypical manners in major local newspapers or aired on TV is not rare. Many of the advertisements were not related to high-tech products but to general consumer products, such as clothing or appliances. These advertisements probably intend to target the city's Asian community, but their advertisements reach the city's other ethnicities as well. The exposure to those images might influence how teenage Asians and teenage non-Asians see Asians in the media.

Media exposure might not be the largest influence on teens' perceptions. The large population of Asians means that non-Asians get their experience of what Asians are like first hand rather than primarily from the media. Teenagers have learned through their experiences that not all Asian students are talented in math or science, and not all Asians are quiet and disciplined. They might acknowledge the social stereotypes of Asian Americans, but the idea might not appear to be politically correct to them. This view might affect the response to the sample advertisements. The study suggests geographic and demographic conditions might need to be taken into consideration in the process of designing the visual component of advertisements to reach their target.

How Teenagers Perceive Asian Models Present in the Print Media

Although the results of this study do not provide any insight in determining the effect of Asian models in advertisements on the teenage market, it does reveal that teenage Asian Americans favored the advertisements that present Asian models over the advertisements that do not present Asian models. This result supports the previous study focused on the ethnicity of the models in advertisements and the ethnicity of the audience (Schlinger & Plummer, 1972). That study concludes that the African American viewers responded more positively to the advertisements casting African American models.

The findings support the discussion of “in-group” and “out-group” bias by Gudykunst and Kim (1997). It is difficult to categorize Asians as one group because there are many different categories found in the group, such as the geographic area of an individual’s or ancestor’s origin, his or her religion, culture, etc. However, a sense of belonging generated by the models in the advertisements having a similar physical appearance to the viewers might affect the response of the viewers toward the advertisements.

The result suggests that it would be practical for advertisers to consider using Asian models in their advertisements when their target market is teenage Asian Americans. However, this groups’ taste and preference in style in terms of the visual presentation of the advertisements still remains to be explored.

As discussed, the response of the teenage Asian Americans would support “in-group” and “out-group” bias; however, additional observations should be added to the findings with regard to the responses of the non-Asian students. Unlike the racially

homogeneous Asian American samples, the group categorized as non-Asian Americans is composed of different races. The racial make up of the non-Asian American group is 66.2% Latino/Latina, 16.2% Caucasian, 9.2% African American, 6.2% Native American, and 1.5% Middle Eastern American (see Appendix A for the students' demographic information). These students may or may not have found any models of their own race in advertisements that did not cast Asians. Therefore, "in-group" and "out-group" bias would not support the portion of the findings in the study focused on the perception of the teenage non-Asians. The finding simply indicates that the non-Asian subjects preferred the advertisements that do not show Asians to the advertisements that show Asians.

Notes from the Analyses beyond the Hypotheses

The analysis comparing the responses to the stereotyped and to the non-stereotyped advertisements between the teenage Asians and teenage non-Asians shows no statistical difference. In addition, the same analysis comparing the responses between the male and the female subjects finds no outstanding difference. Furthermore, the same analysis comparing the responses among three Asian groups, voluntary migrants, refugee migrants, and colonized migrants, appears to have no statistical significance.

These results may be due to limitations in the study. The advertisements selected may not represent a full cross section of the regular media intake of the subjects. Moreover, considering the demographic condition of San Jose, the researcher should note that the subjects do not represent a full cross section of the teenagers in the U.S.

Taking all the above concerns into consideration, it would be a theme for a future study to question why significant differences were not observed on the evaluations between the stereotyped and the non-stereotyped advertisements.

Caution from the Study

The focus of the study was the students' positive or negative reactions to the sample advertisements. However, it should be clarified that the degree of favorable responses is not necessarily the same as the success of an advertising campaign in terms of marketing perspectives.

Although positive responses to an advertisement might contribute to the sales of the advertised products or services, consumers' actual purchasing actions involve more complex decisions than just looking at the visual images of the advertisement (Burnett & Moriarty, 1998).

Limitations of the Study

The first limitation of the study is that the researcher only collected data within a limited, convenient area. Consequently, the subjects do not represent the general population of American teenagers. Instead, the population consists only of teenagers from the San Jose area, an urban area located in the Silicon Valley region of California, where there is a much higher percentage population of Asians. Census 2000 shows the nation's population of Asian and Pacific Islanders to be 3.7%. This is much lower than the San Jose area's ratio, where Asians are 26.9% of the population reported by Garcia,

Martinez, and Mangaliman (The San Jose Mercury News, March 13, 2001). This demographic might affect the students' perception of Asians in print media.

The second limitation is that the study did not distinguish among diverse Asian American groups. Some Asian youth might establish a Pan-Asian identity, and other Asians might establish hyphenated American identities. There are similarities between the two identities, but at the same time, there are many differences (Lee, 1996). In addition, young Asian Americans are sensitive to country-of-origin differences (Onishi, 1996; Taylor & Stern, 1997). As Asia includes many regions and nations, Asian culture and history is diverse. The same issue is true of the Latino community, which is the largest population in the non-Asian American group of the sample.

The third limitation of the study is that it did not consider the socioeconomic status of the students. The students' perception of the images may be influenced by their own economic background.

The fourth limitation is that the study did not consider the length of residency in the United States of the foreign-born students. A sixteen-year-old student who immigrated to the U.S. when he or she was a toddler may see the media differently than a sixteen-year-old who immigrated when he or she was fourteen.

The last limitation of the study is that the results do not generalize the responses of the general population of teenagers to the real print media. The sample advertisements were graphically modified to remove product names and alcohol and cigarette references, in order to prevent the students from having bias or prejudice toward the advertised products or services, and to fulfill ethical requirements from school administrators. This

process might ruin the visual of the advertisements since the logo or product placement is one of the crucial elements in delivering the message of the advertisement to its audiences.

Suggestions for Future Research

One limitation is that this study examined only magazines as a medium. Today's teenagers are exposed to diverse media. Therefore, to get a clearer view of how teenage Asians perceive Asians in the media, this study suggests conducting future studies with advertisements in another type of media. A larger sample size and conducting the study at multiple locations could bring improvements in the accuracy of future research. In addition, further examination focused on one ethnic group such as just Latinos as a comparison target, rather than forming a group titled simply non-Asian Americans, may prove enlightening. As relative wealth of the participants may affect their views, socioeconomic status may be useful as a second variable after ethnic background. Further research is needed to determine if the effect of length of residency for foreign-born Asian Americans has an effect on their view of print media. Moreover, incorporating qualitative research techniques, such as focus groups or interviews, into quantitative research techniques will give a deeper understanding of the subjects' responses. Further, since family is one of the important factors in forming the ethics and self-image of teenagers, research that takes into account parental influence will be an interesting addition.

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Appendix A

Demographics of the Students

Table 1

Race and Gender

	Asian		Non-Asian		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Male	24	19.0%	23	18.3%	47	37.3%
Female	37	29.4%	42	33.3%	79	62.7%
Total	61	48.4%	65	51.6%	126	100.0%

Table 2

Age (M = 15.94)

Age	Frequency	Percent
14	31	24.6%
15	11	8.7%
16	25	19.8%
17	53	42.1%
18	5	4.0%
19	1	0.8%
Total	126	100.0%

Table 3

Asian Americans' Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background	Frequency	Percent
Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, etc.	5	8.2%
Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Chinese Vietnamese, etc.	18	29.5%
Filipino, Hawaiian, Samoan, etc.	25	39.3%
Asian Indian, Pakistani, etc.	6	9.8%
Multi ethnicity	7	13.1%
Total	61	100.0%

Table 4

Non-Asian Americans' Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background	Frequency	Percent
Caucasian	11	16.2%
African American	6	9.2%
Latino	43	66.2%
Middle Eastern American ^a	1	1.5%
Native American	4	6.2%
Total	65	100.0%

^a Include: Iranian, Iraqi, Palestinian, etc.

Table 5

Birthplace of Asian Students

	Frequency	Percent
The United States	43	70.5%
Foreign country	18	29.5%
Total	61	100.0%

Table 6

The Average Numbers of Magazines the Students Read in a Month: Asians (N=61) vs.
Non-Asians (N=65)

The average number of magazines read in a month	Asian	Non-Asian
0	14.8%	9.2%
1	16.4%	23.1%
2	23.0%	23.1%
3	16.4%	26.2%
4+	29.5%	18.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7

The Average Numbers of Magazines the Students Read in a Month: US-born Asians
(N=43) vs. Foreign-born Asians (N=18)

The average number of magazines read in a month	US-born Asian	Foreign-born Asian
0	11.6%	22.2%
1	20.9%	5.6%
2	20.9%	27.8%
3	16.3%	16.7%
4+	30.2%	27.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8

Magazine Readership Asians (N=61) vs. Non-Asians (N=65)

Name of Magazine	Percent ^a	
	Asian (%)	Non-Asian (%)
Maxim	8.2%	3.1%
Seventeen	27.7%	50.1%
Sports Illustrated	4.9%	7.7%
Teen	13.1%	16.9%
Teen People	16.4%	15.4%
Teens	4.9%	4.6%
Turbo & High Tech Performance	11.5%	0.0%
YM	36.1%	24.6%
Some ethnic magazines	9.8%	13.8%

^a The students provided up to 3 magazines they usually read.

Table 9

Magazine Readership US-born Asians (N=43) vs. Foreign-born Asians (N=18)

Name of Magazine	Percent ^a	
	US-born Asian	Foreign-born Asian
Import Tuner	11.6%	0.0%
Maxim	11.6%	0.0%
People	9.3%	0.0%
Seventeen	39.5%	27.8%
Sports Illustrated	7.0%	0.0%
Teen	16.3%	5.6%
Teen People	18.6%	5.6%
Teens	4.7%	5.6%
Turbo & High Tech Performance	14.0%	0.0%
YM	41.9%	22.2%
Some ethnic magazines	0.0%	33.3%

^a The students provided up to 3 magazines they usually read.

Table 10

The Most Influential Person Besides Themselves When the Sample Students Buy
Something for Themselves / Asian (N=61) vs Non-Asian (N=65)

Influential Person	Percent	
	Asian	Non-Asian
Parent	42.6%	44.6%
Other members of family (Brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc.)	18.0%	18.5%
Neighbor	0.0%	1.5%
Celebrity or someone in the media	6.6%	7.7%
Teacher	0.0%	1.5%
Friend	31.6%	20.0%
Other	1.6%	1.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 11

The Most Influential Person Besides Themselves When the Sample Students Buy
Something for Themselves / US-born Asian (N=43) vs Foreign-born Asian (N=18)

Influential Person	Percent	
	US-born Asian	Foreign-born Asian
Parent	27.9%	77.8%
Other members of family (Brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc.)	16.3%	22.2%
Neighbor	0.0%	0.0%
Celebrity or someone in the media	9.3%	0.0%
Teacher	0.0%	0.0%
Friend	44.2%	0.0%
Other	2.3%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12

The Socioeconomic Status of the Families of the Students / Asians (N=61) vs.
Non-Asians (N=65)

Socioeconomic class	Asian	Non-Asian
Upper	6.6%	16.9%
Upper middle	24.6%	26.2%
Middle	59.0%	40.0%
Lower middle	6.6%	9.2%
Lower	1.6%	1.5%
No answer	1.6%	6.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 13

The Socioeconomic Status of the Families of the Students / US-born Asian Americans
(N=61) vs. Foreign-born Asian Americans (N=65)

Socioeconomic class	US-born Asian	Foreign-born Asian
Upper	2.3%	0.0%
Upper middle	7.0%	5.6%
Middle	53.5%	72.2%
Lower middle	27.9%	16.7%
Lower	9.3%	0.0%
No answer	0.0%	5.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Appendix B

Sample Questionnaire

Advertisement

• **Instructions for Question 1 & 2**

Please read the list of words on this page and check (☛) **THREE** words that you think apply to the images portrayed in this advertisement.

We want to know your immediate *first impressions*. Please do not spend too much time on any single word.

When you finish this page, please wait for the instruction.

Q1. I think that this advertisement looks:

☐ credible	☐ naive
☐ disgraceful	☐ pleasant
☐ deceptive	☐ realistic
☐ efficient	☐ sophisticated
☐ great	☐ unrealistic

Q2. I think that the person in the center (or in a red T-shirt...etc.) of this advertisement looks:

☐ arrogant	☐ kind
☐ friendly	☐ nerdy
☐ gorgeous	☐ reliable
☐ hostile	☐ stupid
☐ intelligent	☐ unreliable

• **Instructions for Question 3**

To what economic class do you think the person belongs? Please circle **ONE** number that explains your opinion.

Q3.

1	2	3	4	5
Lower		Middle		Upper

Instructions

Please measure your preference of the advertisements shown by answering the question.

Please circle only **ONE** for each ad.

.....

Question: I like this ad very much.

<u>Advertisement #A</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #B</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #C</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #D</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #E</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #F</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree

<u>Advertisement #G</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #H</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #I</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #J</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #K</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #L</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #M</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #N</u>	Strongly Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #O</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #P</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #Q</u>	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
<u>Advertisement #R</u>	Strongly Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree

***** Please wait for the instructions. *****

Instructions Please answer each question. Please check
(➤) **ONE** only.

1. () Male () Female

2. What is your age?

() 14 or younger (Please specify_____)

() 15

() 16

() 17

() 18

() 19 or older (Please specify_____)

3. What do you consider your race / ethnicity? ***You can choose as many as you want to express your race/ethnicity for this question.***

() White

() Hispanic American: Mexican American

() Hispanic American: San Salvadorian

() Hispanic American: Dominican

() Hispanic American: Puerto Rican

() Hispanic American: Cuban

() African American

() Asian American: Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, etc.

() Asian American / South east: Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Chinese Vietnamese, etc.

() Asian American/ Pacific island: Samoan, Filipino, Hawaiian, etc.

() Asian American / South: Asian Indian, Pakistani, etc.

() Other Asian American ➤Please specify_____

() Middle Eastern American: Iranian, Iraqi, Palestinian, etc.

() Native American

() Other ➤Please specify _____

4. (a) Where is your birthplace?

() The United States ➡ Please skip 4-(b) and (c), and go to 5

() Other country ➡ please specify _____

➡ Please complete 4-(b) and 4-(c).

(b) How long have you lived in the U.S.?

() less than 5 years

() 5-7 years

() 8-10 years

() more than 10 years ➡ Please specify _____ years

(c) Have you ever attended school where you were born?

() Yes ➡ Please answer 4-(d) and 4-(e)

() No ➡ Please skip 4-(d) and 4-(e) and go to 5

(d) What is the last school you attended where you were born?

() Elementary school

() Secondary/ Middle / Junior high school

() High school

() Other ➡ Please specify _____

(e) How many years did you attend school(s) in the country where you were born in total? For example, if you attended an elementary school for 6 years and a junior high school for 1 year, your answer will be 7 (6+1=7) years.

_____ years

***** Please go on to the next page.*****

5. (a) How many magazines do you read in a month in average?

- ☐ 0 ➡ Please skip 5-(b) and go to 6
☐ 1 ➡ Please answer 5-(b)
☐ 2 ➡ Please answer 5-(b)
☐ 3 ➡ Please answer 5-(b)
☐ 4 or more ➡ Please answer 5-(b)

(b) Please write **up to three** names of magazines that you usually read.

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

6. Of all people who influence your decision making process, who is the most influential person **except for yourself** when you buy something, such as clothes (not food)?

- ☐ Your parent(s)
☐ Other member(s) of your family (brother(s), sister(s), grandparent(s), uncle(s), aunt(s), etc.)
☐ Someone in your neighborhood
☐ Celebrity or famous person you have seen through the media
 ➡ Please specify _____
☐ Your teacher(s)
☐ Your friend(s)
☐ Other(s) ➡ Please specify _____

7. What do you consider the economic status of your family? Please circle the number.

1	2	3	4	5
Lower		Middle		Upper

***** Thank you very much. *****

Appendix C

Sample AdvertisementsADI / Non-Stereotyped

AD 2 / Stereotyped Portrayal - Model Minority

AD 3 / Non-Stereotyped Portrayal - Soldier

AD 4 / Non-Stereotyped Portrayal – Fashion Model

AD 5 / Stereotyped Portrayal – Model Minority

AD 6 / Non-Stereotyped Portrayal – Fashion Model

AD 7 / Control Advertisement

AD 10 / Stereotyped Portrayal – Model Minority

AD 11 / Control Advertisement (Caucasian model)

AD 14 / Stereotyped Portrayal – Model Minority

No matter which of these five
 airlines he flies, Vincent Li ~~earns~~
~~miles~~ he can use on any of
 them. ~~Anywhere~~ in the world.
 How in the world does he do it?

© 2000 Delta Air Lines. All rights reserved. Delta Air Lines is a registered trademark of Delta Air Lines. Delta Air Lines is a registered trademark of Delta Air Lines. Delta Air Lines is a registered trademark of Delta Air Lines.

AD 15 / Non-Stereotyped Portrayal – Corporate Executive

AD 18 / Stereotyped Portrayal (Asian Model) - Traditional

AD 19 / Non-Stereotyped Portrayal – Fashion Model

AD 20 / Stereotyped Portrayal – Model Minority

AD 21 / Stereotyped Portrayal – Model Minority

AD 22 / Control Advertisement

AD 23 / Non-Stereotyped Portrayal – Luxury setting

AD 24 / Stereotyped Portrayal - Traditional

AD A / With Asian

**.com. Not just another
place to buy computers.
It's at a different address.**

Anyone can set up a virtual site and sell computers. But only **World.Com** gives you the comfort of knowing there's a **World Computer** behind the web address **World.Com**. You'll be working with your own account manager, backed by a whole team of computer experts. And when you visit us, our system automatically puts your company's name over the subject header and tags your message as top priority. After all, you save a lot of time. **World.Com** is the most efficient direct business model in the industry. One designed to save you money and be responsive to your needs. Because **World.Com** is what's made us the industry's only Direct Salesman Provider. To check out the possibilities, visit **World.Com**. We're proud to stand behind it. Locally.

Computing Solutions Built for Business™
WORLD.COM

AD B / Without Asian

AD C /Without Asian

When you call for computing solutions, we immediately put our best team on the job. Yours.

The most personalized experience is a solution tailored to your needs. And you need no wait time. That's why we provide you with your own account manager who leads a complete team of service-oriented computer experts. Working together, they make certain intelligent computing solutions along with their network for use as part of an overall strategy business model in the industry. One that meets your needs and is responsive to your needs. And with our expert consulting staff, you have the most comprehensive computing resources at your fingertips. Because we (1) what we do is a that Company and the industry's best. To get the best team and the best computing solutions. Yours and yours alone.

Computing Solutions Built for Business®

AD D / Without Asian

AD E / Without Asian

AD F / Without Asian

AD G / With Asian

AD H / With Asian

AD I / Without Asian

AD J / With Asian

AD K / Without Asian

AD L / Without Asian

Going head to head with the Big Guys? Level the playing field.

At the heart of the Big Guys is a team of experts who understand the challenges of competing in a global market. They know the ins and outs of international trade, from sourcing and manufacturing to distribution and logistics. They can help you navigate the complexities of doing business abroad, so you can focus on growing your company.

With the Big Guys, you get a team of experts who can help you level the playing field and compete on a global scale. They can help you identify new market opportunities, develop effective marketing strategies, and build strong relationships with international partners. They can help you overcome the challenges of doing business abroad, so you can focus on growing your company.

The Big Guys are the only team of experts who can help you level the playing field and compete on a global scale. They can help you identify new market opportunities, develop effective marketing strategies, and build strong relationships with international partners. They can help you overcome the challenges of doing business abroad, so you can focus on growing your company.

AD M / With Asian **Be Brilliant**

Be brilliant. Not just for a moment, but
 every day. That's why you need to use
 the same brilliant skin care.
 The same brilliant skin care is the
 same. Part of a complete collection of
 brilliant skin care products from
 The Body Shop.

AD N / Without Asian

AD 0 / Without Asian

AD Q / With Asian

BUILDING COMPANIES OF EXTRAORDINARY VALUE

The following table lists the building companies of extraordinary value, as ranked by the Building Companies of Extraordinary Value (BCEV) Index. The index is a composite of various factors, including the company's financial performance, its reputation, and its commitment to social responsibility. The index is designed to provide a comprehensive overview of the building industry's most valuable companies.

Rank	Company Name
1	ABC Building Co.
2	DEF Building Co.
3	GHI Building Co.
4	JKL Building Co.
5	MNO Building Co.

Appendix D

Student Participation Form

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**School of Journalism and
Mass Communications**

One Washington Square
San Jose, CA 95192-0055
Voice: 408-924-3240
Fax: 408-924-3229
E-mail: getinfo@jmc.sjsu.edu
<http://www.sjsu.edu>

B.S. Degree

Advertising
Journalism
Magazine
Photojournalism
Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree

Mass Communications

Dear Student:

You might be interested in the social issues concerning the commercial media, which you face in your daily life.

- Do you think that the violent media makes you more aggressive?
- Do you think that the commercial media just try to persuade you to buy something?
- Do you think that you, as the center of the universe (!!!), should control the media? Or,
- Do you just love to see whatever is cool, funny, stupid... etc.

I am conducting a research project that is being used to complete a thesis for partial fulfillment of a Master's degree in Mass Communications at San Jose State University.

The focus of my project is how today's high school students react to the current commercial media. I am asking you to be a part of my project.

In the experiment, you will be:

1. shown pictures and asked to answer very simple questions.
2. provided some refreshments!

It will take about 20-30 minutes. All of the data compiled will be kept confidential; therefore, you will not be identified at any time in the report.

Participation in this project is voluntary. You may withdraw it any time. But, I want you to be my company. It is going to be fun!!

If you are interested in participating in my project, please sign the Student Participation Form and return it to me.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Maki Nagao
Graduate Student at San Jose State University

The California State University
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield, Chico, Dominguez Hills,
Fresno, Fullerton, Hayward, Humboldt,
Long Beach, Los Angeles, Maritime Academy,
Monterey Bay, Northridge, Pomona,
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San José, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**School of Journalism and
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<http://www.sjsu.edu>

B.S. Degree

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Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree

Mass Communications

Student Participation Form

I have been asked to participate in a research study that is investigating how high school students react to the commercial media.

I understand that:

1. I will be shown pictures and asked to answer the questions.
2. There is no risk to me as a result of participating in this study.
3. The results from this study may be published, but any information compiled will be kept confidential.
4. I will receive no financial compensation for participating in this study.
5. Any questions about my participation in this study will be answered by Maki Nagao. Any complaints about the procedures may be presented to Dr. Cecelia Baldwin at (408) 924-3266. For questions or complaints about research subjects' right, or in the event of research-related injury, contact Nabil Ibrahim, Associate Academic Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research at (408) 924-2480.
6. My participation is voluntarily, without being coerced; I may refuse participation in this study, or any part of this study; I may withdraw at any time.

I have made a decision whether or not to participate. My signature indicates that I have read the information provided above and that I have decided to participate in this study.

Subject's Signature

Date

Type subject's name

Maki Nagao

Investigator's name

11/6/00

Date

Maki Nagao

The California State University:
Chancellor's Office
Evanston, Chico, Dominguez Hills,
Fresno, Fullerton, Hayward, Humboldt,
Long Beach, Los Angeles, Maritime Academy,
Monterey Bay, Northridge, Pomona,
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San José, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus

Appendix E

Parent / Guardian Consent Form

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**School of Journalism and
Mass Communications**

One Washington Square
San José, CA 95192-0055
Voice: 408-924-3240
Fax: 408-924-3229
E-mail: getinfo@jmc.sjsu.edu
<http://www.sjsu.edu>

B.S. Degree

Advertising
Journalism
Magazine
Photojournalism
Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree

Mass Communications

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I need your help in conducting a study of audience effects and print media. The result of this study should increase our understanding of the complex relationship between print media and its effects on adolescents. Attached is a consent form describing the study and requesting that you allow your child or ward to participate. Will you please review the form and have your child or ward hand it to your child or ward's teacher?

You should understand that your child or ward's participation is voluntary and that choosing not to participate in this study, or in any part of this study will not affect your child or ward's relations with San Jose State University.

The result of the study may be published, but any information that result in your child or ward's identification will remain confidential.

If you have questions about this study, I will be happy to talk with you. I can be reach at . If you have questions or complaints about research subjects' right, or in the event of the research related injury, please contact Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D., Associate Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research, at (408) 924-2480.

Sincerely,

A graduate student at San Jose State University

The California State University:
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield, Chico, Dominguez Hills,
Fresno, Fullerton, Hayward, Humboldt,
Long Beach, Los Angeles, Maritime Academy,
Monterey Bay, Northridge, Pomona,
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San José, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

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E-mail: getinfo@jmc.sjsu.edu
http://www.sjsu.edu

B.S. Degree

Advertising
Journalism
Magazine
Photojournalism
Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree

Mass Communications

Agreement to Participate in Research

Responsible Investigator: Maki Nagao

**Title of Protocol: The selling of Asian Americans: Interpretation
of Asian American Images in Print Media**

1. My child or ward will be asked to participate in a research study investigating audience effects and print media.
2. My child or ward will be asked to evaluate magazine advertisements. The investigator has already removed both the names of the products and of the advertisers from the advertisements. This study will occur in my child's or ward's high school during the academic year from May 2000 to December 2000.
3. The study will be conducted anonymously. Any information will not be traced by anybody. Furthermore, the investigator will supervise the study. Therefore, no risk is anticipated.
4. My child or ward will not benefit by participation in the study; however, this study will help educators to understand how print media affects adolescents. Therefore, he or she will indirectly benefit by the study.
5. The result of the study may be published, but no information that could identify the subject will be included.
6. The investigator will provide some refreshments, such as snacks, after the completion of the study in order to reward the child or ward's participation in the study.
7. If I have questions about the study, I will contact to the investigator at _____. If I have complaints about the research, I will contact to Kenneth Blasé, Ph.D., Director of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications, at (408) 924-3240. If I have questions about research, subjects' right, or research related injury, I will contact to Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D., Associate Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research, at (408) 924-2480.

Initial of a Parent/Guardian _____

The California State University:
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield Chico Dominguez Hills
Fresno Fullerton Hayward Humboldt
Long Beach Los Angeles Maritime Academy
Merced Monterey Bay Northridge Pomona
Sacramento San Bernardino San Diego
San Francisco San Jose San Luis Obispo
San Marcos Sonoma Stanislaus

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**School of Journalism and
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<http://www.sjsu.edu>

B.S. Degree

Advertising
Journalism
Magazine
Photojournalism
Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree

Mass Communications

8. I have understood that there will be no service of any kind, to which my child or ward(s) is otherwise entitled, will be lost or jeopardized if I choose to "not participate" in this study.

9. I have understood that my child or ward(s) participation is voluntary. I have also understood that he or she may refuse to participate in the study or in any part of the study. If he or she decides to participate in the study, he or she is free to withdraw at any time without prejudice to the subject's relations with San Jose State University.

10. I have received a signed and dated copy of the consent form.

- The signature of a subject on this document indicates agreement to participate in the study.
- The signature of a researcher on this document indicates agreement to include the above named subject in the research and attestation the subject's parent has been fully informed of his or her right.

Parent/Guardian's signature

Date

Type Parent/Guardian's name

Type Child/Ward's name

Nicki Noyan

Investigator's Signature

11-14-00

Date

The California State University:
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield, Chico, Dominguez Hills,
Fresno, Fullerton, Hayward, Humboldt,
Long Beach, Los Angeles, Maritime Academy,
Monterey Bay, Northridge, Pomona,
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San Jose, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus

Appendix F

Debriefing Statement

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**School of Journalism and
Mass Communications**

One Washington Square
San Jose, CA 95192-0055
Voice 408-924-3240
Fax 408-924-3229
E-mail getinfo@jmc.sjsu.edu
<http://www.sjsu.edu>

B.S. Degree
Advertising
Journalism
Magazine
Photojournalism
Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree
Mass Communications

Debriefing Statement

Dear Student:

In the study you just completed, you were asked to fill out surveys and tell me your opinion regarding the advertisements you were shown.

The present study is looking at two things rather than a simple investigation of how high school students see the current print media. The two things are: 1) whether or not individuals' cultural/ethnic background influence the ways they see print media, and 2) whether or not the ways the current print media portray Asians influence the way they see the print media.

You should know that **YOU WILL NOT BE CONTACTED BY THIS RESEARCHER OR ANYONE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS STUDY.** Once you leave the room, your participation in this study will be over.

Please understand that telling you that the study would be for the investigation of how today's high school students see the print media was necessary not to make you think much about your culture/ethnicity during this study. The researcher wanted to know your opinion in a daily life situation. It is asked that you do not discuss this study with anyone until the semester is over because you may spoil future subject's responses.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Sincerely,

Maki Nagao

Appendix G

Human Subjects - Institutional Review Board Approval

San José State
UNIVERSITY

**Office of the Academic
Vice President**
Associate Vice President
Graduate Studies and Research

One Washington Square
San Jose, CA 95192-0025
Voice: 408-283-7500
Fax: 408-924-2477
E-mail: gstudies@wahoo.sjsu.edu
<http://www.sjsu.edu>

TO: Maki Nagao
2415 Rinconada Dr., #56
San Jose, CA 95125

FROM: Nabil Ibrahim,
AVP, Graduate Studies & Research

DATE: November 2, 2000

**The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved
your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:**

**"The Selling of Asian Americans: Teenage
Interpretations of Asian American Images
in Print Media"**

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D., immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval is in effect for one-year and data collection beyond November 2, 2001 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

**If you have any questions, please contact me at
(408) 924-2480.**

The California State University
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield, Channel Islands, Chico,
Dominguez Hills, Fresno, Fullerton,
Hayward, Humboldt, Long Beach,
Los Angeles, Maritime Academy,
Monterey Bay, Northridge, Pomona,
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San Jose, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus

Appendix H

Support Letter from Advisor

**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**School of Journalism and
Mass Communications**

One Washington Square
San Jose, CA 95192-0055
Voice: 408-924-3240
Fax: 408-924-3229
E-mail: jetinfo@jmc.sjsu.edu
<http://www.sjsu.edu>

B.S. Degree
Advertising
Journalism
Magazine
Photojournalism
Radio-TV News
Reporting & Editing
Public Relations

M.S. Degree
Mass Communications

October 3, 2000

Dear Madame or Sir,

As the Chair of Maki Nagao's thesis committee I am writing in support of her research. Her thesis entitled, "The Selling of Asian American: Teenage Interpretation of Asian American Images in Print Media," is rigorously operationalized and thoughtfully developed. She has created thought provoking research questions and has developed an excellent study to explore these questions.

I think you will agree with me that this much needed interaction of media studies cultural studies is an interesting and important endeavor. I hope you can work with her and support her research.

Additionally, her research has undergone a thorough evaluation for use with minor (under 19 years of age) participants. This is done as part of a national human subjects evaluation process.

I hope you are able to participate in this timely research. Please call me if you have any questions concerning any portion of it.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Cecelia Baldwin, Ph.D.
Professor
Journalism and Mass Communications
San Jose State University
408 924-3266
baldwin@jmc.sjsu.edu
ceceliabaldwin@earthlink.net