My colleagues and I are currently planning a research project that I believe a visit to Russell Sage Foundation would benefit from. The primary aim of this work is to understand how Asian populations in the United States, broadly defined to include all the broad Asian subgroups currently residing in the USA, have been impacted by increases in racism occurring during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, and in particular, how threats of racist abuse and violence have transformed the nature of work and communal spaces for these Asian populations. In addition, we seek to better understand how these experiences of racism have engendered or inhibited efforts toward solidarity and collective action for racial justice with other marginalized populations. In the materials that follow, I will outline the background literature and broad aims of the project and offer details about the methodologies that we will use to examine our aims.

Asian Racism During the Covid-19 Pandemic
In this research our broad goal is to understand how work and communal spaces have been transformed during the COVID-19 pandemic to impact the experiences of Asian Americans. We know from anecdotes and from data and news reports that violence against Asian peoples residing in the USA has re-emerged during the pandemic. This re-emergence follows a pattern across history where conflict between the USA and other Asian communities or countries triggers backlash and sometimes violence against Asian people living in America (Tchen & Yeats, 2014). This latest re-emergence has occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic, as prominent members of the US government have very explicitly scapegoated China for the spread of the COVID-19 virus and for necessitating some of the mitigation measures that have made life uncomfortable for many Americans over the last two years. Some data back up these patterns and expectations: In one year, 6,603 incident reports of violence against Asian people were reported in the US (Yellow Horse et al., 2021). The work we plan to conduct is designed to explore, among Asian people residing in the USA, the sociostructural and psychological processes that underpin experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic, both the magnitude of racist experiences and coping strategies around those experiences.

The Sociostructural Processes of Asian Racism
We propose this research project because we have an interest in better understanding how sociostructural factors determine coping strategies and reactions to Asian people's experiences with racism during the COVID-19 pandemic. We are interested in how aspects of one's work and community environment shape exposure to racism, particularly for Asian communities. In terms of this focus, we reasoned that the inequalities of the COVID-19 pandemic would play a large roll in experiences of racism among Asian people. Asian people residing in the USA have many histories of immigration and socialization, and it is in part due to this diversity of subgroup experience in arriving to the USA that Asian people have the largest within racial category inequality relative to other groups (Kochar & Cilluffo, 2018). As such, significant occupational status variation exists among Asian people in the US with some pivoting to at-home work as a safety precaution (Shoichet, 2020), whereas other people in jobs that included health care, education, food service, and other essential positions experienced relatively fewer changes in work protocols (National Nurses United, 2020). Given Asian people's wide within-group variation in occupation, we expected a divide to exist among Asian people in their experiences of racism during the pandemic, with those headed to work as part of these essential services experiencing more racism than their counterparts who were able to stay home.

Importantly, in this project we plan to further investigate how workplace flexibility can play an important causal role in mitigating the experience of racism for Asian people working in the USA. Much of the empirical research conducted in the past on hybrid or virtual workplace dynamics highlights the challenges inherent in this kind of office environment. However, for marginalized peoples, and in particular Asian people in the USA facing an uptick in violence related to the pandemic, having social and physical distance between people at (or on the way) to work provides a mechanism for controlling your

experiences of racism. In this proposal we also seek to design experimental studies to better understand how workplace flexibility, though it makes coordination harder, actually makes Asian people working the USA feel more agency around their own safety at (or on the way) to work.

Our second sociostructural factor concerns infection rates. In historical accounts of Asian racism, violent attacks against Asian communities tended to co-occur with actual disease outbreaks near Asian populations (Lee, 2019), or were stoked by xenophobic political campaigns focused on disease spread (Lee, 2019; Trauner, 1978). Such actions suggest that social spaces with a higher risk of COVID-19 infection would elicit increased racism against Asian people living within those communities. We sought to test the dynamics of infection concerns and racism experiences among Asian communities in the present research project. In sum, this proposal will investigate whether in-person workplace inequality and risk of infection increase the exposure of Asian people to racism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Internalization of Model Minority Stereotypes and Inter-Minority Collective Action
In terms of our psychological interests, this project seeks to better understand what individual psychological beliefs shape responses to racism among Asian people. One set of beliefs centers around internalized model minority belief systems among Asian respondents (Kim & Lee, 2014). This set of beliefs asserts that Asian people, relative to other minority groups, are higher in status and less vulnerable to discrimination and racism (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Maddux et al. 2008; Yoo et al., 2010). Because internalized model minority beliefs erroneously claim that Asian communities have overcome racism, these beliefs are often invoked as a wedge to set Asian communities against other racial minority groups in terms of certain desirable traits (Lee & Zhou, 2015; Yoo et al., 2010). In prior work, higher ratings of internalization of these stereotypes predicted reduced support for racial justice policies such as affirmative action (Yi & Todd, 2021).

Internalized model minority beliefs are based on the assumption that Asian people in the USA have categorically different experiences relative to other marginalized groups, that are more consistent with the experiences of White Americans (Yoo et al., 2010)—a belief that is challenged directly by experiences of racism that may be heightened during the COVID-19 pandemic. In this regard, we sought to determine if experiences of racism would disrupt any assumptions of differences between Asian populations and other marginalized groups, eliciting both lower prevalence of internalized model minority beliefs, and increases in collective inter-minority solidarity. Aligning with this prediction, prior research finds that reminders of discrimination lead Asian people and White women to align collectively in solidarity with other minority groups (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2016).

Preliminary Research
We have conducted an initial pilot study to test some of these predictions. The sample was collected in July 2021, and included a sample of 262 Asian people categorized as a "member of Asian, Pacific Islander, and Desi communities residing and working in the US." Through the survey research panel service Centiment, we recruited these participants from throughout the USA to have roughly half the sample working in person during the duration of the pandemic. The sample included 21 origin subgroups including primarily Chinese (n=62), Filipino (n=44), and Indian (n=40) identified participants. We asked respondents about their experience of racism using an adapted version of the schedule of racist events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), a measure that captures the frequency of different types of racism experiences over a pre-determined period—which we set to the COVID-19 pandemic. We also included measures of coping with racism (Carver et al., 1989), endorsement of internalized model minority stereotypes (Yoo et al., 2010), and estimates of inter-minority common fate beliefs (Cortland et al., 2017).

Of our pilot sample, 76.7% experienced some form of racism during the pandemic period, most (60.7%) experienced this racism from strangers, followed by through contact with people in service jobs (49.2%). Importantly, those forced to attend work in-person experienced significantly more racist events than those

at home during the pandemic period $t(260) = 2.360$, $p = .019$, $d = .292$. This effect persisted after accounting for demographic (e.g., gender, income, job status, network diversity, generation) and psychological (e.g., political ideology, model minority stereotypes) differences between the work and at-home groups. As well, in these data we found a positive correlation between location based infection rates as a function of county level data, based on COVID-19 tracker data averaged over the pandemic period, and the frequency of experiences of racism among the Asian participants. These initial pilot findings align with our sociostructural expectations that, during the COVID-19 pandemic, in-person work inequalities and infection rates create increased exposures to racism for Asian people in the USA (see Figure 1).

Follow up analyses also uncovered promising results associated with understanding the internalization of model minority stereotypes. In particular, we found that people endorsing these erroneous stereotypes were more likely to cope with the pandemic by denying or minimizing any experiences they had with racism during the pandemic, and this effect occurred after controlling for the above demographic and psychological variables. Moreover, the frequency of pandemic related racism experiences was significantly negatively associated with internalized model minority beliefs and positively associated with common fate judgments with Black/Latinx communities after accounting for the same controls. These data provide some initial support for our central predictions about the internalization of model minority beliefs and solidarity judgments in response to Asian-specific racism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Proposed Research
Our work thus far suggests that in-person work inequalities and infection rates may shape experiences of racism during the pandemic, that internalized model minority stereotypes are related to greater minimization of these racism experiences, and that experiences of racism are associated with both less internalization of these stereotypes and higher judgments of common fate with Black/Latinx communities. Here, we propose to conduct some analysis of existing data and experiments to better understand the sociostructural determinants of racism experiences among Asian people. For all studies, the measures, planned analyses, and hypotheses will be pre-registered and all data and materials will be posted online on the open science framework in accordance with policies of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Study 1: Work Inequality and Racism Among Asian Americans
Building on our pilot research, we plan to collect a sample of 250 Asian community members from the greater New Haven, CT USA county area through our community sample at the Yale Behavioral laboratory. The study will use the same survey measures as in the pilot study with the same desire to collect about half the sample from people working in person versus not during the pandemic period. One direct benefit of this follow-up study is our additional control of the context for survey respondents. Specifically, respondents will be located in New Haven, CT and will have similar regional experiences with infection rates of COVID-19, and county level racial demographics—these features of the new sample will all improve our control for this first follow-up study. We would then recreate the same analyses as in the pilot study to determine if in-person work inequality is associated with greater experiences of racism during the pandemic period, if internalized model minority stereotypes elicited greater denial of these experiences, and if racism experiences predicted both reductions in internalized model minority beliefs and greater perceptions of common fate with Black/Latinx communities in New Haven, CT. In these analyses we would control for the same demographic and psychological characteristics as in the pilot study. Our community contacts in the Yale behavioral lab have been successful in targeted recruitment of racial minority community samples in the past and we would use this same outreach for the current survey (see Callaghan et al., 2021).

Study 2: Agency in Remote Workplaces for Avoiding Racism Among Asian Americans
Building on the pilot and Study 1, Study 2 will be designed to help us better understand how Asian people working in the USA might benefit from remote work environments during the COVID-19 pandemic. In this study, Asian and White respondents will be recruited through an online crowdsourcing platform

Centiment, to investigate remote work experiences. Participants will be recruited to have experience working both primarily at home and in person during the pandemic period. Participants will then be asked about challenges they faced in workplace contexts that include commuting (e.g., taking public transportation or logging in), team status update meetings, giving a presentation, or having a coworker say something that is offensive. We chose these scenarios based on our pilot data, because qualitative statements collected about these contexts showed them to be frequent for experiences of racism.

Participants will be asked to respond to these scenarios in a between subjects design wherein half of the Asian (N=200) and White (N =200) participants consider their experiences in work contexts either while working at home or in person. In the survey we will ask questions about stress, affect, control/agency, experience of conflict, and motivation for each scenario. We expect that Asian respondents will feel less stress, more agency, and less conflict in the remote condition than in the in person one. We do not expect White respondents to show differences between in person and remote conditions. We also do not expect to find remote versus in person differences in affect or motivation. The findings from this study would help us better understand how Asian people in the US feel a sense of control and agency in remote contexts, presumably because such contexts allow you more agency to respond to situations that are offensive or violent.

Executing Study 2 would involve piloting materials for these manipulations across a number of online crowdsourced platforms (i.e., MTurk and Prolific) to determine the feasibility and effectiveness of the stimuli. We would then collect the full sample using targeted recruitment through our established relationship with Centiment panels.

Study 3: Infection Rates and Racism Among Asian Americans
Building on our historical analysis of concerns about infection rates as a trigger for racism toward Asian people living in the USA, this study will use existing survey data from Pew Research Center to understand whether infection rates predict racism experienced by Asian people during the pandemic. The survey data will be gathered from the June 2020 Pew Research Center American Trends Panel, which includes a subsample of 278 self-identified Asian Americans, where roughly equal numbers live in high, medium, and low infection rate counties as defined by COVID infection tracker data collected by the Center for Disease Control (Ruiz et al, 2020). With these publicly available data, we will analyze whether being in higher versus lower infection rate areas was associated with greater experiences of racism as measured by the Pew trends panel, and whether this effect holds when controlling for demographic information and psychological variables as outlined in Study 1. With these data, we would also determine if experiences of racism were related to support for the Black Lives Matter movement, which peaked right during the administration of this survey in the summer of 2020. We would also control for the same demographic and psychological characteristics as in the pilot study.

Study 4: Experimental Manipulations of Infection and Work Inequality
To this point, our studies have examined how sociostructural factors related to work inequality and infection rates would expose Asian people to more COVID-19 racism. To increase our capacity for causal identification the final collection of studies would be used to create experiments demonstrating the causal relationship of these sociostructural factors. In the experiment, we would ask a sample of Asian people to join a survey study aimed at understanding workplace policies around COVID-19 and returning to work. The materials for these policies would be altered slightly to note levels of workplace inequality (having a workplace where you must go into work versus had the option to work flexibly from home) and infection rates (having the workplace be located in a community experiencing low versus high vaccination rates). Asian participants would be randomly assigned to either an in-person or virtual work environment and to either a high or low infection rate work community in a 2 X 2 between subjects experimental design.

Executing Study 3 would involve piloting materials for these manipulations across a number of online crowdsourced platforms (i.e., MTurk and Prolific) to determine the feasibility and effectiveness of the stimuli. We would then collect the full sample using targeted recruitment through our established relationship with Centiment panels. We would closely adapt our procedure from prior research we conducted assessing belonging at University campus contexts (Kraus, Brown, & Swoboda, 2019). Following the manipulation we would then ask respondents about their expectations for experiencing racism based on the schedule of racist events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), internalized model minority stereotypes (Yoo et al., 2010), and their stated commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion programs at these organizations, where the policies would be defined as supporting employment equity for Black/Latinx/Native American communities (Cortland et al., 2017).

After piloting the initial materials, our final sample would include 600 Asian participants with 150 people roughly in each cell of our 2 X 2 between subjects experiment—with the caveat that these participants would only be included if they had not previously participated in our study. We would examine the condition effects of workplace inequality and infection rates on expectations of racism after controlling for the same demographic and psychological variables as in the prior studies. Our expectation would be that in-person work and high infection rates would engender increased expectations of racism among our Asian sample. We would in turn, expect that racism expectations would reduce internalized model minority stereotypes and heighten promotion of organization-based diversity, equity, and inclusion programs.

Conclusion
To close, the pandemic has been an extremely difficult time for families across the United States and this is also a particularly challenging time for Asian people residing in the USA. Here, we seek to shed light on the sociostructural and psychological components of pandemic related racism and collective action. We hope this proposal helps us better understand how Asian people have navigated the pandemic, including how they have showed agency in combatting racial violence in their own work lives, and the and the racism that has heightened during this time. We hope that this proposed work can both help us understand the prevalence and magnitude of these experiences of racism, the drivers of these experiences, and the potential for coping and collective action that emerges from inter-minority solidaristic efforts. Thank you for your consideration of this proposal.
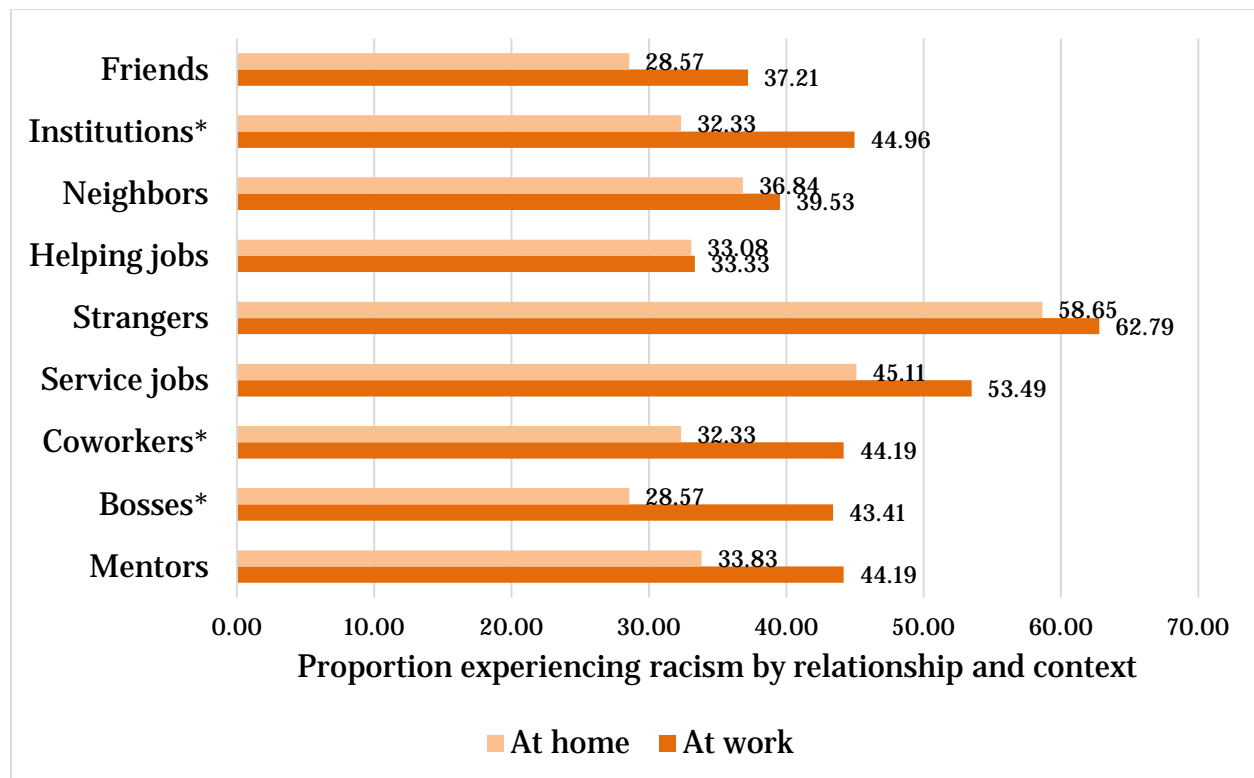
Figure 1. Proportion of Asian respondents from our pilot survey who experienced racism as a function of working remotely or in-person during the COVID-19 pandemic and as a function of relationship (N = 262). Asterisks indicate significant (p < .05) group differences between remote and in-person participants.

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