

Group-based belief systems about the racial order: Racial stereotypes and Asian American partisan identification

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Chinbo Chong

Tanika Raychaudhuri

Abstract:

Asian Americans, the fastest growing racial group in the American electorate, are becoming an important political constituency. Although most Asian Americans support Democrats, at least 25% voted for Republicans in every presidential election since 1992. Why do some Asian Americans support Republicans, a party that is increasingly unwelcoming to immigrants and racial minorities? More generally, what explains variation in partisan views among Asian Americans? This project explores whether Asian Americans' views about their own racial group, relative to other racial groups, shape their partisan views. We predict that internalizing stereotypes of Asian Americans as "model minorities" leads to Republican partisan identification and internalizing stereotypes of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners" leads to Democratic identification. We test these hypotheses with observational and experimental studies. First, using data from two independent surveys, we find that belief in the model minority stereotype is associated with Republican identification and self-perception as a foreigner is associated with Democratic identification. Second, we will conduct a survey experiment testing whether increasing the salience of the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes through hypothetical research reports influences Asian Americans' partisan views. Our findings have implications for understanding partisanship through group positioning in the American racial hierarchy.

Introduction

Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial group in the American electorate. They currently make up 4.7% of registered voters, compared to just 2.4% in 2000 (Budiman 2020). In light of this rapid growth, Asian Americans are a growing political force and represent a pivotal electoral constituency in future elections (Li 2019).

Although most Asian Americans support Democrats, a sizeable minority voted for Republican candidates in recent national elections.¹ For example, about 27% and 30% of Asian Americans voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections respectively (Roper Center 2020). Why do some Asian Americans support the Republican Party, despite the fact that the party is increasingly unwelcoming to immigrants and racial minorities? More generally, what explains variation in Asian Americans' partisan views? Existing research offers several potential explanations, including social exclusion, group consciousness, and local partisan context (Kuo, Malhotra, and Mo 2017; Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004; Raychaudhuri 2020). Building on such work, this research explores whether Asian Americans' views about their own racial group, relative to other racial groups, shape their partisan preferences.

Asian Americans face dual stereotypes², as economically successful minorities who are foreigners in the U.S. The “model minority” stereotype portrays Asian Americans as hard workers who achieve success with little government assistance (Lee, Wong, and Alvarez 2008; Wu 2019). In contrast, the “perpetual foreigner” stereotype portrays Asian Americans as outsiders who will never truly belong in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva 2004).³ The dual nature of these stereotypes reflects the “triangulation” of Asian Americans within the U.S. racial hierarchy (Kim 1999, 2000; Wu 2015). Kim (1999; 2000) argues that Asian Americans are seen as superior to African Americans and Latinos because they are hardworking and economically successful, but inferior to whites because they are foreign and unassimilable. This conceptualization conveys that these two racial stereotypes of Asian Americans are related to each other and created in relation to other racial groups.

While the position of Asian Americans within the racial hierarchy was created by white elites, it is maintained by members of all racial groups who believe the stereotypes it generates (Kim 1999, 107). In fact, existing research suggests that Asian Americans internalize the outwardly positive aspects of the minority stereotype and also recognize their marginalized status as perpetual foreigners (Choi et al. 2017; Masuoka and Junn 2013; Gupta, Szymanski, and Leong 2011; Wong et al. 1998). While Kim (1999) argues that both stereotypes emerge from the American racial hierarchy and are “two sides of the same coin,” there may be variation in the extent to which individuals believe in each stereotype (Choi et al. 2017). For example, some Asian Americans may believe both the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes simultaneously, while others may believe in one more strongly than the others or reject both stereotypes.

¹ Although partisanship and vote choice are distinct concepts, they align quite well in previous studies of Asian American political behavior (Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004; Wong et al. 2011).

² Psychological studies often use the terms “stereotype internalization” and “internalized racism” to describe how experiences of “othering” become part of Asian Americans' identity. For consistency, we use the phrase “stereotype internalization” throughout the paper.

³ Others refer to this concept as the “forever foreigner” stereotype (Tuan 1998). We use the phrase “perpetual foreigner” for the remainder of the paper.

In this study, we investigate what factors are associated with Asian Americans internalizing the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes and whether belief in these tropes shapes partisan identification. We predict that internalizing the model minority stereotype leads Asian Americans to identify as Republicans because the trope emphasizes the Republican Party's core values of self-reliance, meritocracy, and economic success (Ke 2020; Sheldon and Nichols 2009). In contrast, we predict that internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype leads Asian Americans to identify as Democrats because the party is more welcoming to immigrants and racial minorities (Kuo, Malhotra, and Mo 2017).

We test these hypotheses with two observational studies and an original experiment. First, using data from the 2016 Post-election National Asian American Survey (NAAS) and the 2020 Omnibus Asian American Survey (OAAS), we find that internalizing the model minority stereotype predicts Republican partisanship and internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype is associated with Democratic partisanship. Second, we will conduct a causal test using an experiment with hypothetical data report that raise the salience of these racial stereotypes, which many Asian Americans have already internalized, and explore the effects on partisan identity.

The results have important implications for understanding Asian American partisan acquisition and American politics more broadly. First, our research show that internalizing racial stereotypes has implications beyond personal psychology and may influence Asian Americans' partisan views. Second, the results suggest that partisanship is partly a reflection of individuals' beliefs about where their racial group fits into American society.

Existing explanations for Asian American partisanship

Much of the research on partisanship among Asian Americans finds that they do not have strong attachments to either political party. For example, several studies of Asian Americans in California show they supported Democrats and Republicans in roughly equal numbers in the 1990s and early 2000s (Cain, Kiewiet, and Uhlaner 1991, 401; Cho and Cain 2001). Cain, Kiewiet, and Uhlaner (1991) find few systematic predictors of partisanship among Asian Americans, although there is suggestive evidence that those who immigrated from countries with a communist history are more likely to identify as Republicans than those who immigrated from countries with a democratic history (406). Contemporary work finds further evidence that many Asian Americans do not identify with either party, which may be due to a lack of mobilization efforts by the parties (Hajnal and Lee 2011; Phan and Garcia 2009).

Although many Asian Americans do not identify with either political party, exit polls show a trend of increasing Democratic vote choice (Roper Center 2020). Several national studies find that a range of factors, including political interest, political efficacy, time in the U.S., linked fate with other Asian Americans, media exposure, age, and national origin may explain this trend (Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004; Masuoka et al. 2018; Wong et al. 2011).⁴ Le and Su (2017) explore national origin effects, finding differences in partisanship across immigrant cohorts among Vietnamese Americans. While Vietnamese immigrants who arrived as refugees identify as Republicans, recent immigrants are more likely to identify as Democrats. Recent work considers the role of local partisan context, finding that Asian Americans who settle in politically liberal

⁴ Although many Asian Americans have high incomes, existing research suggests that socioeconomic status is not a strong predictor of their partisan views (Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004; Masuoka et al. 2018).

counties are more likely to vote for Democrats than those who settle in conservative counties (Raychaudhuri 2020).

Several experimental studies explore whether Asian Americans' partisan views are shaped by racial exclusion, resulting in mixed findings. For example, a lab experiment randomly exposed Asian American and white college students to a microaggression questioning their citizenship status (Kuo, Malhotra, and Mo 2017). Relative to their white counterparts, Asian Americans exposed to the microaggression expressed positive views about the Democratic Party. In contrast, across four experiments conducted on independent samples, Hopkins et al. (2020) find no partisan effects of exposure to a news article describing group-level discrimination against Asian Americans.

Our project contributes to this growing literature by explaining *variation* in Asian Americans' partisan views with a holistic theoretical framework rooted in group-based belief systems about the racial order. This is an important contribution because previous studies have largely focused on explaining non-partisanship (Hajnal and Lee 2011; Phan and Garcia 2009), support for one party at a time (Kuo, Malhotra, and Mo 2017; Hopkins et al, 2020; Raychaudhuri 2020), or variation in partisan views across demographic categories (Cain, Kiewet, and Uhlaner 1991; Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004). Furthermore, few studies have tested psychological explanations for Asian American partisanship.

Existing work also has not considered the complex racial positioning of Asian Americans within the U.S. racial hierarchy. In what Kim (1999) describes as “racial triangulation,” Asian Americans are stereotyped as hardworking, educated, and economically successful “model minorities” but also as “perpetual foreigners,” who are not truly American. Given that these stereotypes are widespread, many Asian Americans believe these tropes about their own racial group. It is possible that Asian Americans internalize both stereotypes simultaneously, one over than the other, or neither at all. We predict that internalizing each stereotype pushes partisan preferences in a different direction. Which subgroups within the Asian American community are most likely to internalize the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes? What is the impact of internalizing racial stereotypes on the development of partisan views? We build upon the existing literature on partisanship and belonging to explore these questions.

Partisan acquisition through the lens of belonging

Individualism and self-reliance are core values linked to the Republican Party (McCloskey and Zaller 1984; Nackenoff 1994). The concept of American individualism is rooted in the belief that the U.S. is abundant with opportunities that anyone can take advantage of, regardless of their social status. The Republican Party rebranded on the mudsill of this value after the Southern realignment in 1965 (Hammerback 1972). In the decades since, the Republican Party has made the values of personal responsibility and meritocracy central to their rhetoric and policy positions (Hecllo 2008; Kuehl 2012). Several scholars have also demonstrated the link between the Protestant work ethic and identifying with the Republican Party, which is home to the American Christian right (Beit-Hallahmi 1979; Furnham 1983; Furnham and Bland 1983; MacDonald 1971;1972; Tang and Tzeng 1992).

Recent research suggests there is a relationship between belief in meritocratic values and Republican partisanship (Bartels 2016; George 2017). Others have demonstrated that belief in individualism is associated with negative evaluations of Black political candidates and policies intended to assist racial minorities (Feagin 1972; Feldman 1984; Kinder and Sears 1981; Kinder

1983). In the same vein, perceptions of upward social mobility decrease support for redistributive policies (Alesina and La Ferrara 2005; Bazzi et al. 2020).

As the Republican Party branded itself on meritocratic values, Democrats are increasingly seen as the party of racial inclusion. Major historical events like the civil rights movement have shaped the parties' stances on race and immigration, leading to deep contemporary partisan divisions (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Feinstein and Schickler 2008; Lee 2002; Rosino and Hughley 2016). Several scholars also argue that Obama's presidency heightened the racialization of the political parties (Stephens-Dougan 2021; Tesler 2016). These broad trajectories of the Democratic Party's positions on racial issues have important implications for the development of partisan views among racial minorities.

Group-based thinking and experiences of discrimination may lead racial minorities to support Democrats because they are racially inclusive. For example, theories of group consciousness predict that a history of marginalization makes group interests more important than individual interests in voting decisions (Dawson 1994). Other work finds that many Latino voters shifted from supporting Republicans to Democrats in California after Republican politicians supported punitive immigration policies (Bowler, Nicholson, and Segura 2005; Dyck, Johnson, and Wasson 2012). In line with such findings, several studies find that perceiving racial discrimination leads to Democratic partisanship among Asian Americans (Hajnal and Lee 2011; Kuo et al. 2017; Tesler 2016). However, others find that experiencing discrimination does not influence Asian Americans' partisan views (Cain et al. 1991; Hopkins et al. 2020).

Taken together, this literature suggests that the two major political parties converged on distinctive core values that have implications for how individuals forge a sense of belonging in the American polity. In the following sections, we discuss how these values might inform racial stereotypes of Asian Americans and their partisan identities.

The model minority stereotype: Origins, consequences, and stereotype internalization

The model minority is a complex racial stereotype, which posits that Asian Americans achieve academic and economic success by virtue of their work ethic and cultural norms (Lee, Wong, and Alvarez 2009; Wong et al. 1998; Wu 2015). This is a notable racial stereotype because it is ostensibly positive, "making Asian Americans living examples of advancement in spite of the persistent color line and *because of* their racial (often coded as cultural) differences" (Wu 2015, 6). Despite this veneer, the model minority stereotype has many negative consequences, including obscuring diversity within the Asian American community, creating tension with other minorities, and pressuring Asian Americans to meet high expectations (Lee, Wong, and Alvarez 2009).

The origins of the model minority stereotype include media depictions of Asian Americans, U.S. immigration law, and the racial hierarchy. The first news stories reflecting the model minority stereotype were published in the 1960s and described East Asian Americans as achieving academic success without assistance (Rim 2007, 40; Wu 2015). The figure of the model minority is also a product of a contemporary immigration system that favors highly educated immigrants (Junn 2007). Finally, the model minority stereotype was created in relation to negative racial stereotypes of other minority groups. Asian Americans are "racially triangulated" as superior to African Americans because of their work ethic but inferior to whites, the dominant racial group. (Kim 1999). Some scholars argue that the model minority stereotype "served the instrumental function to discredit demands for social justice of other minority groups" (Wong et al. 1998, 96).

Several studies suggest that both Asian and non-Asian Americans internalize the model minority stereotype. For example, Masuoka and Junn (2013) find that all Americans stereotype whites and Asian Americans as “richer,” “more intelligent,” and “less likely to rely on welfare” than African Americans and Latinos (75-78). Other work finds that Asian Americans are perceived as more academically successful than their white peers (Zhang 2010; Jimenez and Horowitz 201; Wong et al. 1998).

Internalizing the model minority stereotype has consequences for educational and political outcomes among Asian Americans. For example, psychological studies demonstrate that telling Asian American students about the stereotype boosts math test scores (Ambady et al. 2001; Shih et al. 1999). Others find that the model minority stereotype disadvantages Asian American students who struggle academically by leaving them out of conversations about educational equity (Museus and Kiang 2009; Ng et al. 2007; Wing 2007). A recent study extends this concept to politics, finding that Asian American candidates perform better than white candidates in a hypothetical experiment conducted on white respondents (Visalvanich 2017).

The perpetual foreigner stereotype: Origins, consequences, and stereotype internalization

In contrast, the perpetual foreigner stereotype “casts Asian Americans as inherently foreign” and unable to assimilate into American society (Lee, Wong, and Alvarez 2009, 69). Standard definitions of who is considered a typical American center white Anglo-Saxon Protestant attributes (Charles and Rah 2018; Ngai 2014; Omi and Winant 2014). For example, Americans of all racial backgrounds implicitly believe that whites are more American than members of other racial groups (Devos and Banaji 2005). This exclusionary framework for determining group membership marginalizes non-white racial groups, including Asian Americans.

The racial triangulation framework best explains the origins of the perpetual foreigner stereotype. The framework theorizes “Asian immigrants as superior to Blacks yet permanently foreign and unassimilable with Whites” (Kim 1999, 109). Kim (1999) brings historical evidence that Asian Americans were racialized as foreign and as model minorities by “major opinionmakers” (107). The perpetual foreigner stereotype suggests that Asian American belonging is undoubtedly contested despite their citizenship status or level of acculturation into American society.

A series of contemporary instances of discrimination against Asian Americans testifies to the on-going contestation of whether Asian Americans belong in the U.S. Many of these events occur in tandem with sharpened tensions between the U.S. and Asian nations. For example, the killing of Chinese-American Vincent Chin in 1982 occurred amidst the decline of the American and rise of the Japanese automotive industry (Lee 2019). Additionally, during the 1996 campaign finance scandal, donors were investigated through the racial profiling of Asian surnames (Lien 2001; Wu 2002). The racialization of the coronavirus is another contemporary example: Chinese Americans and other East Asians are currently being targeted through hate crimes leading to deaths, death threats, and micro-aggressions (Chong and Garcia-Rios 2020; Hong 2020; Inskeep 2020). These events may lead white Americans to favor policies restricting immigration from Asia (Reny and Barreto 2020).

Several studies demonstrate that when Asian Americans internalize stereotypes that portray their racial group as foreign, it has negative psychological consequences (Gupta, Szymanski, and Leong 2011; Shen et al. 2011; Choi et al. 2017). For example, many Asian Americans report feeling excluded in the interpersonal interactions of daily life (Tuan 1998; Hong 2020; Wu 2002). Other research shows that stereotyping Asian Americans as “too ethnic” or “too assimilated” has

negative consequences for peer interactions (Pyke and Dang 2003). In another example, Asian Americans who attended college abroad are often perceived as “cold” or “socially distant” by potential employers (Chavez 2020). Moreover, psychology studies find that “subtle forms of discrimination based on the assumption that Asian Americans are foreigners, regardless of their nativity” (Armenta et al. 2013, 132) are associated with depression (Kim et al. 2011), hopelessness, and low life satisfaction (Huynh, Devos, and Smalarz 2011).

The effects of group-based stereotypes on Asian American partisanship

Our theory of group-based stereotypes and partisan identification posits that the internalization of the perpetual foreigner and model minority stereotypes is a dynamic process with consequences for partisan identification. First, we argue that there is variation in the extent to which different subgroups within the Asian American community internalize each stereotype. As noted above, it is possible to simultaneously accept both stereotypes, believe in one more than the other, or to reject both stereotypes.

In recognizing the duality and potential coexistence of these stereotypes, this study tests which demographic factors make Asian Americans more or less likely to internalize each stereotype. We expect that U.S.-born Asian Americans are more likely to be cognizant of and reject racial stereotypes than their foreign-born counterparts, who may have less knowledge of the American racial hierarchy. In general, we expect a similar pattern across levels of education. However, the model minority stereotype valorizes highly educated Asian Americans, so they may be less likely to reject this trope than other racial stereotypes

Model minority internalization hypothesis: Asian Americans who are foreign born are more likely to accept model minority stereotype than their U.S.-born counterpart.

Perpetual foreigner internalization hypothesis: Similarly, Asian Americans who are foreign born or have low levels of education are more likely to accept the perpetual foreigner stereotype than their counterparts who are U.S. born or have high levels of education.

Next, we argue that stereotype internalization influences partisanship because the ideals underlying each of these group-based stereotypes are aligned with values that each party represents. First, internalizing the model minority stereotype reflects the belief that Asian Americans have achieved the American Dream through hard work and self-reliance, a perception rooted in the Republican Party’s core values. In this way, internalizing the model minority stereotype reflects feeling included in the American mainstream. We argue that a perception of inclusion in American society through hard work and economic success pushes Asian Americans to the Republican Party.

Model minority hypothesis: Asian Americans who internalize the model minority stereotype are more likely to identify as Republican than Democratic partisans.

In contrast, internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype reflects the belief that racial minorities face discrimination in the U.S., a reality readily acknowledged by the Democratic Party (Tesler 2016). The perpetual foreigner stereotype portrays Asian Americans as outsiders who are not fully accepted into American society (Kim 1999). Other studies found that facing racial discrimination or social exclusion leads Asian Americans to support Democrats over Republicans (Chan et al., 2020; Hajnal and Lee 2011; Kuo, Malhotra, and Mo 2017). Moreover, recent research shows decreasing support for the Democratic Party among white Democrats when candidates appeal to Latino voters (Ostfeld 2019). This suggests that the inclusive image of the Democratic Party has implications for the political views of Asian Americans. We argue that a perception of

exclusion from mainstream American society because they are immigrants and racial minorities pushes Asian Americans to the Democratic Party.

Perpetual foreigner hypothesis: Asian Americans who internalize the perpetual foreigner stereotype are more likely to identify as Democratic than Republican partisans.

Observational studies

To test the hypotheses described above, we examine the demographic correlates of internalizing each stereotype and whether believing these stereotypes is associated with Asian Americans' partisan views using data from two large national surveys. The two surveys were conducted independently, and we use different measures to approximate the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes in each analysis. Taken together, the measures from the two studies offer a reasonable approximation of each stereotype.

Study 1: 2016 Post-election National Asian American Survey (NAAS)

The first analysis uses the 2016 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2016). The survey was conducted in two cross-sectional waves. This analysis uses the post-election survey, which was conducted by phone after the 2016 presidential election. The survey was conducted in English or the appropriate Asian language and includes respondents across all U.S. states and territories. The survey was administered across all U.S. racial groups. Asian American respondents were sampled from registered voter sample using Catalist and recruited through commercial vendor lists. The listed sample of Asian Americans was classified for ethnicity by name, listed race where applicable, and tract-level ethnic concentration. The analytical sample includes 4,468 Asian American respondents who reflect a diverse range of the national population. The data were weighted by ethnicity, gender, age, state of residence, education, and nativity using the U.S. Census metrics of Asian Americans.

Measures and empirical strategy:

The primary measure of partisanship is the standard seven-point *partisan identification* scale. It is coded continuously, from zero ("strong Republicans") to one ("strong Democrats").

Two variables capture whether respondents internalized the model minority and the perpetual foreigner stereotypes. The main values underlying the model minority stereotype are hard work and belief in meritocracy.⁵ As such, the *meritocratic value index* includes the following items: (1) "We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country," (2) "This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are," and (3) "It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others," (alpha = 0.66).⁶ Responses are on a five-point scale, ranging from "strongly agree," to "strongly disagree. While this is not a direct measure of the model minority stereotype, it captures a belief in one's economically superior status. In this sense, it is a reasonable proxy for the model minority stereotype. The main premise of the perpetual foreigner stereotype is the recognition that Asian Americans are treated like unwelcome outsiders, despite their status as naturalized or birthright citizens. As such, the

⁵ The survey also contained questions about whether others perceive the respondent as "good at math and science" or as "a creative thinker." We do not include these questions in the index because they measure beliefs about how others perceive Asian Americans rather than the respondent's own views.

⁶ We argue that these measures capture beliefs about economic opportunity rather than racial resentment because they do not explicitly mention racial groups. Furthermore, Appendix Table 9 demonstrates that the meritocracy index and negative stereotypes about African Americans and Latinos are only weakly correlated.

perpetual foreigner index includes the following items: “In an average month, do any of the following things happen to you?”: (1) “You receive poor service than other people at restaurants and stores,” (2) “People act as if you don’t speak English,” (3) “You are called names and insulted,” (4) “You are threatened or harassed,” (5) “People mispronounce your name”(alpha = 0.63). Each item in the index is dichotomous, where one represents “yes.”

The models also include the following demographic variables, coded from zero to one, as continuous or dichotomous variables: age, female, educational attainment, foreign born, home ownership, employment status, income, and region of settlement in the U.S. We also control for Christian identity, since Christianity and Republican identity are highly correlated among Asian Americans (Wong et al. 2008; Wong 2015; 2018a; 2018b).⁷ Finally, we include an indicator for a Vietnamese identification, as Vietnamese Americans tend to identify with the Republican Party at higher rates than other Asian national origin groups (Le and Su 2018; Wong et al. 2011). See Appendix Table 1 for detailed information about variable coding and descriptive statistics.

Our empirical strategy is as follows. To explore the demographic predictors of stereotype internalization, we regress our measures of internalizing the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes onto the demographic variables described above. Second, to analyze the associations between stereotype internalization and partisanship, we regress partisan identification onto the stereotype measures and demographic variables. These analyses use OLS models. To account for the possibility of heterogeneous effects within the diverse Asian American community, we also re-estimate these models separately by Asian regional origin groups (East Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian, and Other). We do not have strong theoretical expectations for how results may vary by national origin, but we present them in Appendix Tables 5 and 6.

Results:

First we discuss the demographic predictors of the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes. The results are presented in Table 1.⁸ As the model minority internalization hypothesis predicts, foreign-born Asian Americans are more likely to internalize the meritocratic values index than their U.S.-born counterparts. More specifically, being foreign born is associated with an eleven percentage point increase in belief in meritocracy (Table 1, Column 1). In addition, we find that age, education, income, and region of residence in the U.S. are significantly associated with internalizing the meritocratic values index.⁹ Contrary to the perpetual foreigner internalization hypothesis, we find that those who have a college degree are about one percentage point more likely to internalize the perpetual foreigner stereotype than their non-college educated counterparts (Table 1, Column 2). There are no significant differences in internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype by generational status. Age, national origin, and region of residence in the U.S. are also significant predictors of internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype.¹⁰

The next analysis supports the model minority and perpetual foreigner hypotheses, suggesting that internalizing these racial stereotypes has implications for the development of

⁷ Refer to Appendix Table 1 for a full list of religious denominations coded as “Christian.”

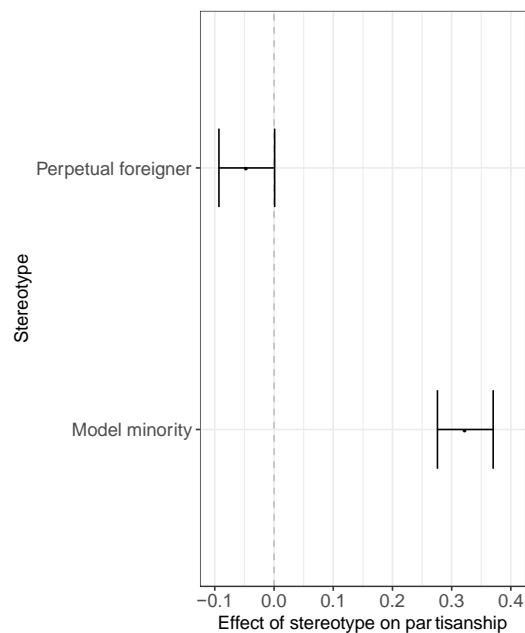
⁸ See Appendix Table 3 for mean levels of stereotype internalization across demographic groups.

⁹ The “Other Asian” national origin category is also correlated with holding meritocratic values. Since this is a catch-all category for individuals who do not belong to the six largest national origin groups, we do not place substantive meaning to this finding.

¹⁰ It is possible that the model minority is most strongly internalized among East Asians, as the stereotype originated with reference to Chinese and Japanese Americans. This analysis suggests that Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese are no more likely to internalize the model minority stereotype than other Asian American subgroups.

partisan views. The results are presented as marginal effects with 95% confidence intervals in Figure 1. In the figure, values above zero reflect a shift towards Republican identification and those below zero reflect a shift towards Democratic identification. The full regression results are included in Table 2. First, as the model minority hypothesis predicts, belief in meritocracy is associated with a 32 percentage point increase in Republican partisanship in a model with demographic controls ($p < 0.001$) (Figure 1; Table 2, Column 1). In line with the perpetual foreigner hypothesis, Asian Americans who believe that other Americans perceive them as foreigners are about five percentage points more likely to identify as Democratic partisans than those who do not subscribe to this belief (Figure 1; Table 2, Column 2). However, this effect is somewhat uncertain at $p < 0.10$. These effects largely hold across major national origin groups (Appendix Tables 5-6).

Figure 1: Effects of stereotype internalization on partisanship (NAAS)



Study 2: 2020 Omnibus Asian American Survey (OAAS)

The second analysis uses the 2020 OAAS, an original political survey of Asian Americans that we conducted with several collaborators (Leung et al. 2020). The survey was conducted with the research firm Bovitz in March 2020 on a national sample of 1,558 Asian Americans. Respondents were drawn from a proprietary national online panel maintained by Bovitz. The survey was administered in English online using the Qualtrics survey platform and took approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete. It contained questions about demographics, political views, experiences of discrimination, and views on affirmative action and other issues. The analytical sample includes 1,535 Asian American respondents, who reflect a diverse cross-section of the national population in terms of generational status, and national origin.

Measures and empirical strategy:

The primary measure of partisanship is *partisan identification* on the standard seven-point scale. As in the first study, we scale this variable from zero (“strong Democrat”) to one, (“strong Republican”). As a secondary measure, we include *feeling thermometer ratings of the political*

parties, measured from 0 to 100 and rescaled from zero (“very cold”) to one (“very warm”). While party identification is the most established measure of partisan views, many Asian Americans do not strongly identify with either political party and thermometer ratings offer a useful alternative measure (Hajnal and Lee 2011; Hopkins et al. 2020 Kuo, Malhotra, and Mo 2017). See Appendix Table 2 for detailed coding information and descriptive statistics for these outcomes and all other measures in the study.

We also include measures of internalizing the model minority and the perpetual foreigner stereotypes. Belief in the model minority stereotype is a two-item scaled index of the following items: “In comparison to other racial minorities such as African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, Asian Americans” (1) “have stronger work ethic” and (2) “achieve more academic and economic success” (alpha = 0.78). Responses to each question are on a four-point scale, from 0 (“strongly disagree”) to 1 (“strongly agree”). Both items in *the model minority stereotype index* reflect the valorization of Asian Americans relative to other racial minorities and the core values of work ethic and achievement that underlie the stereotype (Wu 2015). *Self-perception as a perpetual foreigner* is measured with a four-point item asking respondents how much they “feel like an outsider in the United States,” from 0 (“not at all like an outside”) to 1 (“strongly like an outsider”). This item picks up on a sense of belonging in the U.S., an important dimension of the perpetual foreigner stereotype.

Our models also include the following demographic measures: age, gender, educational attainment, generational status, income, homeownership, national origin, and region of residence in the U.S. We do not control for Christian religious identification or employment status in this analysis because these variables were not included in the survey.

As in the previous analysis, we use these measures to explore racial stereotype internalization and the association between internalizing these stereotypes and partisanship. First, we regress the racial stereotype variables onto a set of demographic predictors. Next we regress the partisan outcomes onto each racial stereotype and the demographic controls described above using OLS models.

Results:

The results offer mixed evidence with regard to the stereotype internalization hypotheses. The models exploring the demographic predictors of stereotype internalization are presented in Table 3.¹¹ First, as the model minority internalization hypothesis predicts, foreign-born Asian Americans are about three percentage points more likely to internalize the model minority stereotype than their U.S.-born counterparts (Table 3, Column 1). Along with generational status, age, income, national origin, and region of residence in the U.S. are significantly associated with internalizing the model minority stereotype. In contrast, we find mixed support for the perpetual foreigner internalization hypothesis. As predicted, foreign-born Asian Americans are three percentage points more likely to feel like outsiders than those born in the U.S. (Table 3, Column 2). However, there are no significant differences in internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype by education (Table 3, Column 2). Age, national origin, and region of residence in the U.S. are also statistically significant predictors of internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype.

Next we present the results of analyses testing the model minority and perpetual foreigner hypotheses, which both find strong support. The results are presented as marginal effects with 95%

¹¹ See Appendix Table 4 for mean levels of stereotype internalization across demographic groups.

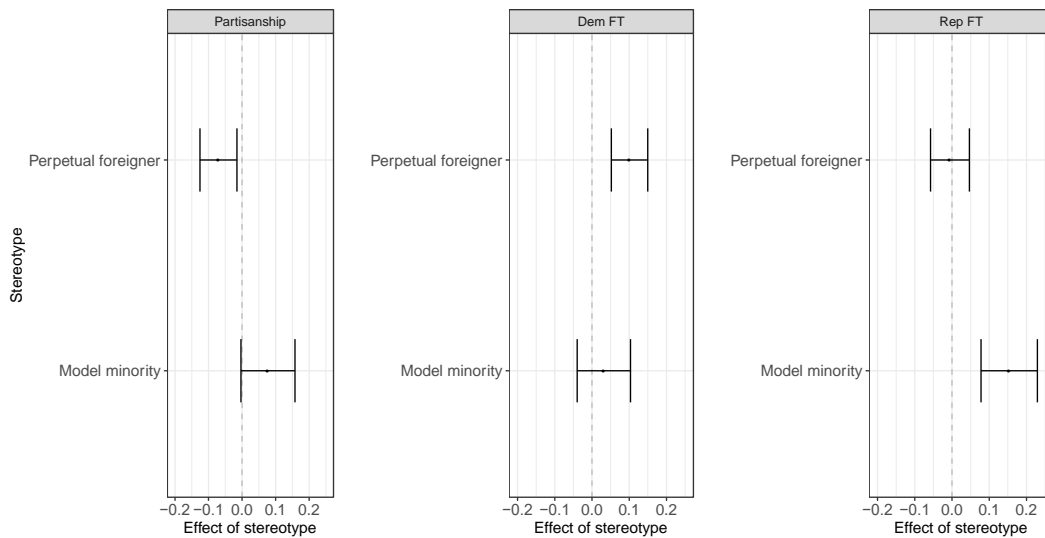
confidence intervals in Figure 2. In the first panel of the figure, partisanship values above zero reflect a shift towards Republican preferences and those below zero reflect a shift towards Democratic preferences. The full regression results for partisanship are included in Table 4. Appendix Table 11 presents the results of regressing party feeling thermometers onto the same predictors.

As the model minority hypothesis predicts, believing that Asian Americans are more hardworking and successful than other racial minorities increases Republican partisanship by about eight percentage points, controlling for standard demographics and Vietnamese origin ($p < 0.10$) (Figure 2; Table 4, Column 1). Although the effect of the model minority stereotype index on partisanship is only marginally significant, the effect on Republican Party thermometer ratings is larger in magnitude, at about fifteen percentage points, and significant at $p < 0.001$ (Figure 2; Appendix Table 11, Column 1). Finally, the model minority stereotype index has no significant effect on Democratic Party thermometer ratings (Figure 2; Appendix Table 11, Column 4).

As the perpetual foreigner hypothesis predicts, feeling like an outsider in the U.S. shifts partisan preferences towards the Democratic Party. More specifically, the perpetual foreigner index increases Democratic partisanship by about seven percentage points (Figure 2; Table 4, Column 3). In addition, feeling like a foreigner increases favorable thermometer ratings of the Democratic Party by about ten percentage points and has no significant effect on ratings of the Republican Party (Figure 2; Appendix Table 11, Columns 3 and 6).

These results largely hold when subsetting the sample by national origin (Appendix Tables 7-8). However, the positive effects of the model minority stereotype index on Republican partisanship are particularly large among East and Southeast Asians (Appendix Table 7).

Figure 2: Effects of stereotype internalization on partisan outcomes (OAAS)



Limitations and next steps

In the previous section, we tested the relationship between internalized group-based stereotypes and partisan identification using two large national surveys. Although we find strong observational evidence in support of our hypotheses, these analyses have several important limitations.

First, observational data allows us to make associational rather than causal statements, which leaves the results subject to alternative explanations. For example, it is possible that the causal pathway is reversed, and partisan identification causes Asian Americans to internalize group-based stereotypes that align with their partisan attachments. It is also possible that other confounding variables, associated with both stereotypes and partisanship, drive the results.

Second, individuals may hold the two conflicting stereotypes simultaneously. Although the observational analyses assume that Asian Americans hold one racial stereotype at a time, implementing an experiment where respondents are primed to think about either stereotype assumes they can be held simultaneously and tests whether raising the salience of a particular stereotype pushes partisan views in the predicted direction.

Experimental Design:

The experiment models our theoretical assumption that stereotypes are internalized and can be made salient when people are reminded of them in certain settings and contexts. More specifically, the design reflects our theoretical expectation that internalizing the model minority stereotype is associated with feelings of inclusion into mainstream American society, which draws Asian Americans to the Republican Party. Similarly, it models our theoretical expectation that internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype is associated with feelings of exclusion from the American mainstream and draws Asian Americans to the Democratic Party.

We will conduct our study on a sample of 900 Asian American adults drawn from an established national online respondent pool managed by the survey firm Dynata. We also plan to pre-test the study on a sample of 220 Asian American adults drawn from the same respondent pool.¹² The sample sizes were determined using power analyses. This respondent pool will be acquired through commercial lists and partners the firm works with. Dynata is a reputable survey company that conducts oversamples of “hard-to-reach” populations like Asian Americans. The Asian American respondents in our sample will be U.S.-born and foreign-born individuals who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents. The survey will be conducted in English. We will request the following national origin and demographic quotas to approximate the distribution of the top five Asian national origin groups in the U.S.¹³

The experiment will be embedded within a short online survey that will take about 10 minutes to complete. The survey will begin with a series of demographic questions (gender, education, racial identity, Asian ethnicity, state and zip code of residence, income, immigration status, employment, and religion). Next, respondents will be randomly assigned to view one of three experimental conditions. Respondents will be required to stay on the treatment page for at least one minute to ensure uptake of the information. The survey ends with outcomes and manipulation check questions. Respondents will be able to complete the survey on their personal electronic devices (laptop, desktop, tablets, phones). The pretest represents a shortened version of the full experiment that will include demographic questions, the experimental conditions, several

¹² We plan to conduct the pre-test in the late spring of 2021, which coincides with a period of heightened discrimination and racial violence against Asian Americans. We are mindful of the fact that this context may influence our experiment but expect that they will strengthen understandings of racial stereotypes about Asian Americans within our potential respondent pool.

¹³ Respondents must be self-identified Asians, aged 18+. Nativity status: 25.9% (US born) 74.1% (foreign born) Education: 51.0% (less than 4-year college degree) 49.0% (4-year college or more) (Pew Asian American Report 2013; Pew Asian American Fact Sheet 2017).

manipulation check questions, and two key outcomes: partisanship and feeling thermometer ratings of the political parties.

The three experiment conditions each contain an excerpt from a report titled “The Status of Asian Americans in the 21st Century.” The report includes text and a graphic. Each graphic includes a descriptive header and shows variation across racial groups in the U.S. (Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Whites) on a demographic characteristic of interest. These hypothetical report excerpts are modeled off actual reports about the Asian American community, published by organizations like the U.S. Census Bureau and the Pew Research Center. The experimental conditions include: (1) *the model minority treatment*, which suggests that Asian Americans are more highly educated than other racial groups in the U.S., (2) *the perpetual foreigner treatment*, which suggests that Asian Americans have lower levels of English language proficiency than other racial groups in the U.S., and (3) *the control condition*, which states that Asian Americans subscribe to Netflix at similar levels to other racial groups in the U.S.

We designed the experimental conditions to heighten the salience of a given racial stereotype among respondents. The model minority stereotype treatment reports high levels of educational attainment among Asian Americans compared to other racial groups. We focus on college completion to reflect hard work and success, two major dimensions of the model minority stereotype. In fact, this stereotype is highly relevant to discussions of academic achievement in the Asian American community (Museus and Kiang 2009; Ng et al. 2007; Wing 2007). The perpetual foreigner stereotype treatment reports that Asian Americans are more likely to be perceived as non-native English speakers than members of other racial groups. We expect that these statistics will prime feelings of marginalization based on being treated as foreigners. Lastly, the control condition offers a baseline for comparison.

All of these conditions report statistics for the same four racial groups (Asian Americans, Whites, African Americans, and Latinos) and use similar language with exception to some omitted language in the control condition. The statistics presented in each experimental condition are accurate, drawn from the U.S. Census and the 2016 NAAS.¹⁴ The Netflix subscription numbers are drawn from a Leichtman Research Group report, with minor alterations for all four racial groups. We will debrief the respondents at the end of the survey. We plan to ask a manipulation check question to assess whether respondents accurately processed the information.

The goal of the experiment is to prime racial stereotypes, which many Asian Americans have already internalized. We employ experimental treatments to remind respondents of these stereotypes and make them salient, rather than to introduce these stereotypes for the first time. This approach assumes that these stereotypes have been internalized or at least recognizable to most respondents. By using randomization, we can ensure that the distribution of pre-treatment stereotype internalization is similar across conditions.

We chose to present the stereotype primes in statistical reports for several reasons. First, using survey data from a “a non-partisan research center” gives the reports an appearance of objectivity. Second, the format allows us to present comparative data across racial groups, which is important because the stereotypes are relational and position Asian Americans relative to other

¹⁴ We used the 2016 NAAS post-election data to generate the bar graphs in the “perpetual foreigner” experimental condition.

racial groups. Third, the reports allows us to present this information in an easily interpretable format. The full text of the experimental treatments is available the in appendix (pp. 18-20).

We extend the following expectations to the experimental study. Relative to the control condition, the model minority hypothesis predicts that the report stating Asian Americans are more hardworking and intelligent than other racial minorities will increase support for the Republican Party. The perpetual foreigner hypothesis predicts that the treatment stating that Asian Americans have lower levels of English language proficiency than other racial minorities will increase support for the Democratic Party.

Outcomes

Our primary outcome variable is party identification. We also plan to ask party feeling thermometer questions, questions about the inclusivity of the political parties, affective party ratings, and other common alternatives to partisanship used in experimental studies of Asian Americans (Hopkins et al. 2020; Kuo et al. 2017).

Conclusion:

This research explores partisan acquisition among Asian Americans, a growing but understudied immigrant group in the U.S. The development of partisan identities is part of a broader process of immigrant political incorporation and has important implications for the forging of political belonging. We argue this process occurs, in part, through the internalization of group-based stereotypes about immigrants' own racial groups.

Using observational data from two national surveys, we find that internalizing the model minority stereotype is associated with Republican identification and internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype is associated with Democratic identification. We also propose an experimental design to test this account causally.

These results have important implications for understanding how the internalization of group-based stereotypes and the relative positioning of racial groups within the American racial hierarchy influences partisan identities. More broadly, this process has implications for understanding how immigrants create a sense of belonging in the U.S. and navigate the complicated terrain of racial stereotypes in a new country. We argue that embracing widespread narratives about racial groups shapes how people sort themselves into partisan groups. Moreover, recognizing that a particular narrative is associated with one's own racial group is part of the experience of racialization for non-whites. Ultimately, figuring out where their racial group belongs in the American racial hierarchy may be central to the process of "becoming American" for immigrants who are racial minorities.

Racial categories and their associated narratives are powerful demarcations of inclusion and exclusion in the U.S. This research shows that internalizing group-based stereotypes that are informed by the American racial hierarchy has consequences for the partisan identities of Asian Americans. Future research might examine how the "invisibility" of racial groups like Asian Americans in mainstream political and racial discourse might lead to non-partisan identification and reduce civic engagement. Further work might also examine how racial narratives influence outcomes beyond partisanship, including heavily debated policies and multiracial coalition formation.

Tables:

Table 1: Demographic predictors of stereotype internalization (2016 NAAS)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Meritocratic values index	Perpetual foreigner index
	(1)	(2)
Age	0.212*** (0.016)	-0.021*** (0.003)
Female	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.003 (0.002)
Education	-0.115*** (0.017)	0.011*** (0.003)
Foreign Born	0.116*** (0.012)	0.003 (0.002)
Income	-0.033*** (0.012)	-0.003 (0.002)
Vietnamese (National origin baseline: Chinese)	0.025 (0.021)	0.0003 (0.004)
South Asian	-0.008 (0.017)	0.005 (0.003)
Filipino	0.006 (0.020)	0.020*** (0.004)
Korean	-0.013 (0.020)	0.002 (0.004)
Japanese	-0.107*** (0.019)	0.010*** (0.004)
Other	0.067*** (0.019)	0.0002 (0.003)
West (Region baseline: South)	0.004 (0.012)	0.003 (0.002)
Southwest	-0.004 (0.021)	0.006 (0.004)
Northeast	0.010 (0.025)	0.008* (0.005)
Mid Atlantic	0.009 (0.016)	0.002 (0.003)
Midwest	-0.040** (0.016)	0.015*** (0.003)
Constant	0.351*** (0.024)	0.051*** (0.004)
Observations	3,446	3,826
R ²	0.215	0.046
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01	
Other	Native Hawaiian, Fijian, Samoan, Hmong	

Table 2: The effects of internalizing racial stereotypes on partisanship (NAAS 2016)

	Partisan Identification (Republican)	
	(1)	(2)
Constant	0.074 ^{***}	0.209 ^{***}
	(0.026)	(0.025)
Meritocratic values index	0.323 ^{***}	--
	(0.024)	--
Perpetual foreigner index	--	-0.046 [*]
	--	(0.024)
Age	0.041 [*]	0.086 ^{***}
	(0.024)	(0.023)
Female	-0.046 ^{***}	-0.058 ^{***}
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Education	-0.032	-0.092 ^{***}
	(0.022)	(0.021)
Foreign Born	0.008	0.063 ^{***}
	(0.015)	(0.015)
Income	0.054 ^{***}	0.028
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Homeowner	0.014	0.032 ^{**}
	(0.014)	(0.014)
Employed	0.006	0.014
	(0.015)	(0.014)
Christian	0.094 ^{***}	0.106 ^{***}
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Vietnamese	0.180 ^{***}	0.158 ^{***}
	(0.022)	(0.020)
Observations	2,395	2,666
R ²	0.158	0.100
Note:	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01	

Table 3: Demographic predictors of stereotype internalization (2020 OAAS)

	Dependent variable:	
	Model minority stereotype index	Feeling like a foreigner in the US
	(1)	(2)
Age	0.001*** (0.0004)	-0.004*** (0.001)
Female	0.011 (0.010)	0.012 (0.015)
Foreign born	0.030*** (0.011)	0.030* (0.016)
Education	-0.006 (0.027)	0.024 (0.039)
Income	0.032* (0.017)	-0.034 (0.026)
South Asian (National origin baseline: Chinese)	0.040*** (0.015)	0.062*** (0.022)
Vietnamese	-0.050** (0.022)	-0.036 (0.033)
Filipino	-0.008 (0.017)	-0.033 (0.025)
Korean	-0.048** (0.021)	0.003 (0.031)
Japanese	-0.061*** (0.016)	-0.018 (0.024)
Other Asian	-0.018 (0.019)	0.036 (0.027)
Northeast (Region baseline: South)	-0.026 (0.027)	0.035 (0.040)
Mid Atlantic	-0.032* (0.017)	0.006 (0.025)
Midwest	0.011 (0.019)	0.055** (0.028)
West	-0.023 (0.014)	-0.017 (0.021)
Southeast	0.004 (0.029)	0.051 (0.043)
Constant	0.698*** (0.029)	0.497*** (0.042)
Observations	1,535	1,535
R ²	0.062	0.091
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 4: Effects of internalizing racial stereotypes on partisanship (OAS 2020)

Partisan Identification (Republican)		
	(1)	(2)
Constant	0.205***	0.293***
	(0.047)	(0.040)
Model minority stereotype index	0.077*	--
	(0.041)	--
Feeling like a foreigner in the US	--	-0.070**
	--	(0.028)
Age	0.002***	0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.013	-0.011
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Education	-0.001	0.004
	(0.042)	(0.042)
Foreign born	0.059***	0.065***
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Income	0.013	0.012
	(0.029)	(0.029)
Homeowner	0.024	0.024
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Vietnamese	0.073**	0.066**
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Observations	1,535	1,535
R ²	0.030	0.031
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

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Group-based Belief Systems about the Racial Order: Racial Stereotypes and Asian American Partisan Identification

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Supplemental Appendix

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Variable coding and descriptive statistics

2016 National Asian American Survey (post-election study)

Table 1: Variable coding and descriptive statistics (2016 National Asian American Survey)

Variable name	Question wording	Description of coding	Variable coding	Distribution
Dependent variables				
Partisan Identification	<p>Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as XXX, an independent, or in terms of some other party?</p> <p><i>If partisan:</i> Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?</p> <p>Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?</p> <p><i>If Independent, other party, don't think in terms of political parties, don't know, refused:</i> Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?</p>	7-point continuous variable, scaled from 0-1	0 = Strong Democrat, 0.167 = Weak Democrat, 0.333 = Lean Democrat, 0.5 = Independent, 0.667 = Lean Republican, 0.833 = Weak Republican, 1 = Strong Republican	Mean = 0.32 SD: 0.33
Independent variables				
Meritocratic values index	Scaled index of: (1) Equal opportunity has gone too far (2) Better not to worry about equality (3) Not a problem if there is an in balance of opportunity (alpha = 0.66)	Continuous scaled measure, 0-1	1= Strongly agree 0.75 = Somewhat agree 0.50 = Neither 0.25 = Somewhat disagree 0 = Strongly disagree NA = DK/Refused	Mean = 0.50 SD = 0.28
Equal opportunity	We have gone too far in pushing equal	5 point continuous,	1= Strongly agree	Mean = 0.47 SD = 0.37

has gone too far	rights in this country (status quo-merit)	scaled from 0-1	0.75 = Somewhat agree 0.50 = Neither 0.25 = Somewhat disagree 0 = Strongly disagree NA = DK/Refused	
Better not to worry about equality	This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are (status quo-merit)			Mean = 0.51 SD = 0.37
Not a problem if there is an in balance of opportunity	It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.			Mean = 0.51 SD = 0.37
Perpetual foreigner index	Scaled index of (1) receive poor service (2) English second language (3) name calling (4) threatened or harassed (5) mispronounce name (alpha = 0.63)	Continuous 0-1	0 = not othered 1 = othered because of foreignness	Mean = 0.26 SD=0.25
Receive poor service	You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores	Binary, 0-1	Yes=1 No=0 Don't Know=NA	Mean = 0.19 SD=0.39
English second language	People act as if you don't speak English	Binary, 0-1	Yes=1 No=0 Don't Know=NA	Mean = 0.27 SD=0.44
Name calling	You are called names or insulted	Binary, 0-1	Yes=1 No=0 Don't Know=NA	Mean = 0.15 SD=0.35
Threatened or harassed	You are threatened or harassed	Binary, 0-1	Yes=1 No=0 Don't Know=NA	Mean = 0.98 SD=0.30
Mispronounce name	People mispronounce your name	Binary, 0-1	Yes=1 No=0 Don't Know=NA	Mean = 0.60 SD=0.49
Perpetual foreigner index (version 2)	Scaled index of (1) English second language (2) mispronounce name (alpha = 0.28)	Continuous 0-1	0 = not othered 1 = othered because of foreignness	Mean = 0.22 SD = 0.18
Work ethic (Latino)	On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 is lazy and 7 is hard working, how would you rate the following groups? Latinos	Continuous, 0-1	On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 is lazy and 7 is hard working	Mean=0.74 SD=0.23

Work ethic (African American)	On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 is lazy and 7 is hard working, how would you rate the following groups? African Americans			Mean=0.58 SD=0.28
Region of origin subsets¹				
East Asian	Binary indicator for: Chinese, Japanese or Korean national origin	Binary variable	1 = Chinese, Japanese, or Korean; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.33 SD = 0.48
South Asian	Binary indicator for: Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi national origin	Binary variable	1 = Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.25 SD = 0.44
South East Asian	Binary indicator for: Cambodian, Filipino, Vietnamese or Hmong national origin	Binary variable	1 = Cambodian, Filipino, Vietnamese or Hmong; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.39 SD = 0.48
Other Asian	Binary indicator for: Native Hawaiian, Samoan or Fijian national origin	Binary variable	1 = Not East, South, or Southeast Asian; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.20 SD = 0.14
Controls				
Age	What year were you born? 2016 – year given at the time AND We just need to know in general; are you the following age groups...? 18-23 25-34 35-39 50-64 65 over (just among DK/Refused from previous question	Continuous; 0-1	18-23=0 25-34=0.25 35-39=0.50 50-64=0.75 65 over=1	Mean=0.66 SD=0.33
Female	What is your gender? Male, Female, Something else REF/DK=NA	Binary	1=Female; 0=Male/Something else	Mean = 0.47 SD = 0.50

¹ We used “s10_1” as the exact variable to create these regional variables.

Education	What is the highest degree or level of schooling you have completed?	Continuous	0 =no/less than high school; 0.25 = high school graduate; 0.5 = some college; 0.75 = college grad; 1 = postgrad	Mean = 0.55 SD = 0.35
Foreign born	Were you born in the United States or were you born in another country?	Binary	0=US born 1=foreign born	Mean = 0.74 SD = 0.44
Income	For statistical purposes only, which of the following best describes the total income earned by everyone in your household last year? 20+ 20-50 50-75 75-100 100-125 125-250 250+ DK/REFUSED = NA AND <i>If DK/Refused..</i> We understand this is a private matter for many individuals. We are only interested in this for research purposes. Could you please at least tell us if your total household income was below 50 last year, between 50-100, or more than 100+ Less than 50 50-100 More than 100 DK/REFUSED=NA	Continuous	0=less than 50 0.50=50-100 1=more than 100	Mean = 0.35 SD = 0.41

Homeowner	Do you own or do you rent the place where you currently live?	Binary	0=Rent 1=Own DK/REFUSED=NA	Mean = 0.66 SD = 0.47
Employment	What is your current employment status? Please let us know which of the following best describes your status in the past month.	Binary	1=Employed 0=Not employed Employed = working full-time, working part-time. Self-employed Not employed = unemployed and still looking for work/stopped looking for work, student, homemaker, retired, disabled, other, DK, Refused	Mean = 0.53 SD = 0.50
Christian	What is your present religion, if any?	Binary	1=Christian 0=Else Christian: 32 AME 3 Baptist 5 Catholic 6Christian 8 Church of God in Christ 9Church of Nazarene 10Congregationalist 11Church of Christ 12Anglican 14 Greek Orthodox 19 Lutheran 20 Methodist 21 Mormon 22 Eastern Orthodox 24 Pentecostal 25 Presbyterian 26 Protestant 27 Reformed 28 SDA	Mean=0.34 SD=0.47

2020 Omnibus Asian American Survey

Table 2: Variable coding and descriptive statistics (2020 Omnibus Asian American survey)

Variable name	Question wording	Description of coding	Variable coding	Distribution
Dependent variables				
Partisan Identification	<p>Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be an Independent, Democrat, Republican, or what?</p> <p><i>If partisan:</i> Do you consider yourself to be a strong or not a very Strong Democrat /Republican?</p> <p><i>If Independent:</i> Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?</p>	7-point continuous variable, scaled from 0-1	0 = strong Democrat, 0.167 = weak Democrat, 0.333 = lean Democrat, 0.5 = Independent, 0.667 = lean Republican, 0.833 = weak Republican, 1 = strong Republican	Mean = 0.39 SD: 0.32
Democratic Party feeling thermometer rating	“We'd like to get your feelings towards American political parties. We'd like you to rate each party using something we call the feeling thermometer” Democratic Party	Continuous variable, 0-100. Rescaled from 0-1.	0 = least favorable, 1 = most favorable	Mean = 0.59 SD = 0.28
Republican Party feeling thermometer rating	“We'd like to get your feelings towards American political parties. We'd like you to rate each party using something we call the feeling thermometer” Republican party			Mean = 0.43 SD = 0.23
Independent variables				
Model minority stereotype index	Scaled index of (1) Asian American work ethic and (2) Asian Americans achieve academic and economic success (alpha = 0.78)	Continuous scaled measure, 0-1	0 = does not believe in model minority stereotype, 1 = strong belief in model	Mean = 0.77 SD = 0.20

			minority stereotype	
Asian American work ethic	“In comparison to other racial minorities such as African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans...Asian Americans have a stronger work ethic”	4-point continuous variables, scaled from 0-1	0 = strongly disagree, 0.25 = somewhat disagree, 0.50 = somewhat agree, 1 = strongly agree	Mean = 0.77 SD = 0.23
Asian Americans achieve academic and economic success	Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? In comparison to other racial minorities such as African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans...Asian Americans are more likely to achieve academic and economic success.			Mean = 0.78 SD = 0.22
Negative affect towards other minorities	Scaled index of (1) Negative affect towards African Americans and (2) Negative affect towards Latinos (alpha = 0.85)	Continuous scaled measure, 0-1	0 = very favorable, 1 = very unfavorable	Mean = 0.41, SD = 0.20
Negative affect towards African Americans	“How do you feel towards African Americans?”	7-point continuous variable, scaled from 0-1	1 = very unfavorable, 0.833 = unfavorable, 0.667 = somewhat unfavorable, 0.5 = neither favorable or unfavorable, 0.333 = somewhat favorable, 0.167 = favorable, 0 = very favorable	Mean = 0.4 SD = 0.22
Negative affect towards Latinos	“How do you feel towards Latino Americans?”			Mean = 0.38 SD = 0.21
Feeling like a perpetual foreigner in the U.S.	“How much do you feel like an outsider in the U.S.?”	4-point continuous variable, rescaled 0-1	0 = Not at all like an outsider; 0.33 = Slightly;	Mean = 0.33; SD = 0.3

			0.66 = Moderately; 1 = Strongly	
Region of origin subsets				
East Asian	Binary indicator for: Chinese, Japanese, or Korean national origin	Binary variable	1 = Chinese, Japanese, or Korean; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.45 SD = 0.50
South Asian	Binary indicator for: Indian or Pakistani national origin	Binary variable	1 = Indian or Pakistani; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.18 SD = 0.39
South East Asian	Binary indicator for: Filipino or Vietnamese national origin	Binary variable	1 = Filipino or Vietnamese; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.19 SD = 0.39
Other Asian	Binary indicator for all other national origin groups	Binary variable	1 = Not East, South, or Southeast Asian; 0 = Otherwise	Mean = 0.10 SD = 0.30
Controls				
Age	In what year were you born?	Numeric variable	Range: 18-108	Mean = 45 SD = 16
Female	Please indicate your gender	Binary variable	1 = female, zero = otherwise	Mean = 0.57 SD = 0.50
Education	What is the highest level of education you have completed?	5-point continuous variable, scaled from 0-1	0 = less than high school; 0.25 = high school graduate; 0.5 = some college; 0.75 = college grad, 1 = postgrad	Mean = 0.75 SD = 0.21
Foreign born	Were you born in the United States or another country?	Binary variable	1 = Born in another country; 0 = born in the US	Mean = 0.46 SD = 0.50
Income	For statistical purposes, what is your total household income	12-point continuous variable, scaled from 0-1	0 = Less than \$10,000; 1 = Greater than \$150,000	Mean = 0.62 SD = 0.32
Homeowner	Do you own or rent the place where you currently live?	Binary variable	1 = Own; 0 = Rent	Mean = 0.69 SD = 0.46

Demographic predictors of stereotype internalization:

2016 National Asian American Survey

Table 3: Mean levels of stereotype internalization across Asian American subgroups (NAAS 2016)

	Perpetual Foreigner	Perpetual Foreigner version 2	Meritocracy
Age			
18-24	0.32	0.24	0.32
25-34	0.30	0.23	0.33
35-49	0.30	0.24	0.47
50-64	0.24	0.21	0.55
65 +	0.22	0.20	0.58
Gender			
Male	0.27	0.22	0.49
Female	0.25	0.21	0.49
Education			
College	0.28	0.24	0.44
No College	0.24	0.19	0.56
Nativity Status			
Foreign born	0.25	0.21	0.55
US born	0.28	0.23	0.35
Geography			
South	0.26	0.23	0.51
West	0.05	0.43	0.50
Midwest	0.06	0.48	0.47
Southwest	0.05	0.45	0.50
Mid Atlantic	0.05	0.42	0.48
Northeast	0.05	0.36	0.57
Income			
0	0.25	0.20	0.54
0.5	0.28	0.24	0.45
1.0	0.28	0.24	0.41
National origin			
Chinese	0.22	0.18	0.53
South Asian	0.28	0.24	0.44
Vietnamese	0.23	0.21	0.55
Filipino	0.33	0.26	0.47
Korean	0.25	0.21	0.47
Japanese	0.27	0.24	0.39
Others	0.25	0.21	0.52

Note: South Asians = Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi.

South = AL, AR, DE, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, SC, TN, VA, and WV.

West = WA, CA, OR, NV, ID, MT, WY, CO, UT

Midwest = ND, SD, NE, KS, MN, IA, MO, WI, IL, MI, IN, OH

Southwest = AZ, NM, TX, OK

Northeast = ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT

Mid Atlantic = NY, NJ, PA

2020 Omnibus Asian American Survey

Table 4: Mean levels of stereotype internalization across Asian American subgroups (OAAS 2020)

	Perpetual Foreigner	Model Minority
Age		
18-24	0.43	0.71
25-34	0.40	0.77
35-49	0.36	0.77
50-64	0.29	0.80
65 +	0.20	0.79
Gender		
Male	0.30	0.76
Female	0.35	0.78
Education		
College	0.34	0.74
No College	0.33	0.78
Nativity Status		
Foreign born	0.34	0.80
US born	0.32	0.75
Geography		
South	0.34	0.79
West	0.30	0.76
Midwest	0.40	0.81
Southeast	0.39	0.79
Mid Atlantic	0.35	0.76
Northeast	0.40	0.77
Income		
Low income	0.29	0.81
Middle income	0.35	0.76
High income	0.33	0.77
National origin		
Chinese	0.31	0.79
South Asian	0.41	0.83
Vietnamese	0.31	0.72
Filipino	0.32	0.77
Korean	0.35	0.73
Japanese	0.25	0.73
Others	0.40	0.75

Note:

South = AL, AR, DE, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, SC, TN, VA, and WV.

West = WA, CA, OR, NV, ID, MT, WY, CO, UT

Midwest = ND, SD, NE, KS, MN, IA, MO, WI, IL, MI, IN, OH

Southwest = AZ, NM, TX, OK

Northeast = ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT

Mid Atlantic = NY, NJ, PA

Region of origin subgroup results

2016 National Asian American Survey

Table 5: Effects of internalizing the model minority stereotype on partisanship (NAAS 2016, by region of origin)

2016 Post-election National Asian American Survey					
	Partisan Identification (Republican)				
Subset	Full Sample	East Asian	Southeast Asian	South Asian	Other Asian
Constant	0.074*** (0.026)	0.022 (0.049)	0.081* (0.045)	0.047 (0.044)	0.139 (0.232)
Meritocratic Values Index	0.323*** (0.024)	0.505*** (0.042)	0.236*** (0.044)	0.243*** (0.037)	0.579*** (0.177)
Age	0.041* (0.024)	-0.068 (0.041)	0.179*** (0.046)	-0.065 (0.043)	-0.106 (0.196)
Female	-0.046*** (0.013)	-0.030 (0.021)	-0.068*** (0.022)	-0.052** (0.023)	-0.096 (0.093)
Education	-0.032 (0.022)	0.047 (0.039)	-0.039 (0.040)	0.071 (0.045)	0.019 (0.192)
Foreign born	0.008 (0.015)	0.047** (0.023)	-0.011 (0.033)	0.004 (0.030)	-0.003 (0.112)
Income	0.054*** (0.018)	0.056* (0.030)	0.096*** (0.035)	0.007 (0.029)	0.148 (0.134)
Homeowner	0.014 (0.014)	0.051** (0.024)	0.018 (0.023)	0.016 (0.026)	-0.108 (0.120)
Employed	0.006 (0.015)	-0.015 (0.024)	0.016 (0.026)	0.034 (0.025)	-0.020 (0.100)
Christian	0.094*** (0.013)	0.063*** (0.021)	0.033 (0.024)	0.137** (0.059)	-0.004 (0.115)
Vietnamese	0.180*** (0.022)	-- --	0.160*** (0.027)	-- --	-- --
Observations	2,395	816	941	587	51
R ²	0.158	0.214	0.136	0.101	0.287
Note:	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01				

Table 6: Effects of internalizing the perpetual foreigner stereotype on partisanship (NAAS 2016, by region of origin)

2016 Post-election National Asian American Survey					
Subset	Partisan Identification (Republican)				
	Full Sample	East Asian	Southeast Asian	South Asian	Other Asian
Constant	0.209*** (0.025)	0.268*** (0.050)	0.168*** (0.042)	0.141*** (0.044)	0.409* (0.222)
Perpetual Foreigner Index	-0.046* (0.024)	-0.057 (0.043)	-0.073** (0.039)	0.019 (0.042)	0.500** (0.242)
Age	0.086** (0.023)	-0.029 (0.042)	0.213*** (0.043)	-0.009 (0.043)	0.050 (0.212)
Female	-0.058*** (0.013)	-0.060*** (0.021)	-0.069*** (0.021)	-0.064*** (0.023)	-0.115 (0.105)
Education	-0.092*** (0.021)	-0.076** (0.038)	-0.063* (0.037)	0.016 (0.044)	-0.275 (0.186)
Foreign born	0.063*** (0.015)	0.112*** (0.024)	0.038 (0.031)	0.050* (0.029)	0.042 (0.125)
Income	0.028 (0.018)	0.047 (0.030)	0.076** (0.034)	-0.019 (0.029)	0.056 (0.140)
Homeowner	0.032** (0.014)	0.077*** (0.024)	0.035 (0.022)	0.014 (0.026)	-0.165 (0.133)
Employed	0.014 (0.014)	-0.017 (0.025)	0.030 (0.024)	0.034 (0.025)	0.024 (0.103)
Christian	0.106*** (0.013)	0.094*** (0.021)	0.040* (0.022)	0.170*** (0.060)	-0.014 (0.128)
Vietnamese	0.158** (0.020)	-- --	0.130*** (0.042)	-- --	-- --
Observations	2,666	939	1,072	603	52
R ²	0.100	0.077	0.110	0.039	0.181
Note:	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01				

2020 Omnibus Asian American Survey

Table 7: Effects of internalizing model minority stereotype on partisanship (OAAS 2020, by regional subgroup)

2020 Asian American Omnibus Survey					
Partisan Identification (Republican)					
Subset	Full sample	East Asians	Southeast Asians	South Asians	Other Asians
Model minority stereotype index	0.077*	0.114*	0.210**	0.058	-0.140
	(0.041)	(0.063)	(0.099)	(0.087)	(0.119)
Age	0.002***	0.001*	0.002	0.004***	0.0005
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Female	-0.013	-0.017	-0.004	0.012	-0.088*
	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.043)	(0.036)	(0.049)
Education	-0.001	0.004	-0.037	0.054	0.270**
	(0.042)	(0.065)	(0.096)	(0.092)	(0.125)
Foreign born	0.059***	0.086***	0.075*	-0.053	0.166***
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.044)	(0.039)	(0.053)
Income	0.013	0.023	0.071	-0.054	-0.123
	(0.029)	(0.043)	(0.070)	(0.064)	(0.091)
Homeowner	0.024	0.037	0.014	-0.065	0.103*
	(0.020)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.041)	(0.057)
Vietnamese	0.073**	--	0.013	--	--
	(0.034)	--	(0.044)	--	--
Constant	0.205***	0.160**	0.154	0.179*	0.247**
	(0.047)	(0.075)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.114)
Observations	1,535	698	296	280	152
R ²	0.030	0.042	0.050	0.040	0.165
Note:	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01				

Table 8: Effects of internalizing perpetual foreigner stereotype on partisanship (OAAS 2020, by regional subgroup)

2020 Asian American Omnibus Survey					
Partisan Identification (Republican)					
Subset	Full sample	East Asians	Southeast Asians	South Asians	Other Asians
I feel like an outsider in the US	-0.070**	-0.072*	-0.112	-0.029	-0.056
	(0.028)	(0.043)	(0.071)	(0.059)	(0.078)
Age	0.001**	0.001	0.002	0.004***	-0.0002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Female	-0.011	-0.017	0.004	0.014	-0.090*
	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.043)	(0.036)	(0.049)
Education	0.004	-0.004	-0.027	0.055	0.278**
	(0.042)	(0.065)	(0.096)	(0.092)	(0.128)
Foreign born	0.065***	0.097***	0.080*	-0.049	0.157***
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.044)	(0.038)	(0.052)
Income	0.012	0.029	0.054	-0.049	-0.123
	(0.029)	(0.043)	(0.071)	(0.064)	(0.093)
Homeowner	0.024	0.040	0.030	-0.069*	0.101*
	(0.020)	(0.032)	(0.046)	(0.042)	(0.057)
Vietnamese	0.066**	--	0.001	--	--
	(0.034)	--	(0.044)	--	--
Constant	0.293***	0.274***	0.346***	0.236**	0.191*
	(0.040)	(0.064)	(0.092)	(0.094)	(0.098)
Observations	1,535	698	296	280	152
R ²	0.031	0.042	0.043	0.039	0.160
Note:	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01				

Additional tables

Table 9: Correlation coefficients between “meritocracy index” and racial stereotypes (NAAS 2016)

	Lazy-Hardworking stereotype			Violent-Peaceful stereotype		
	African Americans	Latinos	Whites	African Americans	Latinos	Whites
Meritocratic values index	0.26	0.19	0.07	0.22	0.22	0.00

Table 10: Effects of two versions of the perpetual foreigner index on partisanship (NAAS 2016)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Partisan identification	
	(1)	(2)
Perpetual Foreigner Index	-0.229*	--
	(0.121)	--
Perpetual Foreigner Index version 2	--	-0.018
	--	(0.017)
Age	0.086***	0.089***
	(0.023)	(0.023)
Female	-0.058***	-0.059***
	(0.013)	(0.012)
Education	-0.092***	-0.092***
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Foreign Born	0.063***	0.064***
	(0.015)	(0.015)
Income	0.028	0.030*
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Homeownership	0.032**	0.033**
	(0.014)	(0.014)
Employment	0.014	0.014
	(0.014)	(0.014)
Christian	0.106***	0.103***
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Vietnamese	0.158***	0.157***
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Constant	0.209***	0.202***
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Observations	2,666	2,713
R ²	0.100	0.098
Adjusted R ²	0.097	0.094
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01	

Table 11: Effects of internalizing racial stereotypes on party thermometer ratings (OAS 2020)

	<i>Dependent variable</i>			
	Republican Party thermometer rating		Democratic Party thermometer rating	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	0.288***	0.395***	0.679***	0.650***
	(0.044)	(0.038)	(0.041)	(0.035)
Model minority stereotype index	0.154***	--	0.032	--
	(0.039)	--	(0.037)	--
Feeling like a perpetual foreigner in the US	--	-0.006	--	0.101***
	--	(0.027)	--	(0.025)
Age	-0.0003	-0.0002	-0.001***	-0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.023	0.025	0.014	0.013
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Education	-0.037	-0.034	-0.011	-0.016
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Foreign born	0.052***	0.059***	-0.029*	-0.032**
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Income	0.023	0.026	-0.042	-0.037
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Homeowner	0.012	0.013	-0.016	-0.015
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Vietnamese	0.025	0.018	-0.039	-0.036
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Observations	1,535	1,535	1,535	1,535
R ²	0.023	0.012	0.020	0.030
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01			

Experimental conditions

Perpetual foreigner treatment

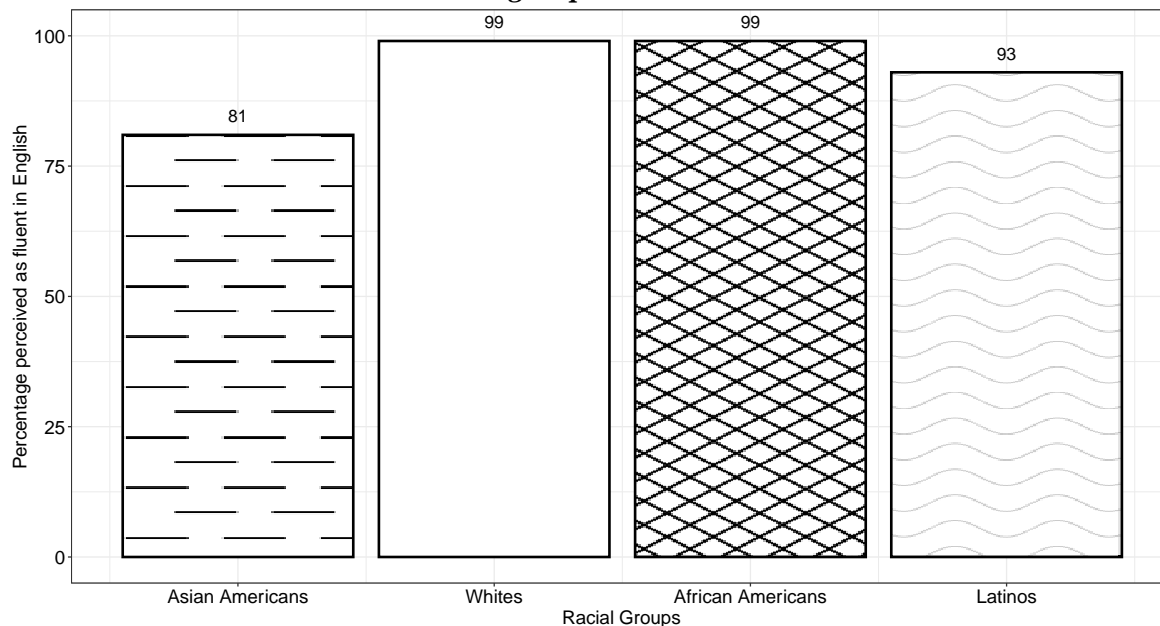
The status of Asian Americans in the 21st Century

Asian Americans are currently the fastest-growing racial group in the United States. The Census estimates that over 20 million Asian Americans live in the U.S. today and they make up about 6% of the U.S. population. The Asian American population grew by over 25% between 2010 and 2017, and its numbers roughly quadrupled from 1980 to 2010.

In this report, the term “Asian American” includes all Asians living in the United States, regardless of citizenship or immigration status. It includes foreign citizens living in the United States for study, work, or other purposes, but not those on short-term visits. The Asian American population is diverse and different subgroups have a varied range of experiences, histories, languages, cultures, and characteristics. Most Asian Americans are immigrants (59%) or descendants of immigrants (41%). Asian Americans come to the U.S. from many countries in East, South, and South-East Asia, but about 83% of the community traces their roots to only six countries—China, India, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam.

Turning to recent trends in assimilation, fewer Asian Americans are perceived as fluent in English than other racial groups in the U.S. Recent data from a national poll of Americans shows that 81% of Asian Americans are perceived to be fluent in English, compared to 99% of Whites, 99% of African Americans, and 93% of Latinos.

Data shows fewer Asian Americans are perceived as fluent in English than other racial groups in the U.S.



[Source: 2016 National Asian American Survey (Ramakrishnan et al., 2016)]

When asked to describe the Asian American community, many of the polled respondents stated that Asian Americans are foreigners and temporary visitors who will eventually return to

their country of origin. Due to language barriers and cultural differences, many Asian Americans may have a hard time assimilating into American society.

Model minority treatment

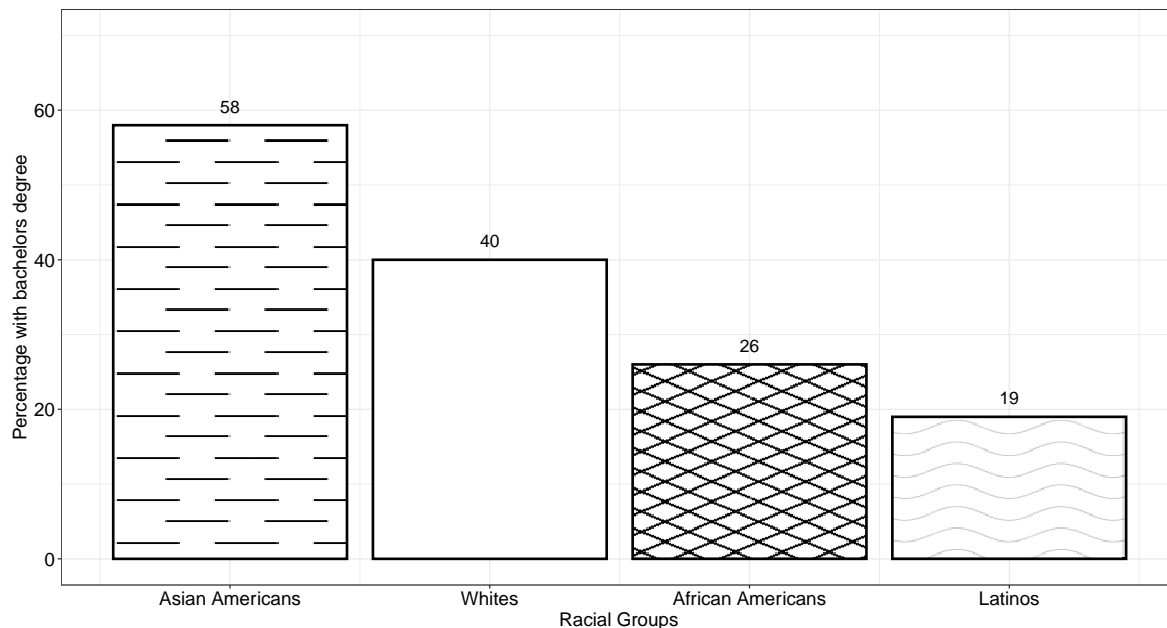
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Turning to recent trends in education, more Asian Americans have a bachelor’s degree than other racial groups in the U.S. Recent data from a national poll of Americans shows that 58% of Asian Americans obtained a college degree, compared to 40% of Whites, 26% of African Americans, and 19% of Latinos.

Data shows more Asian Americans have bachelor’s degrees than other racial groups in the U.S.



When asked to describe the Asian American community, many of the polled respondents stated that Asian Americans are hardworking and respectable citizens who contribute a lot to society. Due to their strong work ethic and high levels of achievement, many Asian Americans may be capable of assimilating into to American society.

Control condition

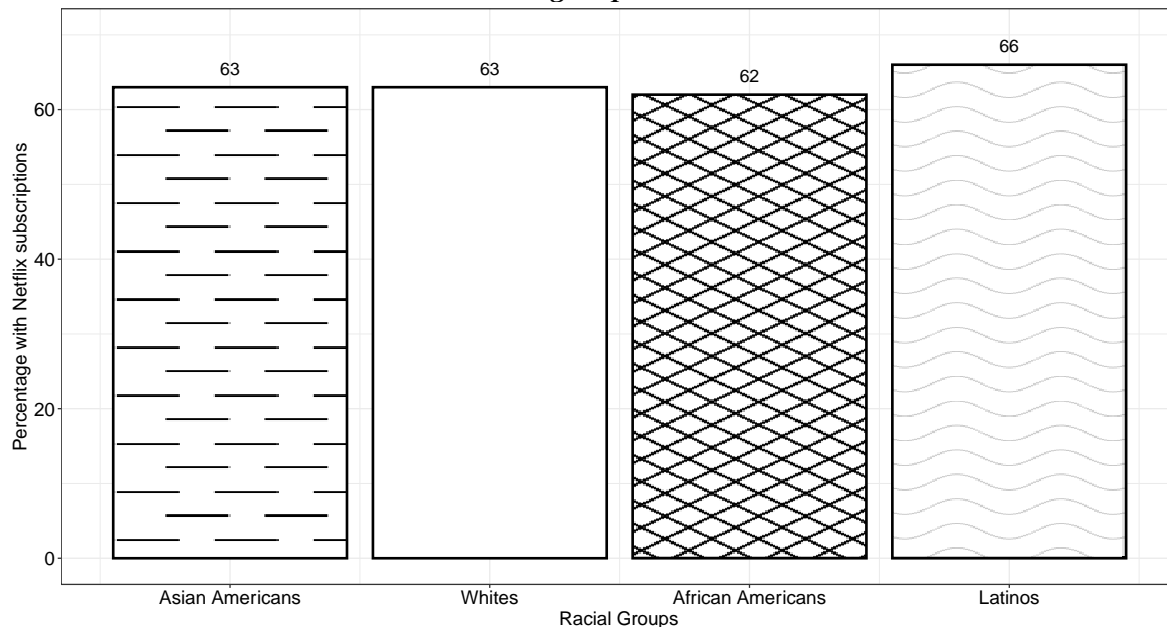
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Turning to recent trends in personal entertainment, Asian Americans subscribe to Netflix streaming services at similar rates to other racial groups in the U.S. Recent data from a national poll of Americans shows that 63% of Asian Americans have a Netflix account, compared to 63% of Whites, 62% of African Americans, and 66% of Latinos.

Data shows Asian Americans subscribe to Netflix streaming services at similar rates as other racial groups in the U.S.



When asked to describe American entertainment options, many of the polled respondents stated that Netflix offers a wide variety of television programs, documentaries, and movies.