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KATIE L. HOLLOWAY
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INTERNALIZED RACISM AND ANTI-BLACKNESS AMONG ASIAN AMERICANS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Lori Anderson Snyder, Chair

Dr. Shane Connelly

Dr. Dingjing Shi

Dr. Keri Kornelson

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To my parents, Cece, and Francis. Thank you for being the best friends I could have ever asked for.

Positionality Statement

Before moving forward, it is critical that I share my positionality as it shapes the ways in which I see the world (Milner IV, 2007). I identify as both Asian American and hāfu (half Japanese, half white). Race has, and always will be, a central part of my life. Growing up in a bi-racial household, I was constantly made aware of my racial identity. Straddling these two parts of myself was difficult and I struggled with reconciling the two halves of myself. This not only included the physical manifestations, but the differences in social, economic, and institutional privilege ascribed to my mother vs. my father. This has influenced me to engage with racial/ethnic identity research and identity-based groups, to better understand the impact of White supremacy on perceptions of race, privilege, and how we treat others. My understanding of race was further developed by experiences in what should have been psychologically safe environments like school and the workplace. As early as elementary school, I experienced and witnessed intra- and inter-ethnic othering, from students and teachers alike, with incidents ranging from microaggressions to overt racist statements that don't bear repeating. As my experience has informed my view, I have come to see race as a central part of many individuals' identity and the historical racialization of society. As such, I maintain the position that White supremacy and racial oppression shape the lives of individuals, that these experiences are dependent on individual contexts and experiences, and that racism is an endemic problem that has its insidious roots in U.S. history and social movements. This has cemented my dedication to furthering my own and our field's understanding of discrimination and prejudice.

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Abstract

There is significant theoretical and historical support for the idea that Asian American racial stereotypes are manipulations of White supremacy that are used to enrich anti-Black ideologies. Additionally, empirical research has supported the significant and negative impact that racial discrimination and stereotyping has had on the Asian American experience. Throughout U.S. history, Asian Americans have been racially triangulated vis-à-vis Black and White people as a template for understanding societal racial hierarchies. Specifically, Asian Americans are valorized relative to Black Americans yet are ostracized from civic participation and seen as forever foreigners. According to Racial Triangulation Theory, this pits the interest of Asian Americans against those of Black Americans in a competition for the privileges and opportunities ascribed to White people as a function of White supremacy. However, little to no research has examined the internalization of racial stereotypes within the Asian American community and how this internalization influences perceptions of anti-Blackness. The present effort utilized Racial Triangulation Theory, Asian Critical Race Theory, and Social Identity Theory to examine how internalized racism (i.e., model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype) influences endorsement of Symbolic Racism and support of the Black Lives Matter movement. Findings indicate overall support of the notion that the internalization of racism within Asian Americans predicts perceptions of anti-Blackness. While Social Dominance Orientation was not found to mediate this relationship; moderation analyses revealed a nuanced influence of Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation on the relationship between internalization of racism and anti-Black sentiment. Future research directions and limitations are discussed.

Introduction

There is substantial support that racial stereotypes of Asian Americans continue to be used to perpetuate racism and White supremacy (Da, 2007; Hwang, 2021; Kim, 1999; Museus, 2014; Museus et al., 2015; Museus & Iftikar, 2013; Museus & Park, 2015; Yoo et al., 2021). White supremacy is "a system for protecting the privileges of whites by denying communities of color opportunities for asset accumulation and upward mobility" (Lipsitz, 2006, p.viii). Throughout U.S. history, the racial triangulation and racial positions of Asian Americans between Black and White people have served as a normative blueprint for society and a way to maintain systems of White privilege (Bonilla-Silva, 2020; Da, 2007; Iftikar & Museus, 2018; Kim, 1999). More specifically, Asian Americans are positioned above Black people in U.S. society but deemed unfit for all privileges associated with Whiteness. This positioning is facilitated through methods of civic ostracization and relative valorization of Asian Americans. Although racial categories and meaning are socially constructed, the meaning of race profoundly shapes the experiences of those who live within these social structures (Omi & Winant, 2014). Past research has revealed the deleterious effects of racial discrimination and stereotypes on the experiences of Asian Americans (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Grossman & Liang, 2008; Huynh et al., 2014; R. M. Lee, 2003; I. J. K. Park et al., 2013; Stein et al., 2014; C. S. Wu et al., 2020; Yoo & Lee, 2008). The historical and contemporary reasons for the development and internalization of stereotypes are embedded in systems that fragment communities and can lead to racial "othering" (Hwang, 2021). However, to the author's knowledge, little to no research has examined how the internalization of these racial stereotypes within the Asian American community may contribute to the racial othering of Black people.

Two of the most prominent racial stereotypes of Asian Americans are the model minority myth (Yoo et al., 2010) and perpetual foreigner stereotype (F. Wu, 2002). First articulated in the mid-1960s, the model minority myth depicts Asian Americans as the most economically and academically successful minority group due to their cultural values and belief in diligence, frugality, and emphasis on educational and occupational achievement (Kim, 1999). While seemingly "positive," the model minority myth masks systemic racism and promotes the narrative that Black people and other racial minorities would succeed if they "worked harder" (F. Wu, 2002). The perpetual foreigner stereotype dates back to the 19th century backlash against the influx of Chinese immigrant labor and denotes that Asian Americans are foreigners and will always be foreigners, despite their citizenship, generational status, or length of residency in the United States (Yoo et al., 2021). In order to understand the complexities of the marginalized Asian American experience in contemporary times, the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype demand further examination.

Although research within Asian American psychology continues to grow, little research has examined how the internalization, not just awareness, of these stereotypes impacts psychological adjustment (Gupta et al., 2011; Pyke & Dang, 2003; P. Wong et al., 1998; Yoo et al., 2010). Several scholars have indicated the need to further examine the internalization of racism, especially within the Asian American community (David et al., 2019; Hwang, 2021; Pyke, 2010). Further, as previously noted, little to no research has examined how the internalization of racial stereotypes within Asian Americans influences interracial relations, and more specifically, interracial othering against Black people.

Utilizing the lens of Racial Triangulation Theory (Kim, 1999) and Asian Critical Race Theory (Museus & Iftikar, 2013), the purpose of the present effort is to examine how

internalized racism (i.e., model minority stereotype and perpetual foreigner stereotype) predicts anti-Blackness, as operationalized by the endorsement of symbolic racism against Black people and support of Black Lives Matter. The exploration of this relationship is critical to understanding how Asian Americans understand, dismantle, or may be complicit in systemic racism. In addition, the current study seeks to further explain this relationship by examining the role of contextual influences on anti-Blackness, specifically ethnic identity, other-group orientation, and social dominance orientation. To understand the current unique experiences of Asian Americans and Asian-Black relations today, first it is critical to understand the historical racial triangulation of Asian Americans in the United States within the framework of Asian Critical Race Theory.

AsianCrit

AsianCrit or Asian Critical Race Theory (CRT), is a conceptual framework for understanding the racialized experiences of Asian Americans (Iftikar & Museus, 2018; Museus & Iftikar, 2013). AsianCrit builds upon CRT, which was originally developed in the 1970s in response to racial justice failures of the civil rights litigation (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). CRT is based upon seven tenets that form the core of its analytical lens: 1) racism is socially constructed and there is no biological basis for racial categories, 2) racism is commonplace and endemic to society, 3) racial groups are racialized in unique and diverse ways, 4) the dominant ideology promotes interest convergence so that Whites who wield power only support laws, policies, or programs for people of color that also benefit themselves, 5) anti-essentialism must be considered because there is no singular racial experience, 6) intersectionality of individual identities intersect with capitalism, heterosexism, patriarchy, ableism, and other structural forces

that shape oppression, and 7) storytelling and recognizing the stories and experiences of exploited people is essential (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). In recent years, CRT has gone beyond the Black/White binary to better understand other racial identities such as Latina/o/x (LatCrit), Native Americans (TribalCrit), and Asian Americans (AsianCrit).

Although there is immense diversity of ethnic groups within the Asian American population, the AsianCrit framework is deliberately pan-ethnic. In American society, Asians are racialized as a monolithic group, which forcibly creates shared experiencs of racialization. Past research supports this notion, with evidence indicating that Asian Americans regularly experience pressures to assimilate, social ostracisim within academic and social environments in school, and racial silencing through denial of Asian American representation in curricular spaces (Lewis et al., 2000; Museus & Park, 2015; Museus & Truong, 2013). A focus on a pan-ethnic framework in lieu of individual ethnic identities centers the conversation on White supremacy, systematic racism, and how these structures shape and stratify Asian American lives (Omi & Winant, 2014).

AsianCrit consists of seven interrelated tenets meant to advance the analyses of White supremacy on Asian Americans lives. The first four tenets, 1) Asianization, 2) Transational Context, 3) (Re) Construtivist History, and 4) Strategic (Anti)Essentialism build off of the original CRT tenets, with a focus on Asian Americans' unique racial history and current-day experiences. The latter three tenets, 5) Intersectionality, 6) Story, Theory, and Praxis, and 7) Commitment to Social Justice are amalgamations of the original core CRT tenets.

Asianization is the notion that White supremacy is pervasive, commonplace, and supported by the unique racial formation of Asians in the United States as model minorities, perpetual foreigners, sexual deviants, and the "Yellow Peril" (F. Wu, 2002). These conceptions

of Asian Americans serve as the means through which White supremacy informs laws, policies, programs and perspectives that dehumanize Asian Americans (Iftikar & Museus, 2018). The *transational context* emphasizes the global experience of Asian Americans in relation to White supremacy. Specifically, it highlights the criticality of experiences with imperialism, colonialism, and neoliberalism on Asian Americans in past and present economic, political, and social procceses. *(Re) Constructivist History* utilizes Asian American history to contextualize their present-day experiences with race and racism. Historically invisible in U.S. history, (re)constructivist history focuses on creating an Asian American collective voice to bring representation and re-analyze existing histories (Takaki, 2012). *Strategic (Anti)Essentialism* recognizes the ways in which White supremacy racializes Asian Americans as a monolithic group, and how Asian Americans enact agency by actively contesting racist, dominant narratives (Umemoto, 1989). *Intersectionality* articulates the need to analyze the ways in which racism intersects with other systems of oppression that shape and form Asian American experiences and identities. Further, it notes the need to better understand how the perpsectives of Asian Americans may differ dependent upon their multiple identities in these varying systems. Lastly, *Commitment to Social Justice* is grounded in Asian American storytelling and how these stories of oppressed and exploited people contribute to countering dominant White supremacist narratives (Iftikar & Museus, 2018). By utilizing AsianCrit, the present effort seeks to better contextualize and understand the experiences of Asian Americans.

Asian American History

Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial group in The United States, with 36% growth from 2010 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022). Over 20 million individuals self-identify

as Asian American, for a total of 7.2% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022). Furthermore, Asian Americans are projected to account for 14% of the population by 2065, surpassing the Black population after Whites and Latinos (Cohn, 2015). For the present effort, Asian Americans refers to the pan-racial category comprised of at least 30 different ethnic groups from East, Southeast, and South Asia (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022). It is important to note that despite the prominent presence of diverse Asian Americans in the U.S. today, many Asian American groups have only recently been allowed to migrate since the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Chin, 1996). Therefore, the present section primarily focuses on groups with significant populations in the U.S. prior to this enactment, such as Chinese and Japanese Americans. The following historical context is meant to capture the commonalities of the experiences of Asian Americans in the United States and contextualizes their present-day experiences of race and racism (e.g., model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype) as triangulated between Black people and White people.

A central tenet of racial triangulation and critical race theory is understanding the role of White supremacy in the United States. In order to facilitate this system of oppression, the White elite utilize the following methods: prejudice, economic discrimination, political disenfranchisement, physical violence, immigration exclusion, social segregation, and incarceration (S. Chan, 1991). These themes that have appeared since the inception of the United States inform the minority experience and are present throughout the following historical narrative.

The intertwinement of Asian American historical and present-day experiences and White supremacy has not developed in a vacuum. If race is socially constructed (Omi & Winant, 2014), then the Asian American racial category has been defined through the systemic interaction

between White and Black people in America. The explicit historical injustices which occurred between White and Black people informed and engineered the experiences of Asian immigrants and subsequently, Asian Americans. Further explained by Kim (1999), Asian Americans are racially triangulated between Black and White people through means of valorization and civic ostracism.

The process of valorization occurs when the dominant group (White people) valorizes a subordinate group (Asian Americans) in relation to another subordinate group (Black people). This valorization is perpetuated by the dominant group (White people) through means of weaponizing culture and race (e.g., model minority myth) to subjugate both subordinate groups. Typically, culture is not seen as fluid, but rather as a fixed property of racial groups (Gilroy, 1990). As such, attributes related to one's membership in a cultural/racial group are seen as unchangeable. This lays the groundwork for justification in subjugating people due to their "fixed" undesirable traits. Further, this promotes a racial hierarchy when the dominant group (White people) valorizes only one subordinate group (Asian Americans) and vilifies another subordinate group (Black people), which pits subordinate groups in conflict with one another, leading to the further subjugation of both groups by the dominant group (Kim, 1999). Civic ostracism occurs when the dominant group (White people) construes a subordinate group (Asian Americans) to be seen and understood as dangerous perpetual foreigners which subsequently facilitates the barring of subordinate group members (Asian Americans) from political and civic participation. Together, these two mechanisms cement the racial position of Asian Americans relative to the historical binary Black vs. White system in the United States.

Evidence of the racial triangulation of Asian Americans pre-date their arrival in the United States. For example, prejudiced views towards Chinese people date back as early as the

late 18th century. Diplomats, traders, and missionaries who resented China's court system, stipulations against free trade, and slow conversion to Christianity had woven an image of China as alien and backwards (Miller, 1969). This image was further colored during the 19th century with the rise of Social Darwinism and pseudo-scientific racism. White elites utilized Darwin's biological theory for subjugating racial groups on a basis of biological superiority (Dennis, 1995). Subsequently, China was recognized as a land of "starving masses, beasts of burden, depraved heathens, and opium addicts" (Chan, 1991, p. 45). Informed by prejudicial assumptions, formal acts of economic and political discrimination are highlighted by the passage of the Naturalization Act of 1790, which restricted naturalized citizenship to only "free White persons," barring all non-Whites from political involvement (E. Lee, 2019).

In the wake of the 1850s California Gold Rush, an influx of Chinese immigrants were seen as a cheap and effective labor source to replace recently emancipated Black slaves (Yung et al., 2006). White elites reluctantly embraced their arrival as this would ensure economic growth with minimal investment in cheap, exploitive labor. Despite the prevailing negative image of Chinese people, some seemingly "positive" stereotypes were born following their work in the mines. For example, the Chinese were lauded as "an industrious every day worker, and content with small wage" (Hutchings, 1857, p.387). During a Joint Congressional Committee hearing on Chinese Immigration, Charles Wolcott Brooks, former consul to Japan, testified: "I think the Chinese are a far superior race to the negro race physiologically and mentally… I think that the Chinese have a great deal more brain power than the original negro. The negro['s]… mind is undisciplined and is not systematic as the Chinese mind." (United States, 1877, p. 942). Hence, Asian Americans were pit against Black people to valorize and create the artificial racial positioning of Asian Americans above Black people in society. As one White Californian

exclaimed, “One White man is worth two Chinamen… one Chinaman is worth two negroes… and one negro is worth two tramps” (Willis & Stockton, 1878, p. 642).

As California had recently entered the union as a “free” state, there was a need to uphold the democratic ideals of freedom and prosperity. Since Asian people were paid as opposed to Black slaves, White elites could still claim a just system of labor under the guise of a democratic free market system (Kim, 1999). After arriving in the United States, Chinese laborers were met with harassment and violence that underscored their status and positioning as above Black but below White (Kim, 1999). Laws enacted predating (i.e., Naturalization Act of 1790) significant Asian American immigrant arrival in the United States paved the way for Asian Americans to experience further civic ostracization. As Asian Americans were disallowed for naturalization, the subsequent lack of rights as a citizen and access to political representation ensured that White people would hold all control and direction of social and political action while cementing the position of Asian Americans as a foreign yet docile asset to be wielded by the White elite for economic and social gain (Kim, 1999).

Two years after the discovery of gold in 1848, White political elites quickly moved to enact the 1850 Foreign Miners’ Tax. Although technically applicable to all foreigners, this tax specifically targeted Chinese miners and undercut their incomes. With a lack of physical and legal protection, Chinese miners were targets of tax collectors who exploited these individuals by oftentimes forcibly extorting taxes three to five times greater than required by law (S. Chan, 1991; Hudson, 1971). Attacks on Chinese people were so commonplace that a reporter from the Placerville American noted there should be protection for Chinese who are “gagged, whipped, and robbed whenever a worthless white rowdy chooses to abuse him thus, for pleasure or profit”

(Alta California, 1858, p. 60). Despite some rising public concern for the treatment of Chinese people, laws meant to protect them did not pass.

In the 1853 murder of Ling Sing, a Chinese miner, the California court initially convicted George Hall on the basis of testimonies by Chinese witnesses. However, George Hall appealed the ruling on the grounds of Section 394 of the Act Concerning Civil Cases, which denied any Black, Mulatto, and Indian testimonies against White people to be admissible in court. Hall argued that this should be extended to include banning usage of Chinese witness testimonies (*People v. Hall, 4 Cal. 399*, 1854). Hall's appeal was upheld by the California Supreme Court. In People v. George Hall (1854), Supreme Court Chief Justice Murray argued that:

"The same rule which would admit them [the Chinese] to testify, would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls. This is not a speculation which exists in the excited and overheated imagination of the patriot and statesman, but it is an actual and present danger… a race of people whom nature has marked as inferior, and who are incapable of progress of intellectual development beyond a certain point…is now presented… [the] privilege of participating with us is administering the affairs of Government" (People v. George Hall, 1854)

These political and systemic attempts to bar Asian Americans from civic discourse are self-evident. In addition to noting that Chinese people are far superior to Black people, during the Joint Congressional Committee hearing on Chinese Immigration, Charles Wolcott exclaimed "the negro is very easily taught; he assimilates more readily… The Chinese are non-assimilative because their form of civilization has crystalized" (United States, 1877, p. 198-199). Hence, Asian Americans were valorized as hardworking and intelligent, but perpetually foreign and unassimilable, creating a desirable image for White elites who could exploit Asian Americans with impunity following the Black political and economic challenges post the Civil War Reconstruction Era (Kim, 1999).

Despite the violence and political ostracization experienced by Asian Americans upon their arrival in the United States, sizable numbers of Asian Americans still entered and remained in the nation, particularly along the Pacific coastal states (Chan, 1991). As the Chinese population grew, so did the anti-Chinese rhetoric as White workers blamed the Chinese for their loss of work and civic and religious leaders accused Chinese prostitutes of corrupting American morals (Peffer, 1986). In 1875, in an attempt to address the "yellow peril," a xenophobic movement that depicted East and Southeast Asians as a danger to the Western world, Congress passed the Page Law which forbade Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian contract laborers, as well as prostitutes and felons, from entering the United States (Chan, 1991). However, the Page Law did not work as effectively as intended due to the relatively light punishment of illegal entry (Peffer, 1986). To further reduce the presence of Asians in the nation, Congress negotiated a new treaty with China in 1880. Under the terms of the new treaty the United States negotiated the right to specifically limit Chinese immigration. Subsequently, this allowed for Congress to pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law, which banned entry of Chinese laborers for ten years, but allowed exceptions for Chinese merchants, students, teachers, diplomats, and tourists (S. Chan, 1991). In reviewing the historical context of the Asian American arrival, there is a clear and pragmatic cascade of exclusion from American social, economic, and political domains. The origin of the Asian American experience began with prejudiced and stereotypical attitudes which were cemented in legal precedent. This precedent would go on to influence and inform future political and social discourse, exacerbated by geopolitical conflicts (i.e., World War II) and the Civil Rights Movement.

At the turn of the 20th century, the demographic landscape of America had expanded to include an ethnically diverse population of Asian immigrants (S. Chan, 1991). With biological

racism at its peak, all those with shared "Oriental" traits were quickly homogenized into one convenient "Mongolian" group with disregard of ethnic differences. A series of legal precedent would utilize this "Mongolian" group as fit to support the interests of the White elite and their economic and political control, as well as assuage public fear of the "yellow peril." One of the first legal attempts to categorize the "Mongolian" racial group as distinct from "White" occurred in re Ah Yup (1878). Citing the opinions of leading ethnologists at the time, the court ruled that, Ah Yup, a Chinese man, could not be naturalized because of his belonging to the "Mongolian" race (*In re Ah Yup, 1 Fed. Cas. 223*, 1878). As the "Mongolian" category was understood as a fixed biological-cultural identity, this court ruling enforced the racial triangulation of Asian Americans as justly subordinate to White people. Citing re Ah Yup, court rulings from Takao Ozawa v. United States (1922) and United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind (1923), which denied citizenship to other Asian immigrants, would uphold the precedent that Asians belong to a uniform "Mongolian" group that was disallowed from the rights and privileges of White people (Kim, 1999; *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, 1922; *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 1923). The arbitrary construction of race as a means to hold power is not only exemplified in the regulations and laws created, but also in how these laws were amended when in the interests of the White elite. The 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement was a consensus between the United States and the Empire of Japan, where Japan would not allow any further emigration into the U.S. on the stipulation that the U.S. not impose any further restrictions on Japanese immigrants already living in the country (S. Chan, 1991). This agreement was a clear effort to exclude further Japanese immigration, while avoiding potential geopolitical conflict with the rising power of Japan. By claiming all Asians as part of the "Mongolian" race, while also making certain

exceptions when prompted by a potential loss of White power, the hypocrisy in the inception of this racial category is highlighted.

The White elite's perpetual struggle to maintain hold of capital resources is illustrated in the passage of the 1913 Alien Land Law. Following the annexation of Hawaii, there was an influx of Japanese immigrants who had previously been forced into indentured labor on sugar plantations (S. Chan, 1991). When these individuals arrived in California, they quickly transferred their skills to the land and became highly successful. Similar agricultural achievement was seen by other Asian Americans in California (S. Chan, 1991). As stated by Mark Twain, "[the Chinese] will raise surprising crops of vegetables on a sand pile. They waste nothing. What is rubbish to a Christian, a Chinaman carefully preserves and makes useful in one way or another" (Twain, 1913, p. 392). The success of Asian immigrants combined with anti-Asian prejudice instilled fear in White landowners who worried they could lose their dominance in agriculture and subsequent economic control (S. Chan, 1991). As a result, the Alien Land Law would pass to ensure that Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Indian immigrants were unable to buy land for more than three years. As this did not have as great of an effect as hoped for, the White public voted in the 1920 California state ballot to end the ability of those ineligible for citizenship (i.e., Asian Americans) to lease farmland altogether. Similar laws would pass in eleven other states, promoting the idea that Asian Americans were not welcome (S. Chan, 1991). Thus, Asian immigrants were not only disallowed from the rights of citizenship, but they were also economically discriminated against and voiceless due to the inability to participate in civic discourse.

In addition to the political and economic disenfranchisement of Asian Americans, the White elite took legal action to bar all Asian immigration into the United States, as previous laws

had primarily targeted Chinese immigrants. In the Immigration Act of 1917, the Barred Zone Act, an imaginary "barred" zone was drawn spanning from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. All people living in this zone were banned from immigrating (S. Chan, 1991). Further, this act enforced the usage of English literacy tests, which effectively banned all East Asians of lower economic class and education (Koven & Götzke, 2010). To better negate the immigration of societal undesirables and protect White American material and social values, the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed, which amended the Immigration Act of 1917 to ban all immigrants from Asia. The only Asian group not included in these immigration acts were those from the Philippines because of the country's privileged status as a U.S. colony. However, anti-Filipino politicians would pass the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 to limit Filipino immigration to only 50 persons per year, effectively banning all Asian immigration (S. Chan, 1991).

Together, these court cases, laws, and immigration acts illustrate how the social constructs of race and Whiteness were manipulated to serve the interests of the White elite and protect the general public from the "yellow peril." The triangulation of Asian Americans and Black people vis-à-vis White people is exemplified in a paradoxical relationship as seen in the passing of the Naturalization Act of 1870 (S. Chan, 1991). While White lawmakers moved to provide naturalization rights to recently emancipated Black Americans, in the foreground they were also ensuring that Asian Americans would remain a perpetual foreigner by denying them the same rights. This is at odds with the White media that praised Asian Americans but vilified Black people. The implicit understanding is that while White people felt that Asians are positioned above Black people, they were also adamantly against providing them rights. Asian Americans were only accepted in America to fill a gap in labor and were by no means seen as a central part of the American landscape. This placed Asian Americans in a position where they

would be valorized above Black people but unable to engage in civic discourse. Consequently, this would ensure that White supremacists could keep hold of their economic and social positions without threat from Asian Americans or Black Americans.

As previously mentioned, the construction of the "Mongolian" racial category could and would be amended and re-constructed as seen fit by the White elite. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, White politicians once again tactfully disentangled Japanese Americans from the "Mongolian" monolith. In February 1942, President Roosevelt signed the Executive Order 9066, which initiated the forced relocation and mass incarceration of 110,000 Japanese Americans (62% of which were U.S. citizens) (Nagata et al., 2019). The majority of the Japanese Americans were U.S. citizens as a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907. While Japanese were not allowed to emigrate to the United States, Japanese American men who were already present in the U.S. could bring their wives, parents, and children. Consequently, the Japanese population continued to naturally grow in the United States (S. Chan, 1991). The basis of incarceration was posited on what is known as the $1/16^{th}$ rule, in which anyone who fulfilled this blood quantum was classified as Japanese (Bowen & Hoffmann, 2018). Akin to the arbitrary methods used to classify Black and Native American peoples, the White elite transposed these same methods for categorizing Japanese people regardless of their citizenship status. Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the fear of the "yellow peril" was made a pervasive perceived reality, subsequently inciting the height of the perpetual foreigner stereotype. Or, as stated by the Los Angeles Times:

"A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched… So a Japanese-American, born of Japanese parents…notwithstanding his nominal brand of accidental citizenship…grows up to be a Japanese, not an American, in his thoughts, in his ideas and in his ideals, and himself is a potential and menacing, if not an actual, danger to our country unless properly supervised, controlled and, as it were, hamstrung. Thus, while it might cause an injustice to a few to treat them all as potential enemies and to so limit and control their activities as to prevent the

possibility of their becoming actually such…I cannot escape the conclusion that such treatment, as a matter of national and even personal defense, should be accorded to each and all of them while we are at war with their race" (W. H. Anderson, 1942).

Following the Pearl Harbor bombing in 1941, there was a significant rise in anti-Japanese sentiment, which was juxtaposed with increasingly positive perceptions of Chinese Americans. With the United States joining the Allied powers, and therefore joining with China, it was in their best interest to again re-categorize and differentiate Chinese Americans from the "Mongolian" racial category. More specifically, Chinese Americans were valorized in relation to their Japanese American counterparts. As quoted by Missouri Representative William Elmer in 1943, "all at once we discovered the saintly qualities of the Chinese people. If it had not been for December 7th, I do not know if we would have ever found out how good they were" (*78 Congressional Record 8594*, 1943). Previously applauded for their industrious work ethic, the general public's perceptions of Japanese Americans met an immediate reversal (E. Lee, 2015). A Gallup poll conducted in 1942 now listed Chinese as "hardworking, honest, brave, religious, intelligent, and practical" and the Japanese as "treacherous, sly, cruel, and warlike" (Isaacs, 1972). This was a result of a campaign to re-illustrate Chinese Americans as dutiful citizens who could be trusted, encouraging the public to see China as an ally of America and American values. Despite the seemingly positive connotation of Chinese Americans, the ways of distinguishing ethnic Chinese from Japanese people were based on arbitrary, racially defined characteristics such as the "Japanese -except for wrestlers- are seldom fat; they often dry up and grow lean as they age. The Chinese often put on weight, particularly if they are prosperous" (Time, 1941). The campaign to improve general perceptions of Chinese Americans was not just in the social sphere. In 1943, President Roosevelt pushed for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. As a result, legislation was put in place that virtually erased all previously enacted exclusion acts for

Chinese immigrants. In addition, although largely symbolic, a quota system was created to allow the immigration of 100 Chinese individuals a year. Most importantly, it provided Chinese people who were not native-born in the U.S. with the opportunity to participate in the naturalization process (E. Lee, 2015).

Chinese Americans were also keenly aware of the discrimination and risk associated with being mistaken for Japanese, as depicted by the mobilization of Chinese social groups that provided pins or other visible forms of identification that would help differentiate themselves from Japanese Americans. Chinese periodicals at the time, in hopes of proving their loyalty, adopted anti-Japanese rhetoric as demonstrated by the White mainstream media (J. Chan, 2019). The media denoted Chinese Americans as friends, distinct from the Japanese, best portrayed in the 1941 TIME magazine article "How to Tell Your Friends From the Japs[1]" (Time, 1941). In redefining the "Mongolian" category to differentiate Japanese Americans from other Asian Americans, the White elites promoted intra-ethnic racism as a means of protecting domestic interests at the expense of racial minority groups.

In the pursuit of protecting White supremacy, politicians also enacted measures that extended beyond the United States. The U.S. intelligence escalated the concern of the "yellow peril" in Latin America by financing the mass identification and roundup of those with Japanese ancestry in twelve countries. In 1942, fearing that the Republic of Peru could become a military landing base for Imperial Japan, the U.S. government enacted a political-military alliance agreement (Robinson & Robinson, 2001). In this agreement, Peru received $30 million in bank loans, the largest of any Latin American country, in exchange for the Peruvian Japanese to be deported and sent to internment camps in the U.S. In this effort, Peruvians tracked, identified,

[1] The term "Jap" is an ethnic slur popularized following Pearl Harbor, used here due to its inclusion in the title of the article.

and created files for all those of Japanese descent. Following this, government officials arrested all those with Japanese ancestry, despite their permanent residency or citizenship status, without judicial proceedings. As a result, 1,800 Japanese Peruvians and over 2,100 Japanese Latin Americans were incarcerated in the U.S (E. Lee, 2015; Robinson & Robinson, 2001). Nearly 900 Japanese Latin American lives were exchanged for American civilians in Japan (Gardiner, 1981; E. Lee, 2019). Following the war, the damage of the "yellow peril" concept was clear as Peru and most other Latin American countries refused to allow the return of Japanese Latin Americans to their former homes (E. Lee, 2019). Clearly, racial imperatives imposed on U.S. racial minorities (i.e., Asian and Black) were not restricted to those in their borders but extended far beyond the country, perpetuating the myths and assumptions associated with "yellow peril" and the notion that Japanese Americans are an entity to be justly feared and subjugated. These presuppositions form the basis through which White supremacy facilitates its strategy for holding onto global power.

Following WWII, the political landscape of the United States faced civic and social upheaval as racial minority groups fought for the same privileges ascribed to White people. The civil rights movements of the 1950s and 60s were marked by the establishment of several civil rights protections, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (E. Lee, 2015). After the passage of these laws and removal of racially discriminatory barriers to political involvement and upward mobility, political conservatives (i.e., Reagan administration) contend that American society had successfully moved towards a colorblind society with equal opportunity for all races. However, critical race scholars disagree with the notion that American society had adopted colorblindness, which is the belief that if people do not see race, then racism will no longer occur (Apfelbaum et al., 2012). While civic discourse following the civil rights

movement had seemingly rid itself of overtly racist notions, CRT scholars contend that these racial sentiments persisted by redefining race into cultural terms (Kim, 1999; Omi & Winant, 2014). More specifically, rather than publicly claiming that some groups were racially superior to others, opinionmakers now spoke to the superiority of subgroup cultures as a means of achieving success. In the early 1900s, the Chicago School of Sociology stepped away from biological determinism and clearly defined a distinction between culture and biological race (Kim, 1999). Following this distinction, it became possible to position certain subgroup cultures as more or less conducive to American success without appearing to be racist. This is in spite of the fact that discussions of subgroup cultures inherently activate deeply rooted ideas of race and racism. Presenting a cultural explanation for racial group differences implies that the American dream is attainable for everyone and that it is the people themselves and their culture that must change to achieve success.

This notion of specific subgroup cultures as a hindrance to success would come to head in 1965 following the release of Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan's paper "The Negro Family: The Case for National Anthem" (P. Moynihan, 1965). In this controversial paper, Moynihan critiqued the "matriarchal" structure present in Black families, blaming Black mothers for undercutting male familial status, subsequently leading to the "deterioration of the Negro family" (P. Moynihan, 1965). While this paper was meant to promote job creation for Black men and enlighten the public on how systemic racism had impacted Black families, it inherently placed the blame on the familial culture held by Black mothers during this period. The implication of Moynihan's commentary is that families that do not adhere to the ideals and power structure of the nuclear White American family are deficient, and the cause of blame lies on Black women who do not give power to Black men (E. D. Wu, 2013). Further, in a memo to

the President, Moynihan argued that: “a quarter-century ago Japanese Americans were subject to the worst kind of racial discrimination and mistreatment. All of which has practically disappeared before our eyes… one of the reasons it was possible to do the former is that Japanese and Chinese have probably the most close knit family structure of any group in America” (D. P. Moynihan & Weisman, 2010). In rearticulating the field of racial positions as cultural, Asian Americans family values were valorized above Black families. Additionally, Moynihan claimed that it was these familial and cultural values held by Asian Americans that were conducive to success, implying that Black families should follow suit if they want to succeed. This idea that Asian American cultural values were what propelled them to success would help inform the formation of the model minority myth.

The model minority myth was first coined in 1966 by University of California at Berkeley sociology professor, William Petersen. In his New York Times magazine article, “Success Story, Japanese-American Style,” he explicitly valorizes Japanese cultural values above those of Black Americans (Petersen, 1966). In this article, the “Tokugawa” values of “diligence in work, combined with simple frugality” was used as a reason for Japanese American success (Petersen, 1966, p. 41). In fact, Pettersen even went as far to valorize Japanese Americans above White people, claiming that “the Japanese Americans are better than any other group in our society, including native-born whites. They have established this remarkable record, moreover, by their own almost totally unaided effort. Every attempt to hamper their progress resulting only in enhancing their determination to succeed” (Petersen, 1966, p. 32). In a veiled attempt to celebrate aspects of Japanese Americans and their success following WWII, Petersen also leverages the claim that if Japanese people succeed without help then Black people can too. This in part delegitimized the attempts made by Black Americans during the Civil Rights movement

and cast doubt on recently instated social welfare programs (i.e., affirmative action). If the Japanese could succeed without social programs because of their cultural values, then Black people would simply need to adopt analogous values to find similar advancement. This framework of thinking reduces the role of systemic racism as a contributing factor to the Black experience. Further, Petersen goes on to claim that that is the lack of a culture and no connection to their "homeland" that creates difficulty for Black Americans (Petersen, 1966, p. 41). Once again, Petersen valorized Japanese American culture by claiming that "the Japanese…could climb over the highest barriers our racists were able to fashion in part because of their meaningful link with an alien culture" (Petersen, 1966, p. 43). However, he fails to recognize that this reportedly lack of homeland culture is a direct consequence of White supremacy. It is also critical to recognize that while Petersen endorses Japanese American cultural values, he does so by distinctly making note that their culture is alien and foreign, thus insinuating the perpetual foreigner myth as a strength rather than as an unjust mechanism of control. However, this claim was paradoxical because the majority of Japanese Americans were U.S. born, as immigration had been banned from 1924 to 1965. the claim reinforced the idea of culture as a matter of blood or biological race (Kim, 1999). Consequently, Asian Americans and Black Americans are kept in their field of racial positions vis-à-vis the model minority myth without overtly racist claims by disguising these attitudes as cultural differences.

In a similar fashion, a 1971 article published in Newsweek, "Success Story, Outwhiting the Whites," attributed the Japanese American success to the resilience of their traditional values. However, despite seemingly praising of Japanese American values and their "surpassing" of the Whites, these success stories reinscribe the foreignness of Japanese Americans. This valorization was not limited to just Japanese Americans but extended to other Asian American ethnic groups,

such as Chinese Americans. For example, in a 1966 U.S. News and World report, "Success Story of One Minority Group in America," Chinese Americans were praised for their cultural values of: "family solidary… discipline… hard work… respect for authority… and morality" (U.S. News & World Report, 1966). Again, the implication of these articles is that Black Americans would do well in American society if they worked hard like their Asian American counterparts. Scholarly journals also promoted this image by lauding Asian Americans for scoring high on academic achievement orientation measures (Jo & Mast, 1993; Montero, 2019; Schmid & Nobbe, 1965). By utilizing Asian Americans as a proxy for success, these articles paint an image of Black Americans as inherently lazy while avoiding any accusations of racism. Subsequent published works would demonstrate the same message, while also explicitly making false claims of Asian American a-politicalness. In his famous book, Race and Economics, Thomas Sowell writes: "[Those] minorities that have pinned their greatest hopes on political action have made some of the slower economic advances. This is a sharp contrast to the Japanese American, whose political powerlessness may have been a blessing in disguise, by preventing the expenditure of much energy in that direction" (Sowell, 1977, p. 128). In suggesting that Asian American prosperity is attributed to their apoliticism, this sends a twofold message: 1) Black American's involvement in politics has had detrimental effects on their economic success and social acceptance, and 2) Asian Americans that look to become politically active may suffer the same fate as Black people. As we have seen since the 1850s, the racial triangulation of Asian Americans vis-à-vis Black and White people ensure the Asian American position as docile and compliant, while denying and later discouraging their place in American polity by emphasizing their foreignness and denying them equality with Whites. The cycle of White oppression against non-Whites has remained consistent over time through the use of strategic, systemic racism.

White supremacy has had a profound and longstanding effect on the relationship between Asian American and Black people. Throughout history, some Asian Americans have perpetuated racist beliefs in an attempt to differentiate themselves from Black people and avoid persecution, or most notably through endorsement of the model minority myth. During the early formation of the model minority myth in the 1950s, the media and academics instilled in Asian Americans an implicit understanding that their privileges and social capital relative to other minority groups hinged upon their apoliticism and cultural values. An example of this is captured in the book "Nisei[2]: The Quiet Americans," which was sponsored by the Japanese Citizens League (JACL), a Japanese American civil rights group and oldest Asian American civil rights organization in the U.S. (Hosokawa, 2002). Published in 1969, the book was meant to educate the general masses on Japanese American history from a Japanese perspective. The author, Bill Hosokawa, details in his last chapter that previous legal, social, and economic barriers that blocked previous Japanese success were gone, as demonstrated by the long list of Japanese American successful professionals, such as Congresswoman Patsy Takemoto Mink (Hosokawa, 2002). In his book's closing remarks, Hosokawa questions the "often unproductive struggles of other minorities to win social respect and economic security. Looking on the extremes of apathy and militancy among Negroes and Hispanos, some Nisei from the comfort of their upper middle class homes have been led to ask: 'Why can't they pull themselves up by their own bootstraps the way we did?'" (Hosokawa, 2002, p. 494). Hosokawa claims that the answer to their questions is attributed to Japanese American cultural values. As this answer catered to the presiding view as manufactured by White supremacists, it was met with strong approval from the general public. As published in the Denver Post, "at a time when other minorities are rushing through the street

[2] Nisei refers to a second-generation Japanese American.

with raised fists and crying out against discrimination and injustice, 'Nisei' is remedial reading for Americans of all colors and beliefs" (Beshoar, 1969).

However, the book was met with critical reception by Japanese Americans. Yuji Ichioka, the founder of Berkeley's Asian American Political Alliance and who would later go on to lead the Asian American civil rights movement of the 1960s and 70s, was extremely critical. In an Asian American newspaper, Gidra, Ichioka describes the book as "self-congratulatory," noting the fundamental flaw in the argument that Japanese Americans had "made it" in America . What was unexamined in Hosokawa's narrative was the intergenerational trauma caused by the internment and reality of America's "racism, super-patriotism, and right-wing politics" (Ichioka, 1970; E. D. Wu, 2013). The quiet irony of the book's publication by the JACL is that the conclusions drawn of a silent Asian American are contradicted by the organization's reason for existence, to fight and advocate on behalf of Asian American civil rights. Despite some disagreement with "Nisei: The Quiet Americans," the myth of the model minority had woven its threads throughout the Japanese American community. Even academics agreed with the ideas explained in the book. As summarized in 1970 by Japanese American Harry Kitano, a social welfare professor at the University of California Los Angeles, "Japanese Americans are good because they conform –they don't "make waves" –they work hard and are quiet and docile" (Kitano, 1976, p. 205). The White supremacist tactics have a clear role in creating division between Asian Americans and Black Americans, and within Asian American themselves as they either challenge or become complicit in supporting racism and White supremacy.

In addition to the method of valorizing Asian Americans above Black Americans, White elites also utilize the media to create a narrative of the "bad" minority inciting violence against the "good" minority. Examples of this can be found in the conflict between Korean immigrant

merchants and Black communities that have been commonplace since the late 1970s (Kim, 2000). Following the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Asian immigrants were allowed to emigrate to the United States for the first time since the 1920s. At the time, economists predicted a shortage of professional, technical, and managerial workers, which would threaten the U.S. economy and global position as a world power (P. Ong et al., 1994). Thus, to supplement this shortage, a preference system was enacted under the 1965 Immigration Act that would prioritize the emigration of educated and highly skilled Asian immigrants. This immigration act would contribute to the model minority myth because due to immigration restrictions, the Asian Americans who migrated were already predominantly educationally and economically successful. Thus, the representation of Asian Americans in America as a model minority is in part based upon a small non-representative group of Asian Americans who were specifically allowed to emigrate to the United States due to their perception as successful contributors to American society (Takaki, 2012).

Following the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, a large population of middle- and upper-class Korean Americans immigrants came to the United States to fulfill their hopes of the "Korean American Dream" (K. Park, 1997). The majority of these Korean immigrants would find a home in Los Angeles and New York City. Upon their arrival, Korean immigrants would struggle to find professional employment in large part because of racial and language fluency discrimination (Min, 1996; K. Park, 1997). As many Whites started to leave New York City in the 1970s and 80s in favor of suburban residency, the urban private sector was left up for grabs between the immigrating Korean Americans and the remaining Black Americans. As Black people had been economically disenfranchised by the White elite, this niche in the private sector was difficult for them to fill as they were barred from access to resources (i.e., bank loans).

While Korean Americans saw small business ownership as a potential avenue for upward mobility, they entered this role reluctantly. Most Korean Americans at the time were highly skilled professionals, so they saw retail ownership as status derogation. However, without alternatives, Korean Americans would take hold of this opportunity without much competition from the urban Black community who experienced significant residential segregation and economic marginalization (Kim, 2000). In other words, the accessible opportunities presented to Korean immigrants were a product of the economic discrimination faced by Black people. The White elite's positioning of Asian Americans above Black people and leveraging of access to resources would inevitably orchestrate conflict between the Korean and Black community.

This conflict would peak in the Red Apple Boycott of 1990 (Kim). Following a physical altercation purported by a Korean grocery store owner and a Haitian-born female customer, a year-long boycott by the local Black community ensued. The boycott sparked a resurgence of Black Power activism in New York City that had previously taken place in the 1980s. The mainstream media was quick to frame this Black Power movement as a good vs. bad minority narrative. White-owned media outlets would interpret the boycott as Black people being greedy and praying on the innocent, apolitical model minority (Kim, 2000). As opposed to recognizing the movement as a challenge to White dominance, the White media indicated that Black people were scapegoating Korean Americans and enacting reverse racism against them, which was in severe violation of the purported "colorblind" society. In turn, White politicians and journalists would position themselves as arbiters of justice and equality. Subsequently, they saw themselves as White saviors, the 'confluence of practices, processes, and institutions that reify historical inequities to ultimately validate white privilege" (A. Anderson, 2013, p. 39). In response to the boycotts, Korean American community leaders would mobilize together to protect their group

interests and privileges and condemn the movement. However, in doing such, the racial order was restabilized despite efforts by the boycotting. This is by no means an effort to retain the oppressive system that positions Black people at the bottom of American society, but simply a reaction to protecting the privileges that were "given" to Korean Americans. As explained by Kim, "the genius of racial power, as we have seen, is that it does not require intentionality on anyone's part to reproduce itself. As long as each group strives consistently to protect its own privileges, the racial order will be perpetuated" (Kim, 2000, p. 158). While the interest of Black Americans was to challenge the current racial order, many Korean Americans wished to protect it out of self-preservation.

While there is no evidence to suggest that Korean Americans supported the boycott, several civil rights organizations acknowledged the grievances experienced by both Black and Korean Americans. In fact, some groups expressed concern that the countermovement enacted by Korean Americans was at times too aggressive and prejudiced. While the Korean community leaders were predominantly comprised of first-generation immigrants, dissenting views rose from 1.5 (i.e., immigrated to the United States at a young age) - and second-generation Korean Americans who identified with the experiences of other people of color. Born in the U.S., this group of younger Korean Americans had knowledge of the history of Black disenfranchisement in the United States. Therefore, they were more likely to identify with Black Americans due to the shared experience of racial discrimination and were sympathetic to their cause (Kim, 2000; Min, 1996). In a 1990 New York Times interview, Kyung Ho Koh, who would later go on to form the Coalition of Korean American Voters, explained:

"*I lived in Mississippi, and you can't learn state history down there without learning about slavery and legalized segregation, the Klan, lynching, this and that. And I went to an all-*

Black school, a 98 percent Black school for two years in the South. I saw the poverty firsthand. But I think a lot of Korean Americans are ignorant of that. I mean they just know, "Yeah there was slavery, and look, the Civil War abolished it, and so what? There's Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Act, so what?" And because of our own internalized racism, we uphold ourselves and either our ignorance or lack of respect for the history, I think that's sort of the root of the problems" (Kim, 2000, p. 169).

Similar sentiments were expressed by members of the Korean Americans for Social Concern and the Korean American Coalition for Community Empowerment, both of which sought to educate the public about the systemic and structural causes for the conflict as a method for building cross-racial bridges between Black and Korean Americans (Kim, 2000). Again, the racial positioning of Asian Americans vis-à-vis the Black vs. White binary pit Asian Americans in conflict with Black Americans. In the White media's acts of diverting attention of the boycott away from Black empowerment to a situation of scapegoating the model minority, both groups were further subjugating as discussion of White supremacy and the causes of the conflict were left unexamined.

Today, racism perpetuated by the model minority myth can be understood in the debates regarding affirmative action. Since the 1990s, researchers have noted a divide in support of affirmative action among Asian Americans (P. M. Ong, 2003). At its core, affirmative action was an attempt to level the playing field between Whites and racial minorities. In providing advancement opportunities to historically marginalized groups, the goal of affirmative action is to remedy past, ongoing, and future discrimination by encouraging diversity in academic and public institutions. However, public perception of affirmative action has oftentimes shifted the conversation away from increasing representation of diverse individuals to a reverse

discrimination scenario. For example, in a Washington Post column, George Will wrote in reference to affirmative action that "it is lunacy to punish Asian Americans, the nation's model minority for their passion to excel" (Will, 1989). As described by Frank Wu, the White elite manipulated conversation around affirmative action to pit "Asian Americans against [Black Americans], as if one group could succeed only by the failure of the other. Asian Americans are encouraged to view [Black students], and programs for them, as threats to their own upward mobility" (F. H. Wu, 1995, p. 226). This scenario inherently positions Asian Americans and Black Americans on opposite ends of a spectrum of academic achievement, mitigating the role that White supremacy has played in facilitating this dynamic. As stated previously, this once again re-defines the conflict between White and racial minorities as a minority vs. minority dispute. This scenario is reflected in the Asian American admissions controversy of the 1980s.

In the 1970s and 80s Asian American student and community groups raised concern that increased rates of applications to prestigious universities were not accompanied with increased admissions rates (Kim, 1999). In raising this concern, Asian Americans did not blame affirmative action for impacting admissions rates but rather suggested that these universities were implementing undisclosed admissions criteria in a discriminatory manner against Asian Americans to preserve the Whiteness of their student bodies (Tsuang, 1988). Such concerns were supported by the increasing rates of White students relative to Asian American students at Harvard, Stanford, Yale, University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), and the University of California at Berkeley (UC Berkeley). For example, White admissions rates from 1982 to 1991 at Harvard were four percentage points higher than Asian Americans. Additionally, from 1982 and 1985, Asian American applicant rates at Stanford ranged between 66% - 70% of admission rates for White students. Similar levels of admission rate declines for Asian Americans were

seen at UC Berkeley, despite Asian Americans scoring higher on both scholastic and supplemental (extracurricular activities, admissions essays, foreign language requirements, etc.) admissions criteria in comparison to White students (Tsuang, 1988). This difference in admission rates suggests the usage of discriminatory racial quotas against Asian American students as the explanatory variable behind Asian American admission rate declines. This is further supported by a statement made by UCLA admissions director stating that "the campus will endeavor to curb the decline of Caucasian students," despite the "concern [that] will come from Asian students… as the number and proportion of Asian students entering at the freshman level declines" (Siporin, 1984, as cited in Tsuang, 1988). As explained by an Asian American legal scholar, Grace Tsuang, "while each piece of evidence alone may not be sufficient to establish discriminatory intent, the combination of all such factors may satisfy the constitutional standard" (Tsuang, 1988, p. 676). This begs the consideration that if affirmative action does enact reverse discrimination, then the impact of admission rates should fall evenly on White and Asian American students. This does not appear to be the case. As opposed to examining if educational institutions impose racial quotas in an attempt to "preserve the Whiteness of their student bodies," public debate has been purposefully shifted to examine if a social program meant to support Black and Brown people in higher education unfairly discriminates against Asian Americans (Kim, 1999, p. 123).

The specific framing of the conversation on affirmative action has informed whether Asian Americans advocate for or against such policies. For example, in 2014 some Asian Americans advocacy groups successfully lobbied to defeat the California Senate Constitutional Amendment 5, which would have reinstated affirmative action at public California state universities. Most notably, in 2014 the Asian American Coalition for Education, a predominantly

Chinese immigrant collective, filed a federal complaint with the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) against affirmative action policies. In turn, this political activism by Asian American groups would help bring about the federal investigation into race-conscious admission policies under the Trump administration in 2017 (Garces & Poon, 2018). Research examining Asian American opinions on affirmative action have revealed the wide-spread success of model minority propaganda, as indicated by the endorsement of the myth by many Asian Americans. For example, as stated by Ruth, a Chinese American, "[my city has] poured millions of extra dollars into the poorest-performing schools every year for decades, has given them the best teachers, and even moved the schools to the best facilities in the city. And nothing improved by any measure of academic performance; the gap persists between Blacks and Hispanics versus the whites and Asians… It's not helpful to give these kids who are not prepared for a rigorous university, have them attend an elite university where they're unlikely to succeed. It may be cultural, it might economic, whatever. Yeah, but it's not the school's fault, because the school system has bent over backgrounds to give these kids a better education" (Poon et al., 2019, p. 216). This attitude, as held by some Asian Americans, suggests that Black culture is to fault for their levels of academic achievement, echoing the narrative as posited by White media since the 1960s. Further, this perspective dismisses the inherent structural and economic inequalities as perpetuated by White supremacy that make up the foundation for educational disenfranchisement.

In contrast, Asian American civil rights groups that are more ethnically diverse have strongly supported affirmative action, citing that anti-affirmative action groups utilize the Asian American community as a weapon to reinforce White supremacy (Poon et al., 2019). For example, the Asian Americans Advancing Justice group, a conglomerate of more than 70 civil

rights organizations, has submitted multiple amicus briefs in support of race-conscious admissions policies (Poon & Segoshi, 2018). In fighting against the usage of using Asian Americans as a tool against affirmative action, Advancing Justice rejects the portrayal of "AAPIs as victims who are categorically 'excluded' and 'burdened' by affirmative action programs… and we categorically oppose such efforts to use the AAPI community as a wedge group to curtail opportunities for racial minorities" (*Brief of amici curia members of Asian Americans Advancing Justice et al., In support of Respondents, Fisher v University of Texas at Austin*, 2015, p. 4). Further, this group holds that affirmative action is beneficial for all racial minorities, including Asian Americans and that "abandoning affirmative action and race-conscious admissions will undo the progress that has been hard fought across generations, and impedes the changes we still need to make quality education a reality for all students" (Asian Americans Advancing Justice, 2022). This divide in how Asian Americans debate affirmative action is reflective of the power of White supremacy. By representing Asian Americans as a victim of reverse discrimination, this pits Asian Americans not only against Black people but against themselves. In turn, this ideological divide is leveraged by the White elite to further perpetuate White supremacy and move the dialogue away from how White supremacy has affected society, to a conversation of Black vs. Yellow.

In summary, Asian Americans and Black people have been racially polarized and triangulated relative to each other and White people throughout U.S. history. The White elite have utilized Asian Americans and Black people as "pawns in championing their own interests" by manipulating the interests of both subgroups to further the interests of White people (Da, 2007, p. 330). By serving as the antiracist heroes and mediators of minority race relations, White supremacists create conflict between both subgroups as they fight for privilege and power, which

allows the White elite to maintain their education and economic privilege. The polarization of Asian Americans and Black people on opposite ends of the societal success spectrum pits one group against the other which results in negative stereotypes and conceptions of both (i.e., Model Minority Myth and Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype), which in turn leads to continued systematic racism against both minority groups. As stated by Mari Matsuda, professor at UCLA School of Law and a leader in CRT, "the role of the racial middle is a critical one. It can reinforce white supremacy if the middle deludes itself into thinking it can be just like white if it tries hard enough. Conversely, the middle can dismantle white supremacy if it refuses to be the middle, if it refuses to buy into racial hierarchy, if it refuses to abandon communities of Black and Brown people, choosing instead to form alliances with them" (Matsuda, 1993, p.1). Thus, to move toward racial equality, we must be cognizant of the past and understanding of how White American racist ideologies have informed anti-Blackness perceptions among Asian Americans.

Asian American Internalized Racism and Anti-Blackness

Race scholars note that racism shapes the attitudes and behaviors of everyone living within the system, including the oppressed (Omi & Winant, 2014). Past research has centered on the effects of racism such as discrimination and resilience, but little attention has been paid to the way racial inequalities shape the way the oppressed think of themselves and others within and outside their own racial group (Hwang, 2021; Pyke, 2010). Instead, past research has focused on how experiences of racial discrimination adversely affect the physical and psychological well-being of Asian Americans (Huynh et al., 2011; Hwang & Goto, 2008; I. J. K. Park et al., 2013; M. Wei et al., 2010; Yoo & Lee, 2008). Specific to Asian American racial stereotypes, a few studies have examined how stereotypes influence discrimination and negatively impact health

and well-being outcomes (W. Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Gupta et al., 2011; Hurh & Kim, 1989; Huynh et al., 2011; Shih et al., 2019; C. S. Wu et al., 2020; Yoo et al., 2010). In turn, these negative psychological outcomes may be viewed as a threat to one's social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), which can influence negative perceptions of one's ethnic pride, understanding, and engagement within their ethnic community (Branscombe et al., 1999; Pyke & Dang, 2003). These negative sentiments are the foundation upon which internalized racism is formed. For the purposes of the current study, I draw upon Hwang's definition of internalized racism (IR), which is "the internalization of bias and oppression toward one's heritage group, which subsequently leads to the devaluing, dis-identifying, interiorizing, and distancing between individuals, families, communities, and heritage" (Hwang, 2021, p. 598). When individuals internalize mainstream racist beliefs and rationales, they often subconsciously justify the oppression of their own group by believing in their own inferiority (Baker, 1983). Given that racist systems are maintained and reproduced in part through their internalization of the oppressed, the lack of research on internalization of racism within Asian American communities is concerning (Pyke, 2010).

The limited research on internalized racism can be attributed to the discomfort, confusion, and concern that the racially subordinated are responsible for their endorsement of White supremacist thinking, as opposed to being victims. There is concern that studying internalized racism will lead to blaming racial minorities. This could henceforth draw attention away from the systemic issues at hand and from racist practices that privilege White people. This concern is prevalent even within academia. For example, Pyke, a critical race scholar, noted that they were criticized by fellow academics who proclaimed that research on internalized racism is detrimental to the larger mission of social justice (Pyke, 2010; Pyke & Dang, 2003). Research on

internalized racism may also cause discomfort because it suggests that the effects of racism are insidious and widespread. Although these concerns are understandable, the existing literature suggests that internalized racism is an adaptive response to racism, as opposed to a source of racism (Schwalbe et al., 2000). It is critical to understand these adaptive responses to further our understanding of how racial inequality is maintained.

Regardless of whether an individual constructs a self-identity that internalizes the racial ideologies of society, they are forced to define themselves in relation to existing racial schemes. Asian Americans face immense pressure to assimilate and detach themselves from the stigma associated with their racial group. For example, mainstream racial understandings depict Asian Americans as hard-working and intelligent, but these images are paired with notions that they are also "nerdy," cold, and unable to assimilate with American culture. In "The Hidden Injuries of Race," Osajima (1993) found that Asian Americans form their self-identity in part by endorsing negative images of Asians as perpetuated by White people. In this study, participants noted that they worried about how others viewed them and specifically attempted to be "less Asian" by distancing themselves from negative stereotypes. As explained by Goffman (2009), those who face stigmatization can resist stereotypes by relying on "disidentifiers." This is illustrated by the Asian American students in the Osajima (1993) study who disassociated themselves from negative stereotypes by appearing more American in their language usage (e.g., speaking without an accent), clothing, attitudes, and behaviors.

As previously noted, the racial experiences of Asian Americans are unique in that they are valorized vis-à-vis Black people. The myth of the Asian American model minority is used to further oppress Black people and disguises that Asian Americans are not honorary whites from racism (Tuan, 1998). Further, the perpetual foreigner stereotype denotes that even if Asian

Americans are highly successful, they will never be viewed as equal members of White society, positioning Asian Americans in a racially stratified space between Black and White people (Kim, 1999). This elevated status above Black Americans yet below Whites advertently creates an environment ripe for conflict as subgroups collide to either gain or preserve elements of privilege. This promotes the creation of an in-group vs. out-group mentality that can be used to justify racial hierarchies. For some Asian Americans, this can foster sentiments of anti-Blackness and interracial othering as a direct product of subgroup conflict as facilitated by mechanisms of White supremacy.

Simply put, interracial othering occurs when racial minority groups are pit against one another by the racial majority group (Hwang, 2021). Interracial othering is comprised of two concepts: 1) Oppressive Othering, and 2) Defensive Othering (Pyke, 2010; Schwalbe et al., 2000). For example, Asian Americans may "other" Black people by holding oppressive beliefs that Black people are inferior to both White and Asian people (i.e., model minority stereotype) and by engaging in defensive behaviors (e.g., an Asian American internalizes the Asian American model minority myth and therefore distances themselves from Black people) (Hwang, 2021). Stereotypes of Asian Americans, such as the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype, can also impact interracial othering towards Asian Americans. Hwang (2021) notes that stereotypes perpetuate interracial othering because it makes it difficult to understand who is to blame for today's structural racism and power struggles. For example, this may result in outgroup members viewing Asian Americans as not American or hating Asian Americans for being the model minority (Da, 2007; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). As such, Asian American internalized racism and interracial othering maintains the status quo of White supremacy by perpetuating racism toward Black people and even their own group.

To further understand anti-Blackness and symbolic racism, these concepts must be defined and contextualized relative to present-day movements. As stated previously, people understand themselves and others relative to societal frameworks. Defining who is a part of the in-group or out-group functions similarly and by no means occurs in a vacuum. Asian Americans come to understand themselves relative to societal images of Whiteness and Blackness within a strictly White-centric America. The evolution of anti-Blackness within the Asian American community is symptomatic of the anti-Blackness perpetuated throughout U.S. history by White people and the institutions. For the purposes of this paper, anti-Blackness is operationalized by the belief in symbolic racism and support of the social movement Black Lives Matter (BLM). BLM began in 2013, following the murder of Trayvon Martin and acquittal of George Zimmerman (Garza, 2014). Originally starting as a Facebook post, BLM has evolved into a rallying cry for social justice. BLM is posited on the perception that U.S. structural systems, such as the criminal justice system, do not place equal value on the lives of Black people as they do for others (Sawyer & Gampa, 2018). The BLM movement advances that the devaluing of Black people in America perpetuates racism, enhances social control of racial minorities, and oppresses people of color. Further, BLM argues that institutional racism in the U.S. is not the casual predictor of racial injustice. Rather, it is the ideological beliefs held against Black people that create racist systems of oppression and racial injustice (Garza, 2014). The aim of BLM to bring liberation and justice to Black people, as well as other people of color. Despite this, BLM has been met with significant opposition, with males, White people, conservatives, Republicans, and older individuals expressing the most dissent against BLM (Updegrove et al., 2020). Prominent political figures have also openly opposed BLM, such as former President Donald Trump and Texas senator Ted Cruz (Flores, 2016; Weigel & Zezima, 2015).

Symbolic racism centers on four themes: 1) Black Americans no longer face prejudice or discrimination, 2) The failure of Black Americans to climb the social hierarchy is due to their lack of hard work, 3) Black Americans are too demanding in their push for equal rights, and 4) Black Americans are undeserving of the social assistance they have received (Henry & Sears, 2002; Tarman & Sears, 2005). The racism, in symbolic racism, refers to the underlying racial presuppositions held against Black people. The symbolic aspect refers to the idea that this belief system is not held against Black people individually, but rather an abstract collective whose moral values do not align with White supremacists. In line with colorblind ideology, symbolic racism originates in a moral belief that Black Americans violate American values of hard-work, ethics, and "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps" (i.e., individualism) (Sears, 1988). A plethora of research has indicated that the predictive value of symbolic racism is above and beyond that of traditional racism, biological determinism, and political ideology (see Sears & Henry, 2003 for review). Belief in symbolic racism does not necessarily imply that one hates Black people, but rather that they are discomforted, fearful, or disgusted by Black people (i.e., anti-Black affect) (Dovidio, 2001). Past research has supported the notion that anti-Black affect and individualism significantly inform perceptions of symbolic racism (Sears & Henry, 2003). The following sections explore how elements of White supremacy (e.g., model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype) may contribute to symbolic racism and support of BLM within the Asian American community.

Model Minority Myth

The model minority myth suggests that Asian Americans are the most academically, economically, and socially successful racial minority group. Although a seemingly positive

stereotype, Asian Americans experience adverse impacts due to this distorted, inaccurate conception (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Ng et al., 2007; Zhang, 2010). The model minority myth assumes that Asian Americans are *the* model minority, not a model minority. Further, it is based on the notion that Asian American success is attributed to the group's cultural values (e.g., gung-ho mentality) (Kim, 1999; F. Wu, 2002; Yoo et al., 2010). Critical race scholars claim that the emphasis on Asian American success promotes a color-blind meritocratic attitude while ignoring the racial and sociohistorical context of Asian Americans in the U.S. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Kawai, 2005). Lastly, the model minority myth reinforces the idea that racism is no longer an issue in the U.S., which minimizes the experiences of racism faced by Asian Americans. The myth diverts attention away from racial inequality by setting standards for how other minorities should behave. Subsequently, the model minority myth implies that the current academic and economic status of Black, Latinos, and other racial groups are their own fault for not working hard enough (S. J. Lee, 2015; Shih et al., 2019). Despite this implication, little to no research has examined how Asian Americans view those outside of their racial group and how the model minority myth may impact their perspective. The following section discusses the present-day plight of Asian Americans relative to their experiences with the model minority myth. Additionally, the limited research on the model minority myth and how the myth may incite conflict between racial minorities are highlighted.

Today, the model minority myth continues to disregard the incredible heterogeneity of Asian American groups and masks their varied levels of success in education and the workplace. Proponents of the model minority myth point to data that paints Asian Americans, on the whole, as economically successful (e.g., high median income, least likelihood to live in poverty, high representation in STEM fields) with high levels of academic achievement (e.g., more than half of

Asian Americans ages 25 and older have a bachelor's degree, compared to 33% of the respective U.S. population) (Pew Research Center, 2021). However, the model minority label does not consider the significant disparities within the Asian American pan-ethic group, nor does it take into account the historical reasons for why the differences may exist. For example, the income gap between Asian Americans at the top and bottom of the income ladder has nearly doubled since 1970, quickly transforming from the most equal to the most unequal among U.S. racial groups (Pew Research Center, 2018). This is further demonstrated by the fact that only 13% of Laotians, 14% of Hmong and Cambodian, and 26% of Vietnamese Americans hold a bachelor's degree, in comparison to Asian Americans overall at 54%. In addition, Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong students have higher high school dropout rates than Black and Latino groups (Center for American Progress, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2021). While these statistics are only tangentially related to the purpose of this paper, this neglect of the Asian American diaspora and the marginalization that subgroups of Asian Americans encounter only reinforces the need for additional research and understanding of this population. This need remains salient when considered relative to the discussion of Asian American relations with other minorities as it encapsulates the nuances and particularities of the Asian American population and experience rather than generalizing all Asian Americans as a monolithic group.

In the workplace, one study (Peck & Wong, 2015) found that Asian Americans represent 27% of the workforce across the five major tech firms (Google, Hewlett-Packard, Intel, LinkedIn, and Yahoo). However, there is a significant underrepresentation of Asian Americans leaders within these same companies, with Asian Americans holding less than 14% of executive positions. In contrast, White people represented 62% of the workforce and 80% of executive positions (Peck & Wong, 2015). This finding is contrary to results from an online survey of

almost 3,000 U.S. residents ages 18 and over, where half of respondents believed that Asian Americans are overrepresented in senior positions within American organizations (LAAUNCH, 2021). Thus, the educational and economic needs of underrepresented ethnic groups within Asian Americans are easily overlooked when basing decisions on belief of the model minority myth and non-utilization of disaggregated data. Additionally, this study exposes the clear distortion of public perception relative to Asian Americans and their representation as the model minority. The internalization of the myth is not restricted to just Asian Americans, but has also been internalized and reiterated by members of the general public. The impact of this internalization remains understudied and it is unclear the impact that this internalization has on the relationships between minority groups and the Asian American community.

Research on the psychological impact of the model minority myth is growing but limited. Several past studies have indicated that Asian Americans react negatively or feel anxiety towards the model minority stereotype (W. Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Yoo et al., 2015); however, some research has indicated positive or neutral reactions to the stereotype (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Thompson & Kiang, 2010). For example, when adolescents were asked how they feel about the model minority stereotype, some stated they felt unfairly judged whereas others saw it as a source of pride (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). A few scholars have further examined this relationship by exploring contextual and/or personal (i.e., endorsement of the stereotype) factors that could lead to varying psychological outcomes related to the model minority myth. Yoo and colleagues (2015) found that higher internalization of the model minority myth was associated with higher academic outcomes (i.e., GPA), but only for high-achieving Asian Americans. For low-achieving Asian American students, higher internalization

of the model minority myth was linked to increased affective distress and performance difficulty. This may be partially explained by social identity theory, where low-achieving Asian Americans may feel particularly pressured because they feel unable to meet the expectations of their racial identity. Further, a study by Lee (S. J. Lee, 1994) found that Asian Americans regardless of their achievement felt anxiety attributed to the model minority myth, with low achieving students also experiencing symptoms of depression. Gupta et al. (2011) found that Asian Americans who highly internalize the model minority myth were more likely to report psychological distress via somatization of physical health symptoms and negative attitudes toward help-seeking. In summary, past research indicates that the model minority influences how Asian Americans contend with their own identity. Further, the research demonstrates that the model minority myth has had largely negative implications for the psychological well-being of Asian Americans. However, it is unclear how these feelings about their own racial group, both positive and negative, may influence perspectives on other racial groups.

While little to no research has examined the relationship between internalized racism and perceptions of anti-Blackness, scholars contend that the origin of the model minority myth was deliberately contrived to disunite Black and Asian Americans during the Civil Rights Movement (Kim, 1999; Omi & Winant, 2014). In the 21st century, a similar disunity is demonstrated between the two ethnic groups as seen in the debate regarding affirmative action. The myth justifies the current racial hierarchy by denoting Asian Americans as the only model minority and has continued to serve as a tool for upholding White supremacy in the United States (Chao et al., 2013). Given the myth's origin, scholars argue that the model minority stereotype reinforces racism against other communities of color. Asian Americans who highly endorse the myth inherently believe in the idea of a meritocracy. Given that BLM protests institutional and

systemic racism, an individual who believes they live in a meritocratic society may not affirm the values and positions posited by the BLM movement. A belief in a meritocratic society may lead to perceptions that those who are not successful are lazy and deserving of their position in society. Additionally, the active struggle to retain certain privileges that position Asian Americans above Black Americans may activate perceptions of intergroup threat (Branscombe et al., 1999; Branscombe & Wann, 1994). This may lead to the subordination of Black Americans by Asian Americans and inadvertently stabilize the racial positioning of both groups as subordinate to Whites. Similarly, this can promote internalization of symbolic racism and the belief that Black Americans must simply work harder to ascend the social hierarchy, reinforcing White supremacist ideology among Asian Americans (Iftikar & Museus, 2018; Kim, 1999; M. J. Matsuda, 1997; Yu, 2006). Therefore, the first hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: The internalization of the model minority myth will predict support of Black Lives Matter.

Hypothesis 2: The internalization of the model minority myth will predict endorsement of symbolic racism.

Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype

Irrespective of their long history in the United States and the ethnic and racial diversity present in the country, Asian Americans continue to be seen as perpetual foreigners who are unable to assimilate. Members of the Asian American group are oftentimes challenged on their citizenship and language competency. Asian Americans who are asked “Where are you from?” are often met with follow up questions such as, “Where are you really from?” or “Where are you

originally from?" (Liang et al., 2004; Sue et al., 2007). In conversation, Asian Americans may be complimented on how well they speak English, despite being born in the U.S. or learning English as their primary language (Tran & Lee, 2014). These objectifying experiences are reflective of microaggressions and invalidation of the Asian American identity. In fact, Asian Americans are less likely to be viewed as Americans in comparison to White and Black people (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). These implicit understandings perpetuate the image that Asian Americans are forever foreigners that reside in America as Asians, and not as Asian Americans. Because they are viewed as a successful foreigner, Asian Americans are oftentimes seen as a threat, which is fueled by racist stereotypes and anti-immigrant attitudes (Pyke & Dang, 2003). However, little to no research has examined how being seen as a threat negatively impacts how Asian Americans view those outside of their racial group. The following section serves to illuminate a shared past experience with violence and marginalization. Additionally discussed are the few research findings regarding the perpetual foreigner stereotype and its impact on relations between Asian Americans and other racial minorities.

As previously noted, the Japanese internment camps serves as one of the most prominent examples of the perpetual foreigner stereotype. Even without the presence of war, Asian Americans are seen as the enemy. During the early 1980s recession, two White Detroit autoworkers murdered Vincent Chin, an engineer who was celebrating his upcoming wedding. At the time, anti-Japanese sentiment had risen amongst the success of the Japanese auto industry. Mistaking Vincent Chin for Japanese, they then beat him to death with a baseball bat, a murder perpetrated on the basis of race (W. Wei, 1993). The two White men were sentenced to probation and a $3,000 fine, a punishment so light that it was dubbed the "$3,000 license to kill" an Asian American (Newsletter, 1983). This injustice would lay the grounds for the foundation of the

Asian American pan-ethnic movement and the spur of Asian American psychological research. Most recently, examples of the perpetual foreigner stereotype were seen in the increased acts of violence against Asian Americans during the COVID-19 outbreak (Tessler et al., 2020). This outbreak highlighted long standing negative perceptions of Asian Americans as harbingers of disease, functioning as a reiteration of the "yellow peril." While these events may not be directly related to the focus of the paper, it is critical that members within and outside of the Asian American community recognize the origins of the Asian American movement, how it is related to the perpetual foreigner stereotype, and how this impacts the violence of today.

Past research on the perpetual foreigner stereotype is limited and focuses largely on well-being outcomes. Further, little research has examined the actual internalization of the stereotype within Asian Americans. In a study examining participant awareness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype, Huynh (2011) found that Asian American awareness of the stereotype was a significant predictor of conflict between their ethnic and American identity and lower sense of belonging in the U.S., even while controlling for perceived discrimination. Further, awareness of the stereotype was associated with lower hope and life satisfaction for Asian Americans. This finding suggests that being perceived as a foreigner when one identifies as American can be detrimental to one's psychological adjustment. This is further supported by research examining the impact of being objectified as a foreigner. In a daily diary study by Ong and colleagues (2013), being treated and objectified as a perpetual foreigner was found to be the most common form of racial microaggression discrimination reported by Asian Americans.

Asian Americans who experience foreigner objectification are also more likely to experience increased depressive symptoms, anxiety, and physical aggression (Juang et al., 2016). In a study examining identity denial, which occurs when an individual is not recognized as being

a part of their significant in-group, Asian Americans indicated being *seen* as less American than others, despite not feeling any less (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). The perpetual foreigner stereotype may be especially problematic for U.S. born Asian Americans, as indicated by generational differences in how second and first-generation Asians react to the stereotype. For example, research has found that experiences with foreigner objectification is correlated with less life satisfaction, lower self-esteem, more depressive symptoms, and feelings of anger and offense, but only for U.S. born Asian Americans (Armenta et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2013). In summary, past research indicates that Asian Americans are keenly aware that others may view them as a perpetual foreigner, report that foreigner objectification is their most experienced racial microaggression, and negatively react to the stereotype. Despite the negative effect of the perpetual foreigner stereotype on psychological well-being and racial/ethnic identity within Asian Americans, especially for those who were born in the U.S., little focus has been paid to how the internalization of the stereotype impacts perceptions of those outside of their racial group.

The perpetual foreigner stereotype is posited on the understanding of in-groups vs. outgroups, which may exacerbate racial othering. Past research supports that Asian Americans oftentimes face microinvalidation of their American identity and negative emotions are elicited from this invalidation. However, it is unclear how Asian Americans contend with this invalidation and how this impacts the way they view others. There is some research to support that Asian Americans may distance themselves from and victimize other Asian Americans who are less accultured in a reactionary attempt to protect themselves from further discrimination by taking on oppressive beliefs (Pyke & Dang, 2003). For example, in one of the few studies on perpetual foreigner internalized racism, Pyke and Dang (2003) found that some Asian Americans

distinguished themselves from first-generation or international Asians by utilizing anti-immigrant terminology (e.g., fresh off the boat), mocking Asian accents, or by changing their appearance to look more "White." If some Asian Americans internalize the perpetual foreigner stereotype and engage in intraracial othering behaviors, then they may also engage in forms of interracial othering.

Throughout U.S. history, racial debate has centered on the Black vs. White binary, which restricts the American identity to be understood through the lens of Blackness or Whiteness. Past research supports this notion, with many Asian Americans internalizing the belief that they are not "real Americans" like Black and White people are (Tuan, 1998; N.-W. A. Wong, 2010). The position of Asian Americans outside of this binary inherently pits their interests in conflict with Black and White people. As noted previously, Asian and Black Americans, because of their positioning relative to White people in U.S. society, invariably compete for the privileges that are ascribed to White people. In turn, this can reinforce defensive othering by Asian Americans if they assume that Black Americans may also internalize the perpetual foreigner stereotype, as perpetuated by White supremacy. Evidence of this defensive othering by Asian Americans may influence perceptions of anti-Blackness, and by extension, symbolic racism, and support for BLM. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 3: The internalization of the perpetual foreigner stereotype will predict support of Black Lives Matter.

Hypothesis 4: The internalization of the perpetual foreigner stereotype will predict endorsement of symbolic racism.

Asian American Social Dominance Orientation

Social dominance orientation (SDO) may help in explaining why internalized racism can predict negative outgroup perceptions. SDO is generally defined as an individual's orientation in viewing the world in a non-egalitarian, hierarchical structure where social groups must compete for resources and power (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). In turn, SDO informs ideological attitudes that denote a competitive desire to maintain ingroup dominance and superiority. Empirical research has demonstrated that SDO is consistently linked with intergroup attitudes that contribute to prejudiced views that exacerbate group-based dominance hierarchies, such as White supremacy and sexism (Kteily et al., 2011). Further, SDO is linked with belief in ideologies that perpetuate anti-Black racism, biological determinism and social Darwinism, as well as meritocratic ideals (Pratto et al., 1994). SDO also predicts negative attitudes and less support of social policies and programs that mitigate social inequality (e.g., affirmative action) (Ho et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 1994). A study by Duckitt and Sibley (2007) found that SDO was also significantly associated with negative perceptions of those who cause disagreement or disunity, protesters, and feminists. Additionally, past research has indicated that underlying SDO is the perception of actual or perceived threat to one's intergroup status (Schmitt et al., 2003). According to Schmitt and colleagues (2003), individuals tend to score high on SDO when inequality is beneficial in maintaining their ingroup's power status and score low on SDO when there is no presence of a threat. In addition, SDO may be enhanced when the inner group's well-being is threatened by competing out-group interests. Individuals may perceive outgroup members as a threat regardless of if their group is seen as high-status or low-status. Intergroup threat and social identity theorists have also found that in the presence of a threat, individuals who highly identify with their social identity group are more likely to feel in-group favoritism,

view their in-group as distinct from out-groups, and may subjugate outer group members more than those who identify less with their group (Branscombe et al., 1999; Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Ellemers et al., 2002; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

According to social dominance theory, individuals who are members of a high-status group are more likely to rationalize and justify their privilege. Empirical research has demonstrated that across racial groups, there is agreement in a distinct racial hierarchy, with Whites at the top, followed by Asian Americans, and Latino/Latinas and Blacks occupying the bottom (Kahn et al., 2009; Sidanius et al., 2000). Further, research has found that individuals who are part of high-status groups are more likely to hold higher levels of SDO than members of lower-status groups (e.g., White Americans endorse SDO more than Black Americans) (Sidanius et al., 2000). Most research examining SDO has either only examined White Americans/Europeans (e.g., Cohrs & Asbrock, 2009; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Ho et al., 2015; Kteily et al., 2011) or used an aggregate sample including diverse racial identities (e.g., Levin et al., 2002; Morrison & Ybarra, 2008; Sanders & Mahalingam, 2012). A few studies have focused on SDO within Black Americans (e.g., Holt & Sweitzer, 2020; Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Rabinowitz, 1999). Unfortunately, most past research has not a large enough sample size to disaggregate and examine SDO levels within Asian Americans. Thus, more research is needed to better understand how social dominance orientation may influence Asian Americans. According to racial triangulation theory and empirical research stemming from SDO, Asian Americans are positioned above Black but below White in social status (Kahn et al., 2009; Kim, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2000). The model minority promotes the status of Asian Americans, while the perpetual foreigner stereotype ensures that they do not reach the privileged status of White people. It is possible that internalization of these stereotypes may influence how Asian Americans view

society, and their subsequent belief in a just-world or meritocratic society. Thus, Asian Americans via endorsement of stereotypes about their group may engage in social dominance because it benefits their group and social ranking. In turn, past research would suggest that this would garner perceptions of anti-Blackness and less support of social movements that are perceived to incite disunity and a destabilization of the status quo (i.e., Black Lives Matter). However, it is also possible that Asian Americans who reject the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype use this rejection to inform their perspectives on social movements, protests, and challenges to the existing social order. As a result, a lower SDO would likely predict lower levels of symbolic racism and higher support of Black Lives Matter. In summary, SDO may help in explaining why internalized racism would predict perceptions of anti-Blackness. Given this, the following hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis 5: Social dominance orientation will mediate the relationships between the predictors of model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype and the outcomes of symbolic racism and support of Black Lives Matter.

Asian American Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation

To better understand the relationship between internalized racism and interracial othering of Black people, the present study examined ethnic identity and other-group orientation (OGO). A number of studies have indicated that these two cultural variables are highly salient and promote positive well-being and adjustment in young adults (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Scholars note that awareness of oneself as an ethnic or cultural minority group may influence how well an individual understands themselves in the

context of their social-political environment. In turn, this may inform how an individual contends with systemic and institutional oppression (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). While racial and ethnic identity can be defined as separate concepts (Phinney & Ong, 2007), the present study focuses on ethnic identity. The rationale being that, for Asian Americans, race and ethnicity may not be easily disentangled due to the unique socio-cultural history of Asian Americans, particularly for those of third and later generations (Helms & Cook, 1999; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic identity is a dynamic and multidimensional construct, defined as the extent to which an individual feels a sense of self and belonging to an ethnic group (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). According to Phinney (1992), ethnic identity is a function of one's exploration of their ethnic background and commitment towards their ethnic group. A sense of belonging encompasses individual feelings and attachment to their ethnic group. Exploration involves an individual's study of their ethnicity and involves activities such as participating in cultural practices and events, as well as seeking information about the ethnic group's history, values, attitudes, and traditions (Phinney & Ong, 2007). A plethora of research has indicated the importance of ethnic identity for diverse individual's well-being, self-esteem, and academic performance (Smith & Silva, 2011). Research on Asian Americans has demonstrated similar results, indicating positive relationships between ethnic identity and well-being (Nguyen & Wong, 2013). For example, Chae and Foley (2010) found that for Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Korean Americans, ethnic identity was associated with greater well-being as operationalized by positive affective states. Importantly, recent empirical research has focused on ethnic identity as a buffer for negative psychological outcomes following perceived discrimination. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) posits that individuals are motivated to emphasize the positive aspects of their group. Thus, an individual who strongly

identifies with their group and feels positive about their membership is likely to remain committed even after experiences with discrimination. Thus, high ethnic identity may protect individuals from the negative impact of racism and discrimination. While the majority of empirical research examining Asian Americans have supported this notion (D. H. Chae et al., 2008; Choi et al., 2017; Mossakowski, 2003; Yip et al., 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008), others have found no moderation effect (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; R. M. Lee, 2003; I. J. K. Park et al., 2013; Stein et al., 2014). Taken together, more research may be needed on better understanding the role of ethnic identity in race and racism. Of critical note, little research has examined this role in regard to mitigating potential racist perceptions of Black people. In one of the few existing studies of ethnic identity and its effect on racism, Holt and Sweitzer (2020) found that Black ethnic identity predicted attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter movement. However, it is unclear if this relationship would hold for Asian Americans. Thus, more research on ethnic identity and racism is needed.

Other-group orientation refers to the extent to which one interacts with individuals from other ethnic groups and their attitudes toward socializing with them (Phinney, 1992). Individuals with a high OGO are more likely to facilitate interactions and socializations with ethnic out group members. It is theorized that OGO can serve as a protective factor against discrimination when an individual seeks out comfort and support with other ethnic or racial minorities, subsequently promoting a sense of belonging in a culturally diverse society (Phinney, 1992). Akin to ethnic identity, OGO has been correlated with several well-being outcomes, campus connectedness, and academic achievement (French & Chavez, 2010; Guzmán et al., 2005; Zahn, 2009). Within the Asian American community, past research has found that OGO is moderately associated with self-esteem, social connectedness, and a sense of community (R. M. Lee, 2003;

R. M. Lee & Davis III, 2000; Worrell, 2000). For example, Lee (2003) found that OGO mitigated the negative effects of a discriminatory university campus climate on community well-being for Asian American students. However, in a study that examined only Korean Americans as opposed to a pan-ethnic group of Asian Americans, it was found that OGO did not negate the effects of discrimination on depressive, social connectedness, and self-esteem (R. M. Lee, 2005). Given that those with high OGO are more likely to socialize and connect with other ethnic groups, it is possible that OGO may influence relationships between racism and anti-Blackness.

As stated, research has centered on ethnic identity and OGO as a moderator between discrimination and well-being. However, it is unclear how these two typically protective variables may also promote or dissuade an individual from holding racist beliefs against other groups. Both ethnic identity and OGO are contextualized in an in-group vs. out-group mentality. As previously stated, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) notes that once an individual becomes a part of their in-group, they are motivated to achieve and maintain a sense of positive distinctiveness about their group. For those who strongly identify with their ingroup, this may be partially informed by pride in their ethnic group's myth of success in America. Further, given the racial positioning and valorization of Asian Americans above Black people as perpetuated by White supremacy, this may further promote attachment to the "positive" aspects of their ethnic group. In turn, if an individual's belief in the model minority myth is paired with high levels of ethnic identity, this may exacerbate feelings of superiority over Black people and perceptions of anti-Blackness.

On the other hand, as noted in the history section of this paper, a number of Asian Americans have spoken to cross-racial solidarity and knowledge of the civil rights movement in influencing how they contend with racism against Black Americans. It is possible that

individuals with high ethnic identity may also be knowledgeable about their group's history and therefore what it means to be a minority in America, which may promote cross-racial solidarity and sympathy for Black power. Because of this, even if the individual does endorse the model minority myth, their high ethnic identity may lessen the relationship between model minority myth, perpetual foreigner stereotype, and anti-Black sentiment.

Strong identification with one's ethnic/racial group may also promote them to engage in defensive othering as a means of protecting their in-group. Asian Americans may engage in defensive othering if they believe that their in-group has had to fight against the out-group to position themselves as citizens of America. In America, this out-group may mean Black and White people, who are more likely to be seen as American and not foreigners (Tuan, 1998; N.-W. A. Wong, 2010). For Asian Americans who feel that they are forever foreigners, this coupled with high ethnic identity may strengthen defensive othering as operationalized by perceptions of anti-Blackness and feelings of group superiority. On the other hand, it is also possible that knowledge of their group's struggle to gain citizenship rights influences their ethnic pride in a different manner. For individuals who are knowledgeable on their ethnic/racial group's fight for naturalization, they may also be aware of the similar battle fought by Black Americans. In turn, this sense of cross-racial solidarity may inform one's ethnic identity and subsequently weaken the relationship between endorsement of the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes and perceptions of anti-Blackness. Therefore, ethnic identity may moderate how an individual contends with internalized racism (i.e., model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype), which can affect their perceptions of anti-Blackness (i.e., support for BLM and symbolic racism).

Regarding OGO, an Asian American who actively engages with those outside of their ethnic group may feel a sense of connectedness across ethnic/racial lines. In turn, if the individual feels a sense of solidarity with Black people, this may lessen any potentially negative implications of internalized racism. However, it is also possible that Asian Americans who score highly on the OGO measure are only actively engaging with White people, as opposed to people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (R. M. Lee, 2003). In this scenario, it is possible that high levels of engagement with only White people could heighten negative perceptions of Black people and subsequently strengthen the relationship between internalized racism and anti-Blackness. Therefore, OGO may also moderate the relationship between internalized racism and anti-Blackness. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 6: Does ethnic identity moderate the relationship between the predictors of model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype and the outcomes of symbolic racism and support of Black Lives Matter?

Hypothesis 7: Does other-group orientation moderate the relationship between the predictors of model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype and the outcomes of symbolic racism and support of Black Lives Matter?

Method

Participants

Participants included a sample of 186 undergraduate students who indicated they most identify with an Asian American ethnic identity. **S**tudents at a south-central research university were invited to participate in an online study examining student experiences. All participants

recruited were U.S. citizens. Demographic information was collected from self-reported data obtained from an online, longitudinal student achievement study. The analyses utilized data that consisted of multiple cohorts from Fall 2020 to the end of the Spring 2021 semester. The majority of participants identified as female (n = 118, 63.4%) in comparison to those who identified as male (n = 68, 36.6%). The average age of participants was 20 years old. At the first time of measurement, the sample included 14 (7.4%) First Year students, 64 (34.2%) Sophomores, 71 (38.3%) Juniors, and 37 (20.1%) Seniors. The majority of students identified as a second-generation immigrant (i.e., parents immigrated to America) 118 (63.1%), with 22 (12.1%) identifying as a first-generation immigrant, and 12 (6.7%) identifying as a third-generation immigrant (i.e., grandparents immigrated to America). In addition, 22 (11.4%) participants indicated they were not sure of their generation status and 12 (6.7%) respondents did not answer. In terms of race/ethnicity, a large proportion of participants identified as Vietnamese (45%). Approximately 20% (n = 37) of the participants did not report their race/ethnicity. All self-reported participant ethnicities are depicted in Table 1.

Procedures

Participants were recruited via email and invited to take a survey that took approximately 45 minutes to complete. The survey was comprised of three versions, with the first version being an initial one-time assessment of the demographic measures and the following two versions being an assessment of the key study variables. Upon completion of the initial survey, participants were re-recruited each subsequent semester and given an alternate version of the survey until graduation or the discontinuation of school. A total of 5,420 survey responses were collected from Fall 2020 to Spring 2021. To meet the current study requirements, participants

must have answered at least 60% of the questions on the survey and correctly answer 50% or more of the embedded attention-check questions. This reduced the sample size to 4,442. Of these surveys, 1,299 indicated they most identify with an Asian American ethnic identity. Measurement of internalized racism (i.e., Model Minority Myth and Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype) occurred during the Fall 2020 semester. Participants must have also answered questions related to the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype. All other study variables were measured at the same time at least one semester later. Participant moderator and outcome variables were obtained during semesters Spring 2021, Fall 2021, or Spring 2022. Participants must have answered at one initial survey and two follow-up surveys to be included in the sample. These constraints resulted in a final sample size of 186 participants. There was an average of 1.25 semesters between the two measurement occasions of the follow-up surveys. Participants were compensated with a $20 gift card for each survey completed.

Primary Measures

Model Minority Myth. The Model Minority Myth was assessed using an adapted version of an 8-item scale created by Yoo et al. (2015). A 5-point Likert scale which ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) was used. This measure asked participants "In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans)…" Items included "Asian Americans generally perform better on standardized exams (i.e. SAT) because they value academic achievement more" or "Asian Americans are more likely to be good at math and science." Higher scores indicate the participants endorses the Asian American model minority myth to a higher extent. This scale demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .72$).

Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype. The extent to which participants endorsed the Asian Perpetual Foreigner stereotype was assessed using a 6-item measure created by Armenta et al. (2014). This measure used a 5-point Likert scale which ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Items included "Asian Americans do not fit what people have in mind when they think of a typical American" and "Due to their physical appearance, people often assume Asian Americans are foreigners." Higher scores indicate that participants endorse the notion that Asian American peoples are viewed as perpetual foreigners. This scale demonstrated good reliability (α= .80).

Social Dominance Orientation. Social dominance orientation was measured using Pratto et al.'s (1994) social dominance orientation (SDO) scale. The scale contains 15 items which relate to one's denigration of other social groups. The questions do not contain information pertaining to exactly which social group (e.g., racial, religious, or gender groups) a respondent is supposed to consider. Rather, questions pertained more to support for social hierarchies in general. Response options range on a 1 to 7 scale from feeling "Very Negative" to "Very Positive." Eight of the 15 items in the scale were reverse-coded so that larger values indicated greater SDO. Example items include "Some groups are simply inferior to other groups" and "to get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups." This scale demonstrated excellent reliability (α = .93).

Ethnic Identity. Ethnic identity for all participants was assessed using The Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Roberts et al., 1999). This measure contained 12 items rated on a 1-4 Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. An example items is "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to." This scale demonstrated excellent reliability (α = .91).

Other Group Orientation. Other group orientation was assessed utilizing six items from the MEIM (Roberts et al., 1999). This measure contains 6 items rated on a 1 to 4 Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Sample items include "I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own" and "I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own." This scale demonstrated acceptable reliability (α= .71).

Symbolic Racism. Symbolic Racism was assessed utilizing the Sears and Henry (2003) origins of symbolic racism scale. The measure contains 7 items rated on a 1 to 5 scale, from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Items included "Discrimination against Black peoples is no longer a problem in the United States" and "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Black peoples would only try harder they could be just as well off as other groups." This scale demonstrated good reliability (α= .89).

Support for Black Lives Matter. Support for Black Lives Matter was assessed using a 6-item scale. Three of the items were reverse coded. We constructed this scale to assess respondents' agreement with the Black Lives Matter movement. Example items included asking for participants agreement that Black Lives Matter "build connections between Black people and allies to fight anti-Black racism" and "is a social justice movement addressing the issues of racial inequality." Examples of reverse coded items included asking participants to indicate their agreement that Black Lives Matter "perpetuates racism against White people" and "is a hate group that advocates violence and hostility." This scale demonstrated good reliability (α= .88).

Control Measures

Demographic Variables. Demographic variables were obtained, including self-reported ethnicity, age, gender identity, and immigration generation status. Gender identity was coded as 0 = Male, 1 = Female. Immigration generation status was measured by asking participants "What

is your immigration generation status?" Responses to the generational status question included "I am a first-generation immigrant," "I am a second-generation-immigrant," "I am a third-generation immigrant," and "I am not sure/not applicable." Immigration status was coded as 1 = First-Generation Immigrant, 2 = Second-Generation Immigrant, and 3 = Third-Generation Immigrant.

Results

Data Screening

Prior to analyses, data was examined for missing data and violations of normality. R Studio was used to run correlations, scale reliability metrics, and descriptive statistics (R Core Team, 2013). Means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values, and the percentage of missing data for each measure are presented in Table 2. Data that is missing completely at random (MCAR) indicates the probability of missingness is independent of the data. Missing data are missing at random (MAR) if the probability of missingness is independent of the observed data. MCAR is generally unrealistic, however Little's MCAR test can be utilized to provide indirect evidence that the data is MAR. Examination of the Little's MCAR test indicated that the patterns of missing data were not problematic $\chi 2 = 58.81$, $p > .05$. Given the non-significance of Little's MCAR test, data analyses presumed with an assumption that the data is MAR. Variables were considered non-normal if their values of absolute skew were < 3 and absolute kurtosis were < 10 (Weston & Gore Jr, 2006). Some of the variables examined contained levels of skewness or kurtosis that indicated slight non-normality. Due to the non-normality of the sample and the presence of missing data, all analyses were conducted utilizing maximum likelihood estimation methods with robust standard errors (MLR). Further, full

information maximum likelihood (FIML) was utilized to handle the missing data because it has shown robustness to non-normal missing data for both multivariate normal and non-normal samples (Collins et al., 2001; Enders & Bandalos, 2001; Meng, 1994; Schafer, 2003). Further, FIML is oftentimes utilized in SEM techniques when the data is MAR (Collins et al., 2001; Enders & Bandalos, 2001; Yuan et al., 2012).

Multicollinearity was also examined given the close theoretical relationship between the independent variables (i.e., Model Minority Myth and Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype). It is critical to check for Multicollinearity because it can cause inflated regression coefficients and can limit the size of the R-squared contribution of each predictor variable. To check for multicollinearity, inter-variable correlations and VIF values were examined. VIF values > 10 paired with significant predictor variable correlations exceeding .80 indicate a high likelihood of multicollinearity occurring (Hair et al., 2010). Examination of collinearity found that no VIF values exceeded > 1.5., indicating that multicollinearity is likely not occurring. Further, no correlation coefficients between the predictor variables exceeded .80. Thus, it appears that multicollinearity was not present and model analyses continued. The inter-variable correlations are located in Table 3.

Model Analysis

The hypothesized model (see Figure 1) was tested using path analysis in Mplus Version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2018). Model fit was examined utilizing the following goodness of fit indicators: $\chi 2$, Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Bentler and Bonett (1980) recommend that CFI and TLI values above ≥ .90 indicate a good fit, whereas

above ≥ .95 indicates a very good fit of the model to the data (Bentler & Bonett, 1980). RMSEA values ≤ .05 indicate very good fit, whereas ≤ .10 indicate good fit (Kline, 2015; Steiger, 1990, 1990). A SRMR value less than .08 is generally indicative of good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). To control for the impact of potential confounding effects, gender and immigration generation status were controlled for across all analyses.

The hypothesized model demonstrated excellent fit $\chi 2(6, N = 186) = 9.48, p > 0.05$; RMSEA = .06 (.00, .14); CFI = .97; TLI = .92; SRMR = .05. Given the excellent fit, no adjustments were made based on modification indices. For model parsimony, paths were removed from analyses if they did no not meet the minimum criteria of $|\beta| < .05$ (Wuensch, 2016). The finalized model also demonstrated excellent fit $\chi 2(7, N = 186) = 9.18, p > 0.05$; RMSEA = .05 (.00, .11); CFI = .98; TLI = .95; SRMR = .05. The final model accounted for 37.4% of the variance in Symbolic Racism and 28.9% of the variance in support of Black Lives Matter. The final model with significant standardized path coefficients is shown in Figure 2.

Main Analyses

All parameter estimates can be found in Table 4. As previously noted, the measurement of the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype occurred during the Fall 2020 semester. Measurement of the support of BLM, symbolic racism, social dominance orientation, and ethnic identity occurred at least one semester later, during the Spring 2021, Fall 2021, or Spring 2022 semester. Hypothesis 1 and 2 examined if the internalization of the model minority myth predicts support of Black Lives Matter and endorsement of symbolic racism. Hypothesis 1 was not supported, with no significant predictive relationship between the model minority myth and symbolic racism ($p > .05$). Hypothesis 2 was supported ($\beta = -16.$, $p < .05$), with higher

endorsement of the model minority myth significantly predicting lower support of BLM. Hypotheses 3 and 4 proposed that the internalization of the perpetual foreigner stereotype would be predictive of support for Black Lives Matter and endorsement of symbolic racism. The relationship between the perpetual foreigner stereotype and support of BLM was marginally significant, ($\beta = .15$, $p = .051$), thus Hypothesis 3 was partially supported. However, perpetual foreigner stereotype did not predict levels of symbolic racism ($p > .05$). Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Hypothesis 5 examined if social dominance orientation will mediate the relationship between the predictor (i.e., model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype) and outcome variables (symbolic racism and support of BLM). Mediation analyses were not conducted because neither the model minority myth nor the perpetual foreigner stereotype were predictive of social dominance orientation.

Hypotheses 6 (ethnic identity) and 7 (other-group orientation) proposed that ethnic identity and other-group orientation would moderate the relationship between the predictor and outcome variables. A total of eight moderation tests were run to determine if these moderators would impact the relationships between model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype and symbolic racism and support of BLM. All moderator analyses included both predictors, and gender and immigration generation status were included as control variables. Prior to moderation analyses, the moderator and independent variable were standardized. Simple slopes were calculated by examining the predictor at low, medium, and high levels of the moderator variable (1 SD below the mean, at the mean, and 1 SD above the mean, respectively). The first moderation test examined if ethnic identity would moderate the relationship between model minority myth and support of BLM. There was a significant interaction found by support of

ethnic identity on model minority myth and support of Black Lives Matter, (b = -.12, CI [-.17, -.07], p < .01), suggesting that the effect of endorsement of the model minority myth on support of BLM depended on levels of ethnic identity. As depicted in Figure 3, simple slope analyses revealed that the relationship between model minority myth and support for BLM was negative and significant at all levels of ethnic identity, but the model minority myth was more strongly related to support of BLM for high levels of ethnic identity (b = -.41, CI [-.43, -.41], p < .01), than for medium (b = -.30, CI [-031, -.28], p < .01) or low levels of ethnic identity (b = -.20, CI [-.22, -.19], p < .01). Thus, the relationship between model minority myth and support of BLM was negative and significant at all levels of ethnic identity. The second moderation test examined if ethnic identity moderates the relationship between model minority myth and symbolic racism. A significant interaction was found (b = -.09, CI [-0.16, -.07], p < .05). Further simple slope analyses found that for those with medium (b = .23, CI [.01, .45], p < .05) and high (b =.31, CI [.03, .58], p < .05) levels of ethnic identity, the relationship between model minority myth and symbolic racism was significant and positive. However, this relationship was not significant when the level of ethnic identity was low (b =.15, CI [-.01, .31], p = .07). In other words, the relationship between endorsement of the model minority myth and symbolic racism was positive and significant when levels of ethnic identity were medium and high, but this relationship did not hold for those with low levels of ethnic identity. The second moderation plot can be found in Figure 4.

The third moderation test examined if participant levels of other group orientation would moderate the relationship between the model minority myth and support of BLM. A significant interaction effect was found by other group orientation on model minority myth and support of BLM (b = -.14, CI [-.20, -.08], p < .01). Simple slope tests demonstrated that the relationship

between model minority myth and support of BLM was significant and negative at all levels of other-group orientation; however, this relationship was stronger for those with high levels (b = -.4, CI [-.6, -.2], $p < .01$) of OGO in comparison to those with medium (b = -.33, CI [-.5, -.16], $p < .01$) and low levels (b = -.26, CI [-.4, -.11], $p < .01$). Thus, the relationship between model minority myth and support of BLM was negative and significant at all levels of other-group orientation. The interaction plot between other-group orientation on model minority myth and support of BLM is in Figure 5. The fourth moderation test examined if levels of other group orientation would moderate the relationship between the model minority myth and symbolic racism. No significant interaction was found (b = .05, CI [-.03, .13], p = .22). Therefore, other group orientation does not moderate the relationship between internalization of the model minority myth and endorsement of symbolic racist beliefs. Taken together, results of the moderation analyses indicate partial support of Hypothesis 6. No support was found for Hypothesis 7. Ethnic identity was not found to moderate the relationships between perpetual foreigner stereotype and support of Black Lives Matter (b = .04, CI [-.02, .1], p = .17) and beliefs of symbolic racism (b = .00, CI [-.07, .07], p = .34). Similarly, other-group orientation was not found to moderate the relationships between perpetual foreigner stereotype and support of BLM (b = .03, CI [-.03, .1], p = .29) and symbolic racism (b = -.03, CI [-.1, .04], p = .36). Overall, there is mixed support of the moderating effect of ethnic identity and other-group orientation on the relationship between Asian American internalized racism and anti-Black sentiment**.**

Discussion

The present effort is one of the first to examine how the internalization of racial stereotypes within Asian Americans predicts perceptions of anti-Blackness. Past scholars contend that the Asian American identity is informed by the racial triangulation and racial positioning of Asian Americans between Black and White peoples. More specifically, the valorization and civic ostracization of Asian Americans inherently pits their group interests in conflict with Black people. Utilizing the frameworks of racial triangulation theory, Asian critical race theory, and social identity theory, the current study proposed that the internalization of racism (e.g., internalization of the Model Minority Myth or Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype) would predict endorsement of symbolic racism and support of BLM. The mediating role of social dominance orientation and the moderating role of ethnic identity and other-group orientation were also explored. Results from the path analysis conducted support the claim that the internalization of racism within Asian Americans does influence some perceptions of anti-Blackness. Overall, the proposed model explained 37.4% of the variance in Symbolic Racism and 28.9% of the variance in support of BLM.

Analyses related to the model minority myth found that higher endorsement of the myth predicted lower support of BLM. In other words, the more an individual identifies as being the model minority, the less likely they are to support the BLM movement. This result was unsurprising considering proponents of the model minority myth inherently believe in a meritocratic society and BLM challenges the idea that society is already equitable, and merit based. In turn, intergroup-threat theory posits that this challenge of the current social order and advocation for social reform may be perceived as a threat if Asian Americans believe it is in violation of hard-working values. The implication being that others can also succeed if Asian Americans did, and that racism does not exist because otherwise it would have barred them from

their respective success. This perceived threat, real or symbolic, may then influence an adaptive response where Asian Americans "defensively other" Black advocacy groups in an attempt to protect the values of their own group (as ascribed by the White elite) and maintain the status quo (Pyke, 2010; Riek et al., 2006).

This notion is further supported by the significant moderation of ethnic identity on the relationship between model minority myth and support of BLM. While a significant moderation effect was found at all levels of ethnic identity, its effect was greatest for those who hold high levels of ethnic identity. In other words, those who score highly in ethnic identity, but who have low levels of model minority myth endorsement, have more support of BLM. On the other hand, those with high levels of ethnic identity and high support of the model minority myth are the least likely to support BLM. Thus, for those who already endorse the model minority myth, higher ethnic identity can exacerbate negative feelings towards BLM. This may be because for those who highly endorse the model minority myth, this can also create feelings of pride in their ethnic group, especially considering the model minority myth is a seemingly positive stereotype. These feelings of pride in both the model minority myth and their ethnic group may strengthen perceptions of an in-group vs. out-group mentality, evoking negative feelings towards groups who disrupt the perceived notion that Asian Americans have earned the model minority status through unassisted hard work.

An interaction effect was also found of other-group orientation on the relationship between model minority myth and support of BLM. In other words, high willingness and enjoyment of socializing with those outside their ethnic group (i.e., other-group orientation) paired with high levels of internalization of the model minority myth is associated with lower support of BLM. Again, for Asian Americans who highly endorse the model minority myth, they

subsequently believe in a just world society where people get what they deserve. Individuals who believe in this just world derive comfort from this perspective (Hafer & Begue, 2005). This comfort in their worldview may help individuals feel more open and confident towards socializing with out-group members. However, openness to intergroup contact does not necessarily mean meaningful intergroup interactions are occurring. In fact, past research has found that self-disclosure with out-group members is a key factor in reducing bias towards out-group members (Ensari & Miller, 2002; Turner & Feddes, 2011). This disclosure reduces the threatening aspects of interacting with those out-group members because it implies trust and psychological safety between the members, which opens the conversation to discuss more culturally sensitive topics such as systemic racism (Rothbart & John, 1985). For individuals who strongly buy into the social positioning of Asian Americans in a stratified space above other racial minorities, they may be less open to conversations that contradict their world view (confirmation bias) and may not be self-disclosing and engaging in meaningful conversations with outgroup members. Subsequently, this lack of cross-ethnic conversations and potential lack of empathy and understanding of those outside their ethnic group could weaken their support of BLM, regardless of how open and willing they are to engage with out-group members. Alternatively, Asian Americans who are not rigid in their worldview and who have high levels of other-group orientation may be more open to conversations that challenge the current social hierarchy. Despite this interaction effect, it is also critical to note that the other-group orientation scale is an assessment of attitudes towards anyone outside one's own ethnic group. As such, it is possible that these Asian Americans are actively engaged with the White majority group, where they are routinely exposed to elements of White Supremacy, marginalization, and subliminal racial triangulations, which could reinforce anti-Black sentiment. Thus, the moderating effect of

other-group orientation on the relationship between model minority myth and support of BLM should be interpreted with caution.

Initial examination of the effect of symbolic racism on the internalization of the model minority myth found no relationship. However, including ethnic identity as a moderator in the model revealed more nuanced findings. More specifically, for those with low ethnic identity, no relationship was found between the model minority myth and symbolic racism. Thus, for those who are comparatively low in their ethnic identity, the contributory effect of the model minority myth endorsement on symbolic racism is negligible. However, for those with average and high levels of ethnic identity, the relationship between model minority myth endorsement and symbolic racism was significant and positive. Those with average and high ethnic identity and high levels of the model minority myth were even more likely to hold symbolic racist beliefs towards Black people. Thus, while ethnic identity has often been shown to be a protective factor against the negative effects of discrimination (D. H. Chae et al., 2008; Choi et al., 2017; Mossakowski, 2003; Yip et al., 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008), it may also promote discriminatory beliefs against those outside of their group when paired with problematic perspectives (i.e., belief in the model minority myth). This is somewhat at odds with past research suggesting that higher ethnic identity influences more positive intergroup attitudes (Phinney et al., 2007). However, it is also important to note that past research has often utilized an individual's openness to and enjoyment of spending time with other ethnic groups as an indicator of positive intergroup attitudes (i.e., other-group orientation). Thus, while past research has shown that Asian Americans with a high ethnic identity endorse more willingness to interact and more enjoyment of interacting with those outside their racial/ethnic group than those with low ethnic identity, this does not necessarily mean they do not hold some negative beliefs of those outside of their group.

In fact, the present effort suggests that high ethnic identity paired with internalized racist beliefs (model minority myth) supports negative intergroup attitudes, or more specifically, anti-Blackness. This points to the need to further investigate the nuances of the effect of ethnic identity and how ethnic pride may inform racist beliefs.

There was marginal support to suggest that internalization of the perpetual foreigner stereotype predicts sentiments of anti-Blackness. The relationship between perpetual foreigner stereotype and support of BLM was marginally significant ($\beta = .15$, $p = .051$), with higher feelings of perpetual foreignness predicting higher support of BLM. This result may be understood within the framework of social positioning and the similar social, economic, and political struggle that other subgroups (Black people and Asian Americans) experience relative to the dominant group (White people). While pit in direct competition, it may be that Asian Americans and Black Americans recognize the inequitable sociopolitical environment in which both groups exist within and that it is this "foreignness", this rejection from engaging in White society, that unifies their intergroup experiences. In other words, the alienation of out-group members from the White majority may serve as a unification between them. This is evident in the outspoken advocates of Asian American and Black American harmony during the Flatbush Riots and LA Riots, who spoke out against the mainstream media at the time. Throughout the 20th and 21st century, there has been extensive evidence of Asian and Black community leaders that point to White systemic oppression as the perpetrator of current social, political, and economic discrimination. However, little empirical research has explored this proposition. Future research should explore if feelings of being an out-group member can influence perceptions of solidarity with others who also encounter similar experiences. Lastly, it should be noted that this relationship was small and only marginally significant, and thus may be trivial.

Unexpectedly, the relationship between perpetual foreigner stereotype and symbolic racism was not significant. Based on social identity theory, it was initially proposed that those who feel like a member of an outgroup would be more salient of their outgroup identity and exhibit a greater negative response to perceived threats (i.e., threat to the social hierarchy). This perceived threat to the privileges and resources that Asian Americans had to work hard to get despite their foreignness could influence perceptions of anti-Blackness (i.e., such as feeling social justice groups are unjust); however, this relationship was not supported. This may be in part explained by the study population, of which 36% identified as Vietnamese. It is important to note that the present study occurred in a city where following the Vietnam War, a large influx of Vietnamese refugees arrived. These refugees would go on to establish Little Saigon, a community for Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese Americans (Oklahoma Historical Society, 2023). Individuals may feel that their group faces discrimination due to their perpetual foreigner status, but they may not personally feel subject to those discriminatory experiences. This is also referred to as the personal/group discrimination discrepancy (PGDD), which is the tendency for disadvantaged group members to report higher levels of discrimination against their group in general than against themselves personally as a member of said group (Taylor et al., 1990). Past research has supported that Asian Americans do report greater discrimination towards their own group than toward themselves, and personally experienced discrimination most strongly predicts negative psychological outcomes (R. M. Lee, 2003). As such, a Vietnamese individual may feel comfortable in their racial group and recognize discrimination facing their in-group as a whole (via media, anecdotal evidence, etc.), without personally experiencing the negative effects of foreignness due to the size and establishment of their in-group as a fixture of the city. Given that Vietnamese individuals were the largest ethnic group in the sample, this may have biased the

current study's findings. Since the perpetual foreigner stereotype has been noted as the most experienced form of racial discrimination (A. D. Ong et al., 2013), further investigation is needed to better understand the influence of perpetual foreigner stereotype on inter-group relations, and more specifically, anti-Blackness.

Contrary to what was proposed, there was no significant relationship between the endorsement of the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner stereotype with social dominance orientation (SDO). According to social dominance orientation, as members of the second highest status group, Asian American should be more likely to endorse and rationalize their privilege and exhibit high levels of SDO out of a need for self-preservation (Kahn et al., 2009; Sidanius et al., 2000). However, the present study sample of Asian Americans scored low on the SDO measure, with a mean of 1.6 (SD = .78) on a 5-point scale. This may be because personal endorsement of the model minority myth and its implications does not necessitate that success be achieved at the expense of others, be it individuals or groups. It is possible that the model minority internalization may actually work in opposition to SDO, as it is premeditated on success as a function of personal merit and working hard, and not by stepping on other groups to get ahead. For individuals who are keenly aware of their perpetual foreigner status, this may inhibit predispositions to social dominance orientation, as these individuals may not feel like they have the privileges or status that necessitate protecting their in-group interests. Lastly, given the low variance in the SDO measure, the lack of significant findings is unsurprising.

While other-group orientation did moderate the relationship between the internalization of the model minority myth and support of BLM, no moderation effect was found with symbolic racism. This may indicate that identification with one's own ethnic group is a much more salient predictor of perceptions of out-group members, as opposed to just openness and enjoyment of

engaging with out-group members. Similarly, ethnic identity and other-group orientation did not moderate the relationships between perpetual foreigner stereotype, support of BLM, and symbolic racism. It is possible that while the perpetual foreigner stereotype has been shown to influence how Asian Americans feel about themselves, it may not influence how they specifically feel towards Black people. As being White is synonymous with being American, it is likely that White people are the most likely to subjugate Asian Americans as a foreigner (F. Wu, 2002). This paints a clearer image of who is to blame for their experiences of perpetual foreignness, whereas it is much less clear for the model minority myth. Thus, Asian Americans endorsement of perpetual foreignness may not influence their perceptions of Black people and may only influence perceptions of White people. Further research is needed to investigate this relationship.

Limitations

There were several limitations related to the scope and methodology of the present effort. As depicted in Table 1, out of the 149 participants who reported their ethnic group affiliation, 78% of responses were from either Southeast or South Asians. The experiences of Southeast and South Asian participants may not generalize to the broader Asian American experience, which is predominantly influenced by East Asian voices and culture (i.e., Japanese, Chinese, and Korean). Further, experiences with the model minority myth, particularly for Vietnamese Americans, may be largely negative and at odds with stereotypes that Southeast Asians are low-achieving high school dropouts, gangsters, and dependent on welfare (Ngo, 2006; Ngo & Lee, 2007). An additional limitation involves the potential influence of history effects. Measurement of the model minority myth and perpetual foreigner occurred during the Fall 2020 semester, the year in

which Black Lives Matter became a world-wide movement (Westerman et al., 2020). It is also important to note that individuals in the study may have been keenly aware of their status as a foreigner, due to the sharp rise in anti-Asian violence since the outbreak of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic in 2019 (Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism, 2021). These global experiences related to race, and racism may have significantly influenced how Asian Americans contend with their own identity and racial injustice. Social desirability bias may have also biased responses on the anti-Blackness measures, particularly for symbolic racism. Given that people tend to present themselves in a positive light, they may respond more favorably toward other racial/ethnic groups because they feel pressure to appear unprejudiced, especially in a college environment (Janus, 2010; Krysan, 1998). An additional limitation is the lack of control for the influence of political orientation on the relationships between the key study variables. Past research has noted the influence of Asian American political affiliation on anti-Black sentiment (Tokeshi, 2021). It is possible that political views could have also influenced how Asian Americans view those within and outside their racial group.

Another important limitation to note is that the experiences of Asian Americans at a south-central university may significantly differ from those who grew in in a majority Asian American population, such as California. Thus, the generalizability of the results should be considered with caution. As previously mentioned, a limitation of the other-group orientation measure is that it does not specify what ethnic groups the individual interacts with. It is unclear which ethnic groups were considered when answering items related to other-group orientation. It is possible that the Asian Americans used White people (the majority group at the university from which the sample was obtained) as their frame of reference when answering if they interact with those outside their group. For individuals at a university where White is not the majority,

their responses may differ. Lastly, analyses were conducted utilizing path analysis, which does not account for measurement errors that could over-estimate or under-estimate the path coefficients. Regardless of the study limitations, the present investigation contributes to the rapidly growing Asian American psychological literature by investigating the influence of internalization of racism within Asian Americans on perceptions of anti-Blackness.

Future Research Directions

Future research should continue to examine the influence of White supremacy and American racist ideologies on the racialized experiences of Asian Americans. How Asian Americans contend with anti-Black sentiment may vary dependent on their ethnicity and a host of other sociocultural factors, such as personal experiences with discrimination, American identity, socioeconomic status, and political views. Further, much more research is needed on Asian American perceptions of cross-racial solidarity with other racial minority groups. While the present effort aims to bring more representation of the Asian American experience, this goal is partially hindered by sample size restrictions which prevented disaggregation of the data by ethnic group. Thus, to better understand the racialized experiences of Asian Americans, future research should draw from larger and more representative samples of Asian American ethnic groups within the United States. For example, more research is needed on South Asian and Southeast Asian Americans, multi-racial/bi-cultural Asian Americans, and Asian Americans who hold other intersecting marginalized identities such as identifying as part of the LGBTQ2S+ community. The current study focused on pan-ethnic identification to center the conversation on how White supremacy shapes Asian American lives. Past research has found differentiating effects of the influence of racial identity (Asian American) versus ethnic identity (Japanese American) on Asian American well-being (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010). Thus, future research should

attempt to differentiate the ethnic and racial identity, as it is possible they may differentially influence anti-Black perspectives. Future research should also incorporate a mixed-methods design, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data to ensure Asian American people's voices in data and promote diverse narratives. Given that roughly only a third of the variance was explained in perceptions of anti-Blackness, future research should also examine other factors that could impact inter-group relations. Lastly, longitudinal research should be conducted to explore if Asian American attitudes of Anti-Blackness changes over time.

Conclusions

The present study is one of the first to examine how the internalization of racial stereotypes within Asian Americans influence perceptions of anti-Blackness. Overall support was found for the notion that internalized racism creates competition in those fighting to protect themselves from disadvantage and hold onto their privileges, by promoting behaviors and beliefs that distance and other Black people. More specifically, higher endorsement of the model minority myth predicted lower support of BLM. Further, endorsement of Asian Americans as a perpetual foreigner was marginally, positively related to support of BLM. Moderation analyses indicate the nuanced influence of ethnic identity on supporting or not supporting racist ideologies. For example, for Asian Americans with average and high levels of ethnic identity, this significantly strengthened the relationship between model minority myth and symbolic racism; however, this effect did not hold for those with low levels of ethnic identity. Future research should continue to collect diverse, representative samples of Asian Americans to better understand how racist in-group perceptions influences out-group and anti-Black sentiment. In

conclusion, the present effort highlights the ways in which White Supremacy may manifest itself in influencing the Asian American experience and upholding racism.

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Table 1

List of Participants' Self-Reported Ethnicities

Ethnicity	Count
Vietnamese	67
Indian	23
Chinese	19
Filipino	16
Korean	6
Japanese	5
Pakistani	5
Taiwanese	3
Bangladeshi	1
Burmese	1
Hmong	1
Indonesian	1
Nepali	1

Note. The total number of participants who reported their ethnic group affiliation was $n = 149$. 37 (20%) participants did not report their ethnicity.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for all Study Variables

Measure	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Skewness	Kurtosis	Percentage of Missing Data
Model Minority Myth	2.93	.65	1	5	-1.58	.77	0%
PFS	3.67	.76	1	5	-1.71	-1.44	0%
MEIM	3.42	.79	1	4	-3.47	1.83	0%
OGO	3.38	.51	1	4	.93	-3.24	0%
SDO	1.61	.78	1	5	3.33	-1.89	17.32%
Symbolic Racism	1.98	.85	1	5	.58	-2.42	17.32%
Support of BLM	4.06	.91	1	5	-2.80	-1.11	0%

Note. N sizes ranged from 149 - 186. PFS = Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype, MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity, OGO = Other-Group Orientation, SDO = Social Dominance Orientation, and Support of BLM = Support of Black Lives Matter.

Table 3

Correlation coefficients

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Model Minority Myth	1								
2. PFS	-.21*	1							
3. MEIM	-.04	.14	1						
4. OGO	-.02	.12	-.50**	1					
5. SDO	-.11	-.13	-.39**	-.38**	1				
6. Symbolic Racism	.15	-.21**	.27**	-.35**	.59*	1			
7. Support of BLM	-.28**	.29**	.34**	.28**	-.38**	-.60**	1		
8. Gender	-.21*	.36**	.04	.04	-.05	.17	.32**	1	
9. Immigration Gen.	-.08	.01	.03	.02	-.09	-.06	.12	.19*	1

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. PFS = Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype, MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity, OGO = Other-Group Orientation, SDO = Social Dominance Orientation, and Support of BLM = Support of Black Lives Matter. Gender was coded as 0 = Male, 1 = Female. Immigration status was coded as 1 = First-Generation Immigrant, 2 = Second-Generation Immigrant, and 3 = Third-Generation Immigrant.

Table 4

Parameter estimates

Variable	*β*	*SE*
Symbolic Racism		
Model Minority Myth	.05	.08
Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype	-.07	.08
Social Dominance Orientation	.57**	.06
Gender	-.10*	.08
Immigration Generation Status	.00	.07
Support of Black Lives Matter		
Model Minority Myth	-.16*	.07
Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype	.15	.08
Social Dominance Orientation	-.34**	.08
Gender	.21*	.09
Immigration Generation Status	.04	.07
Social Dominance Orientation		
Model Minority Myth	.10	.09
Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype	-.09	.09

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender and Immigration Generation Status were control measures. Gender was coded as 0 = Male, 1 = Female. Immigration status was coded as 1 = First-Generation Immigrant, 2 = Second-Generation Immigrant, and 3 = Third-Generation Immigrant.

Figure 1

Proposed Moderation and Mediation Model

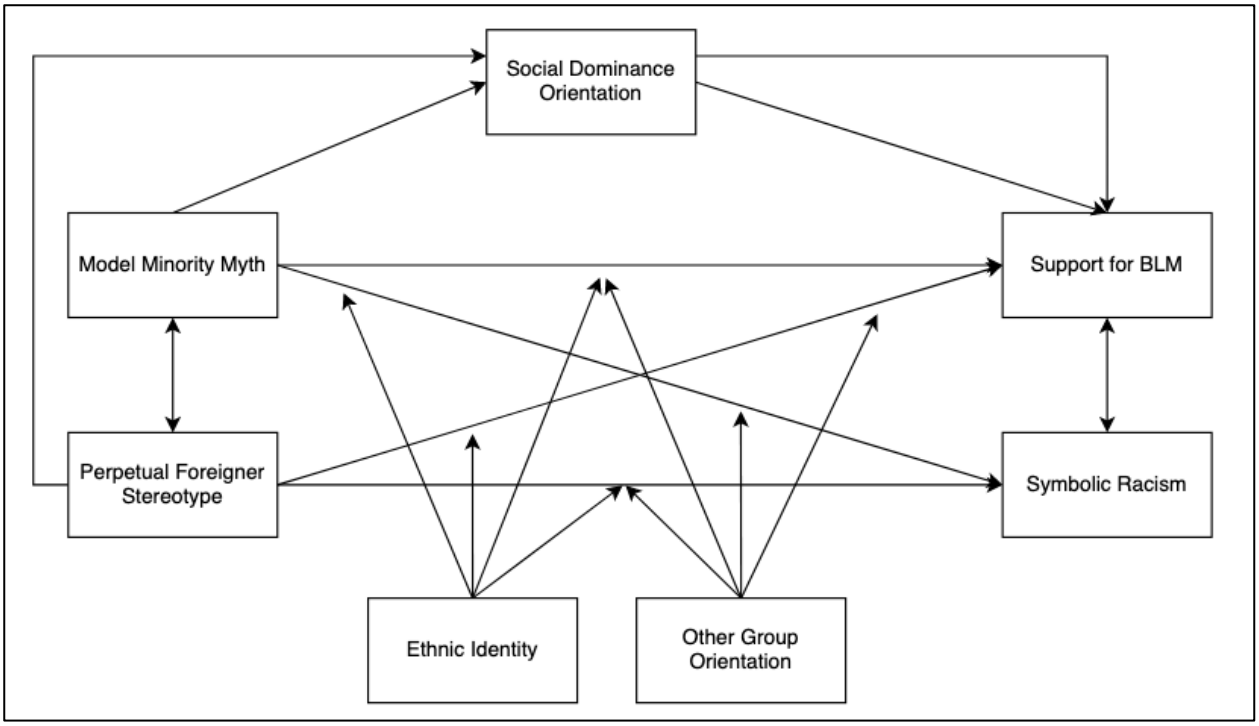
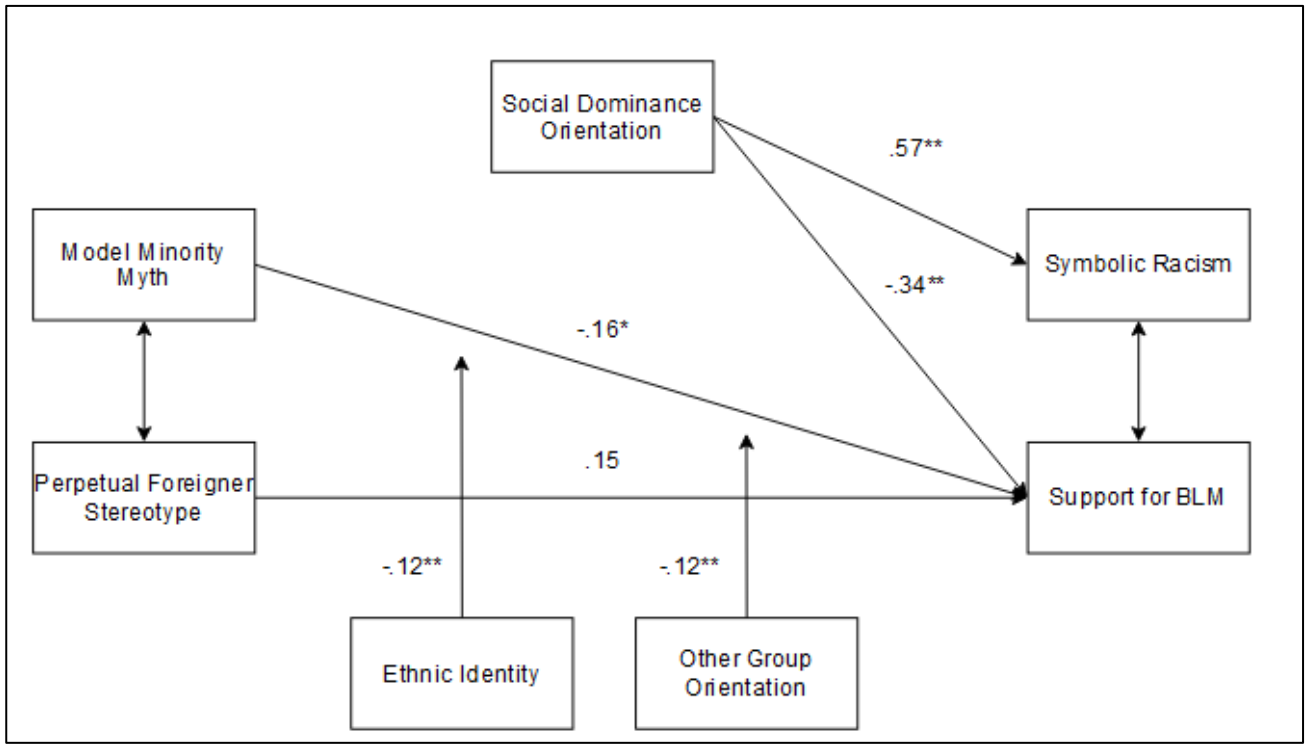


Figure 2

Trimmed model and corresponding standardized parameter estimates



Note. Figure only depicts statistically significant relationships. Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype marginally predicted Support for BLM at $p = .051$. Ethnic identity and Other Group Orientation are depicted in the model as moderators. Gender and Immigration Generation Status were excluded for ease of interpreting the figure.

Figure 3

Moderation of Ethnic Identity on internalization of the Model Minority Myth and Support of BLM

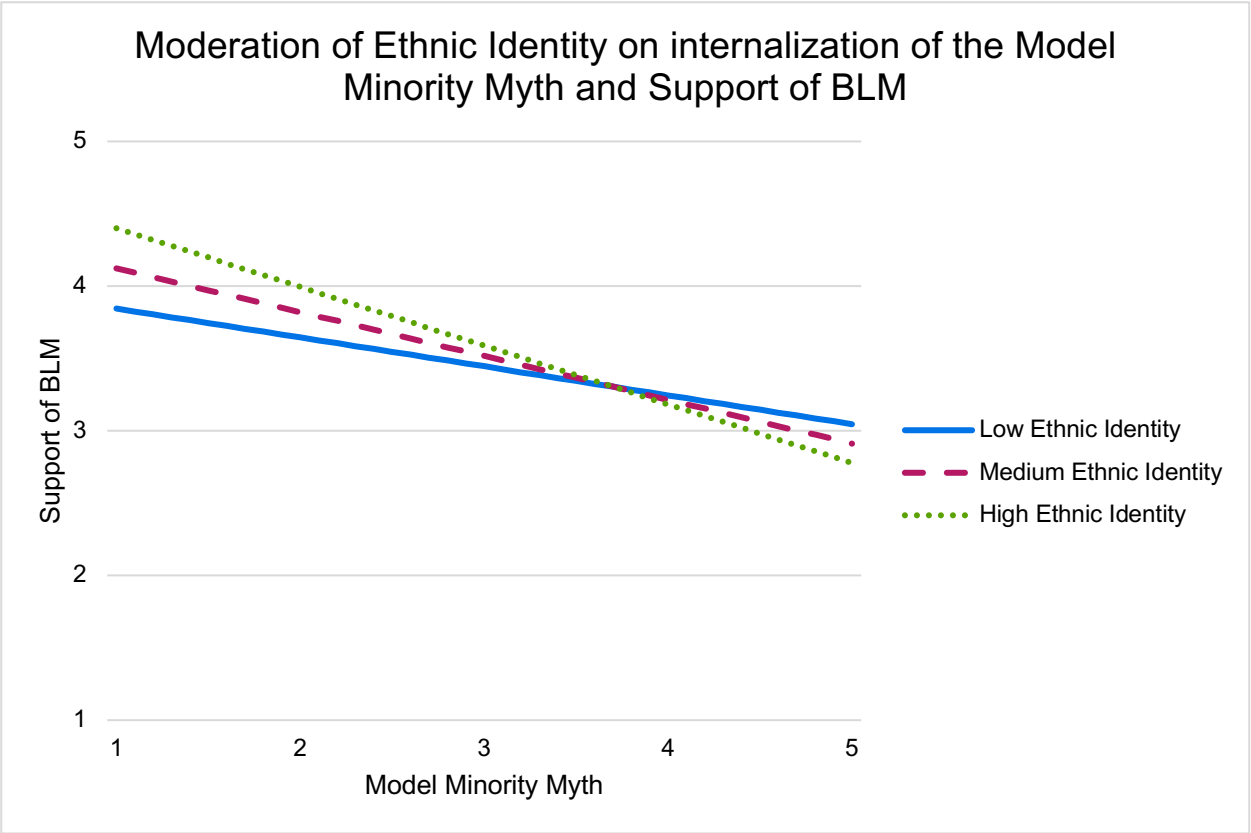


Figure 4

Moderation of Ethnic Identity on internalization of the Model Minority Myth and Symbolic Racism

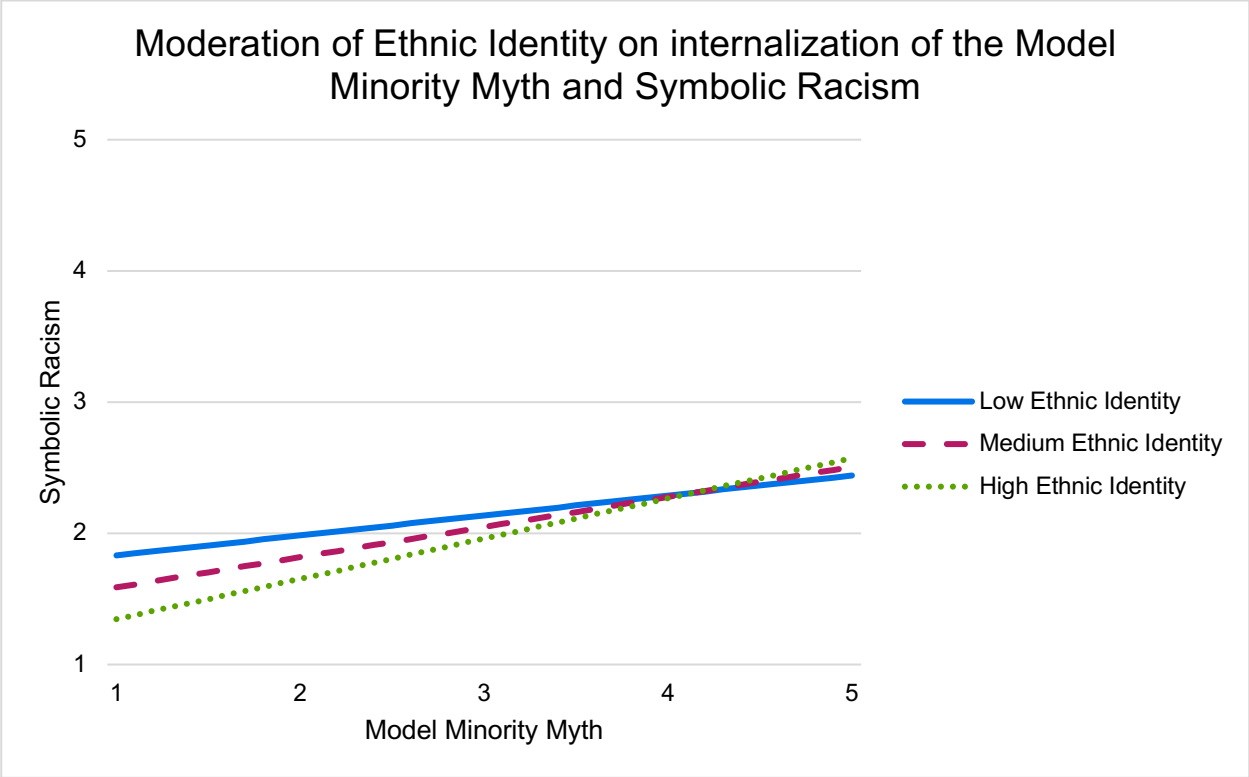


Figure 5

Moderation of Other-Group Orientation on internalization of the Model Minority Myth and support of Black Lives Matter

