Understanding Pan-Asian Identity: How and When Threat Affects Asian and National Origin Identity Attachment

Jennifer D. Wu
jennifer.wu@yale.edu
Department of Political Science
Yale University

Abstract

Asians in the United States have traditionally been treated as a monolithic group, both in public discourse as well as in political science research. Despite the political origins of the Asian label, how unifying is it in practice? Using experimental design, I explicitly measure changes in the importance of one's Asian and national origin identities. Results show that individuals' national origin identity becomes more salient in the face of identity threat, whereas their Asian identity does not. Additionally, whether one's national origin identity becomes more salient depends on the type of identity threat. These results suggest that Asians' sense of pan-ethnic identity is not conditional on their national origin identity, with implications for the expected effects of identity primes in electoral and political contexts, as well as for research designs relying on such identity primes.

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Introduction

Group identity has long been an object of interest in understanding political preferences and behavior. While scholarship on the link between racialized identity and group politics burgeoned particularly in research on Black political behavior (e.g., Dawson, 1995), it has expanded to include other non-white racial groups. Despite the depth of prior research on Asians in the United States, our intuitions about Asian political preferences and behavior have been limited by available data. Recent work has raised the question of the applicability of theories of group identity to Asians (Rogers and Kim, 2021). This question highlights a tension particular to Asian identity in which one's membership stems from external categorization despite cultural, linguistic, national differences between group members. This paper seeks to better understand the importance of pan-Asian identity to group politics by examining conditions, specifically those related to discrimination, under which Asian and national origin identity becomes more or less salient. [1]

Much of the existing research on differences in political behavior and preferences across racial groups often relies on racial categorizations that treat Asians in the US as a monolith, despite the well-documented variation in demographic characteristics across national origin subgroups (Lien et al., 2003). Given that certain demographics, e.g., education and income, are important in explaining political behavior, the demographic variation across national origin subgroups should naturally extend to variation in behavior, specifically those in which Asian group identity is salient. Thus, the consequences of variation in national origin remains, particularly in the context of group threat.

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[1] I use the term national origin to refer to the country/countries which an individual traces their ancestry. While I follow other research in this convention, I acknowledge the insufficiencies in using this term to capture differences between groups.

This paper asks two questions: 1) does attachment to national origin and Asian identity change similarly in the context of group threat, and 2) how does one's level of attachment to their national origin and Asian identities affect their relation to the larger group? To answer these, I run a novel survey experiment with approximately 2,000 Asian respondents where I use identity threats to prime identity attachment. Based on changes in attachment, I make inferences on the underlying connection of these identities and present three main findings. First, respondents' attachment to national origin identity is more responsive to threat than attachment to Asian identity. Second, one's sense of Asian group identity, as measured by linked fate and perceived external categorization, does not change in response to the identity threats. Finally, whether one's national origin or Asian identity is activated depends on the type of identity threat, specifically if there is a difference between the intended target and those actually affected by discrimination.

Together, these results suggest that one's national origin and Asian identities are non-rivalrous and non-nested. This has consequences for how we think about the basis on which individuals might find commonality with other Asian subgroups. Additionally, these results have implications for future research designs that rely on identity threats and for how researchers should think about identity primes targeted towards Asian individuals. By understanding the processes that lend to the maintenance of pan-ethnic identity, we can subsequently better understand how these identities affect political preferences and behavior.

Background

Pan-Asian Identity and Group Consciousness

While the Census has used the racial category of "Asian" since the 1870's, Asian as a group identity is an outcome of political mobilization in the 1960's. Spurred by the momentum of the

civil rights movement and a desire for an Asian American studies program, student-activists at

UC Berkeley mobilized around a pan-Asian identity that reflected shared political goals

(Espiritu, 1992). Efforts to understand the sociological processes by which individuals come to

understand their pan-Asian identity have produce a set of robust theories about Asian pan-

ethnicity. However, efforts to identify specific relationships and causal mechanisms, particularly

in understanding the political consequences of subgroup variation, have been limited by

available data and surveying technologies, that are often unable to disaggregate observations by

national origin.[2]

Some notable surveys that oversample Asian respondents provide valuable insights about

the relationship between national origin and pan-Asian identity. Using data from the 2008

National Asian American Survey (NAAS), Wong et al. (2011) find that second generation Asian

Americans and naturalized citizens are more likely to identify with the Asian American label

than with their national origin identity. On the contrary, recent immigrants are more likely to

have stronger attachments to their national origin identities (Deaux, 2006; Sears et al., 2003).

Using the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS), Lien et al. (2003) find

that, while a majority of their respondents choose to identify by their national origin identity,

individuals generally acknowledge the importance of being Asian to their identity. Thus, while

Asians may primarily identify with their national origin identity, the pan-Asian identity is

nonetheless a salient one.

The means by which pan-Asian identity becomes salient for an individual speaks to both

the historical legacies of Asian immigration as well as contextual factors that determine the need

for pan-Asian coalitions. Kim (2020a) analyzes the ways in which pan-Asian coalitions may or

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[2] Asians are traditionally an underrepresented group in survey samples. In the 2016 ANES, Asian respondents
constituted ~4% of the overall sample.

may not form as a function of the political power of different groups. From introduction of low-wage labor to the Americas (Lee, 2015) to the repeal of exclusionary quotas and the influx of high-wage laborers, the span of Asian migration to the US is notable in the variation of both countries of origin and economic class. As Junn (2007) details, the change in composition of Asian migration reflected differences in national origin backgrounds as well as a change in perceptions of Asians from "coolies" to the "model minority". The historical forces that shape and politicize Asian pan-ethnicity stand in contrast to those that shape Black panethnicity, particular for reasons related to historical patterns of Asian immigration into the United States (Junn and Masuoka, 2008). Whereas differences in external categorization may lead to differences in how Asians from different backgrounds accept the pan-ethnic label, the legacy of slavery in the US has ensured a consistent and concentrated racialization of Black individuals (Omi and Winant, 1986). Thus, while Black immigrants may strive to differentiate themselves from Black Americans, they nonetheless acknowledge shared group membership (Smith, 2014).

Understanding the political importance of pan-Asian identity leads directly to the concept of "group consciousness", which emphasizes the connection between an individual's membership with a group to their awareness of group outcomes and standing within the societal hierarchy (McClain et al., 2009). Smith (2014) emphasizes a defining feature of acknowledgement of one's role in advancing group outcomes. As such, group consciousness is preceded by considerations of group membership (whether one is categorized into the group by others) and group identification (whether one accepts this categorization). This also differentiates group consciousness from similar concepts such as linked fate, though measures of linked fate are often used to proxy group consciousness in surveys (Verba & Nie, 1972; Miller et al., 1981). Masuoka (2006) finds higher levels of pan-ethnic consciousness among those who are higher income,

identified as Democrat, and are politically active - characteristics which also vary across national origin groups. The connection one has to their pan-ethnic group is potentially moderated by how attached individuals are to their Asian identity relative to their national origin identity. Wong et al. (2011) find that survey respondents' sense of linked fate with other Asians in the U.S. is greater for those who primarily identify themselves as Asian American compared to those who primarily identify themselves by their national origin. Additionally, one's sense of racial identity is a function of contextual forces, such as the presence of community organizations that prioritize one identity over another as a strategy for coalition building (Kim, 2020b). Research has also established differences in how individuals respond to identity-based stimuli based on how strongly one identifies with an identity (Operario et al., 2001; Valenzuela & Michelson, 2016). Though attachments to different identities is unlikely to be mutually exclusive, the level of attachment at baseline has implications for how individuals will response to pan-ethnic primes.

While past work has uncovered the descriptive relationships between identity importance and relevant characteristics (e.g., generation, income, etc.), less has been done to identify when one identity takes priority over another. Lu (2020) finds support for a "dual identity hypothesis", arguing that identification with one's national origin identity positively correlates with one's Asian identity. This suggests that these two identities potentially reinforce one another, which would explain observed patterns, such as support for an Asian candidate with a different national origin (Leung, 2021; Sadhwani 2020). However, a missing element from this argument is the role of discrimination and identity threat. From Vincent Chin, a Chinese man murdered by white men who thought he was Japanese, to Japanese internment, where Asians from other backgrounds actively distanced themselves from being mistaken as Japanese, to Donald Trump's use of anti-Asian rhetoric during the pandemic (Le et al., 2020), there are countless examples of

situations in which pan-Asian identity attachment may be stronger or weaker. Underlying these patterns are identity-related processes, for which I turn to social psychology.

Group Threat and Identity Attachment

Social psychology offers a number of concepts to help understand how an Asian individual might react to external stimuli that target one or more of their identities. Social Identity Theory (SIT) highlights the role of external threat in activating attachment to a group, which forms the basis of one's identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Two concepts are particularly relevant in understanding group threats against Asians, miscategorization and homogenization.

In the case of miscategorization, an individual of one national origin background is categorized as another. Homogenization (or "racial lumping") occurs when national origin boundaries are disregarded entirely and individuals are categorized as just "Asian".[3] Both are driven by a neglect of one's national origin identities. In particular, Flores and Huo (2013) show that Asian individuals will exhibit greater attachment to their own national origin identity when differences between national origin backgrounds are neglected. There are a number of reasons we might see this greater attachment. For example, identity assertion describes a response in which denying access to an identity will lead individuals to overemphasize and assert membership to that (national origin) group (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Kuo et al., 2017). On the other hand, identity detachment occurs when one shuns and distances from a group. The fear of being seen in a negative light because of one's group membership may lead individuals to distance themselves from that group (Steele, 1997). Some research shows that the threat of being miscategorized makes individuals less loyal and attached to the group they're being categorized

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[3] These two processes need not be mutually exclusive. It is likely the case that the reason someone miscategorizes an individual's national origin background is similar to the reason they would think Asians share a common background in general.

into (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002). In these cases, detachment is from the Asian identity, but it could also be that one detaches from their national origin identity.

While these concepts focus on the tension between national origin and Asian identity, there are also theories on the contrary. For example, Sanchez (2010) finds that discrimination of other groups will increase coalition-building between groups. Craig and Richeson (2016) find that the more a discriminated group can connect with another group that is also experiencing discrimination, the less bias there will be towards that group. If Asian national origin groups are being targeted because of a shared Asian identity, they may find reason to overcome national origin boundaries and rally around a pan-Asian identity. This comports with other research done on superordinate identities, which has been shown to decrease distance between subgroups (Transue, 2007; Levendusky, 2018; Gaertner et al., 1993; Nier et al., 2001).

Overall, there is reason to believe that the multiple identities held by Asians in the U.S. vary, not just at the baseline, but also in response to different types of threat. Identifying how identity threats affect the ability of a pan-Asian identity to unite Asian individuals has implications for understanding Asian political behavior, especially as recent work has documented an increase in anti-Asian discrimination due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Reny & Barreto, 2020).

Materials and Methods

Experimental Design

In order to identify the effects of identity threat on identity salience, I rely on experimental design, which allows for identification of the causal effect of an identity threat. While non-experimental survey data establishes a link between experience with discrimination and attachment to the threatened identity, we cannot attribute causality to discrimination as the

mechanism that increases one's sense of identity. It could be that those who are stronger

identifiers are more aware and perceptive of discriminatory behaviors (e.g., microaggressions).

Another advantage is that the outcome of interest is the identity attachment, for which survey-

based items are arguably more fitting than behavioral outcomes because I can measure changes

in one's expression of identity.

In the experiment, respondents are presented with a hypothetical scenario in which a

fictional public university engages in discriminatory practices, as described below.

> SPRINGFIELD TWP. --
> Springfield University has come under fire for what some call discriminatory policies.
> The university has a privately endowed scholarship fund to help subsidize the cost of
> college attendance. According to complaints made by several applicants and their
> families, however, the university has been much less likely to grant awards to students
> with certain backgrounds. In particular, applications from **[Actual]** students have been
> getting denied.
>
> According to a university insider, who wished to remain anonymous, the reason is
> because the university is trying to deter students, particularly those who are **[Intended]**,
> from attending the university. "People say things like, `there are just too many of them'.
> It's not right, in my opinion."

I introduce a distinction that speaks to common experiences among Asians related to

miscategorization and homogenization. Whereas prior work uses identity threats that have one

target (e.g., a threat is made against a particular group), I use an identity threat that has two

components, 1) an *intended* target group and 2) the *actual* affected group. In the vignette,

discrimination occurs due to a university intending to target a group (*intended* target), either

Asian students in general or students from a particular country. Depending on the condition, the

actual group that gets targeted (*actual* affected) may be: students whose national origin

backgrounds matches that of the respondent, students from a different national origin group, or

Asian students as a whole. Table 1 summarizes the possible treatment conditions.

[Table 1 here]

A number of these conditions reflect experiences with discrimination faced by Asian individuals. In the Other/Nat condition, while the university intends to target a national origin group (not the respondent's), the actual group that gets affected is the respondent's own national origin group. This is similar to miscategorization where an Asian individual is mistakenly categorized for a different national origin background. In the Other/Asian condition, the university intends to target students from a specific national origin group but ends up targeting Asians students as a whole. The respondent is homogenized into the same category as other Asians by virtue of a shared racial identity. More generally, the conditions in which the intended group and actual groups are the same reflect group threat as it has been most commonly studied in SIT (i.e., a single group being targeted). In the control condition, the targeted groups are out-of-state students.

A university setting is chosen for a number of reasons. First, education is a highly salient issue for Asians in the US, particularly with the recent *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard* court case (Lee, 2021). Concerns around affirmative action policy as inadvertently discriminating against Asian student applications provide a realistic setting on which to base a hypothetical vignette (see Appendix F for more discussion). Second, institutional discrimination may provide for a better test of tensions between one's multiple identities than other settings, e.g., those that rely on descriptions of violence or hate crimes. One concern in using a vignette with a description of a hate crime is that people may be responding to the violence rather than to

discrimination as it concerns identity itself. Moreover, there is a concern about the marginal value-add of asking respondents to read a vignette that potentially induces discomfort or trauma.

There are two sets of dependent variables, identity attachment and groupness. Measuring changes in these outcomes in response to identity-based threats will allow us to understand how experiences with discrimination affect one's attitudes towards their different identities. The first outcome is identity attachment, which captures how an individual thinks about a given identity, and is measured using the following survey item: "How important would you say each of the following is to your identity?" The response is coded on a 4-point scale and is asked for both national origin and Asian identity. I also measure attachment to one's American identity. Respondents, particularly naturalized citizens or non-first generation, may think of themselves as primarily American or Asian American, rather than just Asian (or in terms of their national origin background). Schildkraut (2007) finds that attachment to one's American identity increases across younger generations. Prior work suggests that identifying with the American prototype (Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, Christian) often comes at a cultural trade off with one's racial and ethnic values (Schildkraut, 2007; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Including an item on American identity importance allows respondents to express this prioritization relative to their Asian identity.[4]

The second set of outcomes is related to one's sense of "groupness", which measure attitudes related to one's orientation to their national origin group and Asians as a whole. I measure groupness using three items. The first is a measure of a respondent's perception of

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[4] Prior work highlights the distinction between "Asian" and "Asian American" identities (Lien et al., 2003; Wong et al. 2011) and shows that individuals prefer to identify as Asian American rather than Asian. To be inclusive of Asians in the US regardless of citizenship status, I focus on one's orientation to their Asian identity (though, Lien et al. (2003) notes noncitizens may choose to identify as Asian American). If one's sense of group identity applies only to Asian Americans rather than Asians more generally, that suggests that Asian American group identity is a refinement of Asian identity. Differences may bear out in the measure of American identity attachment.

linked fate with their national origin group and with Asian Americans. This item of linked fate

most closely aligns with items typically used to measure group consciousness and will provide

intuition for how one's political identity is related to one's racialized identity. The latter two

items are measures of external categorization, capturing an individual's perception of how they

would be treated by others. I measure an individual's perceived likelihood of being discriminated

against on the basis of their national origin or Asian identities. I also measure a respondent's

perceived likelihood of being categorized by a white American as being of their national origin,

of being Asian, and of being American.

Of primary interest, Table 2 summarizes the predicted direction of the changes in identity

attachment across treatment conditions.[5] Extant work provides us with two guiding expectations

for how to think about the identity-specific outcomes. First, when people are denied an identity,

they are more likely to assert their claim to their identity (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Flores &

Huo, 2013). Thus, being miscategorized as a different Asian national origin group may lead

someone to attach more strongly to their own national origin identity. Second, individuals who

attach strongly to an identity respond differently to identity threats than those who attach weakly.

Strong identifiers are more likely to increase attachment to the threatened identity whereas weak

identifiers are more likely to detach from the threatened identity (Pérez, 2015). For the groupness

outcomes, the literature has traditionally focused on the connection between discrimination

against an individual's specific identity (e.g., for being Asian or of their national origin) and

political outcome, so it is less clear how one might respond in a context with multiple identity

threats where the intended target of and those actually affected by discrimination are different.

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[5] These predictions, as well as the subsequent analysis, were pre-registered on OSF Registries on February 25, 2020. Minor deviations from the pre-analysis plan are discussed in Appendix E.

[Table 2 here]

Taking each treatment at a time, we would expect the Asian/Asian treatment to increase attachment to both national origin and Asian identity, relative to control. Asian identity attachment should increase in accordance with SIT, which suggests that people will rally around their threatened identity. National origin attachment would likely increase based on the expectation that one's national origin identity is primed when their Asian identity is primed (see Lu, 2020). For similar reasons, we would expect the Nat/Nat treatment to increase attachment to both national origin and Asian identities. In the third condition, we would expect the Nat/Asian treatment to decrease attachment to one's national origin identity but increase attachment to one's Asian identity (potentially more so than in the Asian/Asian or Nat/Nat conditions). While I posited that having one's national origin group be targeted should increase attachment to that group, there is key difference between this condition (Nat/Asian) with the Nat/Nat condition – the availability of an alternative identity. Individuals may be more likely to detach from negative connotations of their national origin group in favor of rallying around the Asian identity that is being targeted. While SIT would suggest that individuals should enhance one's own group as a means of distancing from a threatened group, this is not an option in a condition when both identities are relevant to the respondent.

Conversely, we would expect the Other/Nat treatment to greatly increase attachment to national origin identity while decreasing attachment to one's Asian identity. This condition introduces another national origin group as an intended target. SIT applies more relevantly here - respondents may want to distance themselves and highlight their national origin group identity as a means of distinction from the other Asian group being targeted, especially if their own group is

actually being adversely affected. Here, we might expect attachment to one's Asian identity to decrease given that shared pan-ethnicity is the reason one's own national origin group is connected to another. Similarly, we expect the Other/Asian to greatly increase national origin attachment while decreasing Asian identity attachment. The difference here from the Other/Nat condition is that respondents are explicitly told that their Asian identity is what connects them to intended target group.

Finally, perhaps counter to other predictions, we would expect the Other/Other treatment to increase attachment to both national origin and Asian identity. While, the respondent is not being explicitly targeted, the closer one is to a threatened group, particularly in the context of experiences with discrimination, the more likely one is to empathize and support that group (Craig & Richeson, 2012). We might expect that an individual who sees another Asian group being targeted might have their own identities, both national origin and Asian, activated.

Data

Data are collected from an online survey on Asian respondents fielded in February 2020 using the survey platforms Turk Prime and Prolific. A sample of 1,923 Asian respondents over the age of 18 is used for the main analysis, with 1,345 respondents from Prolific and 578 respondents from Turk Prime. To address concerns about data quality, respondents who finished the survey in under two minutes were dropped from the sample.[6] Table A1 in the online appendix reports the demographic characteristics of both Prolific and Turk Prime samples and show that the two samples are similar in composition.

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[6] Average completion time was ~4 minutes. Approximately 7% of respondents finished the survey under two minutes. On Turk Prime, qualifications were such that workers needed approval ratings over 90% to be eligible.

Table A2 breaks down the sample by the respondents' country of origin and their race and whether they also identity as being Hispanic and/or Latino. Respondents primarily denoted having ancestry from China, India, The Philippines, Korea, and Vietnam. While the survey was made available only to individuals identified as Asian, we see that the platforms' prescreening measures do not necessarily match with how respondents actually identify once in the survey.[7] There are a number of respondents who, despite not identifying as Asian, nonetheless trace some parts of their ancestry to an Asian country. There are 253 unique respondents who report tracing their ancestry to more than one country, with China being the most common. Robustness specifications are discussed in the subsequent section to address the concern that having multiple national origin ancestries would introduce measurement error.

In a secondary analysis, I present descriptive analyses by identity strength.[8] Table 3 reports the breakdown of respondents who are coded as strong or weak identifiers. Strong identifiers are those who respond with values greater than sample mean (76.8), and weak identifiers are those who respond otherwise. We see that over a majority of respondents are considered strong identifiers. This is similarly true if we had considered identification strength on the basis of one's national origin identity.

[Table 3 here]

Results

Identity Importance Outcomes

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[7] Prolific asks: "What ethnic group do you belong to?" Turk Prime asks: "Which racial group best describes you?" Eligible respondents are those that selected "Asian" (including those that selected multiple options).
[8] Identity strength is measured using a pre-treatment question: "On a scale from 0 to 100, how proud would you say you are to be Asian?"

I use OLS regression with robust standard errors to estimate treatment effects, with the control condition as the reference category. I first present estimates on identity importance in Figure 1, which reports coefficients from three separate regressions run on each of the identity measures (national origin, Asian, and American). For reference, a table version of this specification is provided in Table A4 in the online appendix.

In the National Origin column of Panel (a), we see that Asian/Asian and Nat/Nat conditions significantly increase the importance of national origin by about similar magnitudes (approximately 0.05 units), comporting with expectations set out in Table 2. Two points of interest are worth discussing. First, it is interesting that other conditions in which the actual group is also the respondent's national origin group do not bear similar results. We might have expected to see similar effects in the Other/Nat condition as we do in the Nat/Nat condition given that the respondent's national origin group is actually affected in both treatments. A possible explanation is that, because respondents are told their national origin group is being mistakenly targeted due to another Asian subgroup, they may feel less inclined to rally around their national origin identity in a way validates their connection to the intended group being discriminated against. In the context of concepts such as miscategorization and homogenization, Panel (a) suggests that those conditions (Nat/Asian, Other/Nat, Other/Asian) do not necessarily induce greater attachment to one's national origin or Asian identity. That is not to say that identity threats are ineffective writ large, however - there are significant increases in attachment to both identities when the intended group and actual groups are the same (and relevant to the respondent). It is possible that the Asian/Asian and Nat/Nat conditions are more effective treatments because the intended and actual groups are the same.

[Figure 1 here]

Second, national origin attachment increases for both Asian/Asian and Nat/Nat condition, suggesting that, even when one is being told that they are being discriminated against because they are Asian without specifying a national origin identity, there is an underlying link between one being Asian and one's national origin background. This is interesting given the estimates for Asian identity attachment, where the Nat/Nat treatment does not increase attachment to one's Asian identity (counter to expectations in Table 2). Thus, while the Asian/Asian identity threat increases national origin identity importance (implying that priming Asian identity also primes national origin identity), the Nat/Nat identity threat does not increase Asian identity importance (implying that priming national origin identity does not prime Asian identity). This is potentially a reflection of the basis of discrimination. In the Nat/Nat condition, discrimination is isolated to one's national origin group and respondents may rally around that group identity in spite of being part of the larger Asian group. In the Asian/Asian condition, however, discrimination occurs at the larger group level, highlighting one's inevitable connection to the larger group via national origin background. One takeaway here is that the identity of interest (national origin vs. Asian) is an important consideration in designs studying identity attachment and importance.

A comparison of the difference between the national origin and Asian identity importance outcomes using seemingly unrelated regression confirms that the effect of Nat/Nat on national origin identity importance is significantly greater than the effect on Asian identity. On the other hand, while the Asian/Asian condition increases importance of both national origin and Asian identity, the difference is not significant. The fact that, counter to expectations of there being treatment effects, the other conditions do not change the importance of being Asian suggest that Asian identity is enhanced only when there are not competing identities being primed. When

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Asians as a whole suffer the consequences due to a specific subgroup (e.g., in Other/Asian or Nat/Asian), attachment to one's Asian identity may be distracted by the focus on the subgroup being the intended target.

In the rightmost column of Panel (a), which presents estimates for American identity importance, we see that the importance of being American increases in the Asian/Asian, Nat/Nat, and Other/Other conditions (though at a 10% significance level for Asian/Asian and Nat/Nat). That one's American identity becomes more important under threats comports with previous research on identity denial which finds that when one's claim to the American identity is challenged (implicitly in this case) individuals tend to assert their American-ness.

Panel (b) of Figure 1 breaks down the analysis by identity strength (estimates in Table A5). Separate regressions are run on the sub-samples of those who identify strongly with their Asian identity and those who identify weakly. Because the identity strength is itself not randomized, the proceeding analysis is at best descriptive, highlighting differences in the effectiveness of treatments across these two subgroups. While I focus on the importance of one's Asian identity for the main discussion, an alternative specification where identification strength is instead based on one's national origin identity is provided in Table A7.

The leftmost column of Panel (b) suggests that the Asian/Asian treatment increases attachment to one's national origin identity, regardless of identity strength. As reported in Table A5, the estimate on the Asian/Asian treatment for strong identifiers is 0.060 units and 0.073 units for weak identifiers. We previously saw that the Nat/Nat condition increased the importance of one's national origin, which now appears to be driven primarily by weak Asian identifiers. The estimated effect among weak identifiers is 0.120 units and about six times the size of the effect for strong identifiers, which is 0.016 and insignificant. This supports theories positing that

individuals will rally around a threatened identity and counters theories that weak identifiers will shun the identity (unlike strong identifiers, who attach more). We see similar patterns in Table A7, where we instead use national origin identity strength – the Nat/Nat condition has positive effects among both strong and weak identifiers, but the effect is still larger among weak identifiers. Additionally, strong identifiers are more likely to attach more to their national origin identity in the Nat/Asian condition. Contrary to what we saw in the pooled result, strong identifiers do indeed respond to their national origin group being the intended target by attaching more to their national origin identity. The estimate among weak identifiers is near zero and insignificant, suggesting that weak identifiers are likely unmoved relative to control by the fact that their national origin group is the intended target, as opposed to actively distancing themselves from the offending identity (in which case, the estimate should be negative).

These results on national origin identity attachment suggest that strong identifiers' attachment to this identity is responsive to a threat leveled against Asians as a group but only when the intended target is either Asians or their national origin group. The fact that their national origin attachment is not significantly different in the Other/Asian condition is perhaps not surprising since their national origin identity is not explicitly being primed. Similarly, weak identifiers' attachment to national origin identity is responsive to threats against Asians or their national origin group but only when the intended targets and those actually affected are the same. Column (3) of Table A5 confirms that strong Asian identifiers attach more strongly to their national origin identity than do weak Asian identifiers, regardless of the identity threat. The middle column of Panel (b) presents estimates by identity strength for Asian identity importance. Strong identifiers increase attachment to their Asian identity in all conditions in which Asians are the actual affected group.

Finally, we see variation in conditions that increase American identity attachment in the rightmost of Panel (b). Among strong identifiers, only the Asian/Asian treatment increases attachment suggesting that one's sense of Asian identity is connected to one's sense of American identity. Among weak identifiers, attachment increases in Nat/Nat and Other/Other, potentially reflecting a need to assert one's American identity in response to exclusion and a lack of relevance of Asian group identity.

For robustness, I also provide results from specifications using placebo identities that were asked in addition to the main identity measures (Table A8) and dropping respondents who selected multiple countries of origin (Table A9). When we consider gender and religious identities, we generally do not see significant effects. When respondents with more than one potential national origin identity are dropped, we see that the main effects still hold, save for the Asian/Asian treatment which no longer has a significantly positive effect on Asian identity attachment.

Groupness Outcomes

Figures 2 and 3 present results for the groupness measures. In Panel (a) of Figure 2, I estimate the effect of each treatment on perceived linked fate with one's national origin group and with other Asians. [9] Delineating linked fate between national origin and Asian groups provides intuition for how Asian respondents think about whether their political interests are attached to a more general, pan-Asian identity or more specifically to one's national origin. The estimates in Panel (a) (Columns (1) and (2) of Table A10) suggest weak evidence for changes in one's linked fate with either group in response to identity threat. We see that linked fate with one's national

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[9] A robustness specification for Figure 2 in which respondents with multiple national origins are dropped is provided in the online appendix in Table A13.

origin group is positive in the Other/Nat condition, though this is significant at the 10% level.

We also see that the Nat/Nat treatment does not significantly change national origin linked fate,

suggesting that this observed increase from the Other/Nat treatment is potentially due to the

intended group being another Asian subgroup. The baseline measure of Asian linked fate is

0.512 and greater than the 0.439 base rate for national origin linked fate and thus, the lack of a

detectable effect is unlikely to be a function of ceiling effects.

[Figure 2 here]

Recall that the Nat/Nat and Asian/Asian conditions increased the importance of one's national

origin identity. Figure 2 shows that these conditions do not have a significant effect on group

linked fate - increasing the importance of one's national origin identity does not coincide with an

increase in linked fate. While one's national origin identity may be important, that importance

does not necessarily translate into the politicization of that identity, either at a national origin or

pan-Asian level.

      Panel (b) reports estimates on perceived likelihood of discrimination due to one's

national origin and Asian background (estimates in Columns (3) and (4) of Table A10). The

perceived likelihood of being discriminated due to national origin identity increases in conditions

where Asians are targeted as a whole (though, only the Nat/Asian coefficient is significant at

5%). On the other hand, there are no detectable effects for the perceived likelihood of being

discriminated for being Asian. One interpretation is that being racially discriminated against will

always involve one's identity as Asian, whereas discrimination on the basis of national origin

background is more variable, allowing for more variation in treatment effects.

Panel (c) of Figure 2 presents estimates for perceived external categorization by whites as being of one's national origin group, being Asian, and being American. We see that individuals in the Asian/Asian treatment are more likely to believe that white Americans would identify them as part of their national origin group. There are no detectable changes for the likelihood of being identified as Asian, likely due to the already-high base rate. Respondents in the Asian/Asian, Nat/Nat, and Nat/Asian treatments are more likely to believe that white Americans would categorize them as American relative to control. While we would expect a negative effect, e.g., the vignette explicitly alienates Asian students as other, these effects may reflect the idea that when Asians are denied claim to their American identity, they are more likely to express their American-ness. There are no detectable changes in the other three conditions, in which another national origin group is mentioned.

Figure 3 breaks down select groupness outcomes by identification strength (estimates in Tables A11 and A12). For brevity, I focus on linked fate with other Asians and discrimination against Asians for the main discussion, but a complete reporting of the groupness outcomes is in the online appendix in Figure A1. Panel (a) suggests that strong Asian identifiers are more likely to perceive linked fate with other Asians in the Nat/Asian and Other/Nat conditions (the latter is significant at the 10% level). On the other hand, not only do weak identifiers not report a higher level of linked fate in these conditions, but Asian linked fate among weak identifiers does not seem to change in response to any of the treatments. The difference between strong and weak identifiers here comports with extant work suggesting that individuals who are more politically socialized are also more likely to identify with their racialized identities.

[Figure 3 here]

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To understand potential mechanisms explaining variation in effects among strong identifiers from Panel (a), we can focus on the Nat/Asian condition in Panel (b), which speaks to the connection between one's national origin group and other Asians. We may expect strong identifiers to be more responsive with respect to the politicization of their Asian identity and to perceive greater levels of discrimination. In Panel (b), we see no differences among strong or weak identifiers in the perceived likelihood of being discriminated for being Asian. While we may have expected some difference, the lack thereof perhaps speaks to the recognition that racial discrimination occurs due to one's racialized identity as Asian, regardless of treatment condition. Conversely, if we consider the likelihood of being discriminated for being of one's national origin (Columns (4) and (5) of Table A12), we see some evidence that the perceived basis of discrimination increases. For strong identifiers, one's national origin becomes more salient in discrimination in the Nat/Asian condition. For weak identifiers, it becomes more salient in the Nat/Nat condition, highlighting the saliency of national origin identity over Asian identity.

Discussion

Results from the present study suggest that one's national origin identity is responsive to identity threats in a way that is not true for one's Asian identity. The predictions made in Table 2 based on existing research, which predicted variation in both direction and relative magnitude of treatment effects, are inconsistent with the analyses presented above. A takeaway is that the context of an identity threat matters. The conditions that produced significant treatment effects for the importance of one's national origin identity did not have an effect on the importance of one's Asian identity, especially when we account for identity strength. Similarly, the treatments

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that induced a response in the groupness measures were different than those in the identity outcomes.

From a design perspective, studies involving identity threats have traditionally used threats where the targeted group was singular. While we might have expected variation in outcomes between treatments in which the targeted groups were the same versus those in which they were different, the findings show that treatments where the intended target group matches the group that is actually targeted are more effective in changing identity attachment. This suggests that more care must be taken in understanding how the outcome of interest relates to one's national origin or Asian identity when design studies that use identity primes or threats. This is particularly relevant in studying Asian identity, where we might be inclined to prime one's national origin identity in order to measure effects on outcomes related to one's Asian identity.

While some identity threats have an effect on one's national origin identity, we do not see comparable effects on the groupness measures. The interpretation is that for Asians, one's sense of racial identity is primarily a function of one's national origin background. However, their sense of political group identity is likely a function of something beyond their racial or ethnic background. This is not to say that the Asian identity is not itself a politically relevant one, but rather that what underlies its activation and salience does not necessarily speak to one's personal attachment to the identity. The Asian pan-ethnic label may not be a culturally-unifying identity but nonetheless a politically-unifying one. Indeed, Okamoto (2014) shows how pan-ethnicity does not naturally form due to group similarities, but rather through organizing efforts in response to institutional forces.

The research design in this study can only speak to the connection between one's national origin and Asian identities but not the political characterization or construction of one's Asian identity. This point is particularly relevant with regards to pathways for future research, ranging on topics such as the role of discrimination in affecting political behavior and preferences to the efficacy of identity-based appeals in mobilization efforts. Moreover, while robustness specifications show that excluding respondents with multiple national origin identities does not change the main results, this does not mean that individuals with multiple backgrounds are no different than those with single backgrounds. Future research efforts made to understand how identities are relevant in identity-based appeals (and why) will allow us to understand how these results extend to other types of identities (e.g., multiple backgrounds, hyphenated identities).

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Figure 1. Effect of Identity Threat on Identity Attachment

(a) Effect on Identity Importance
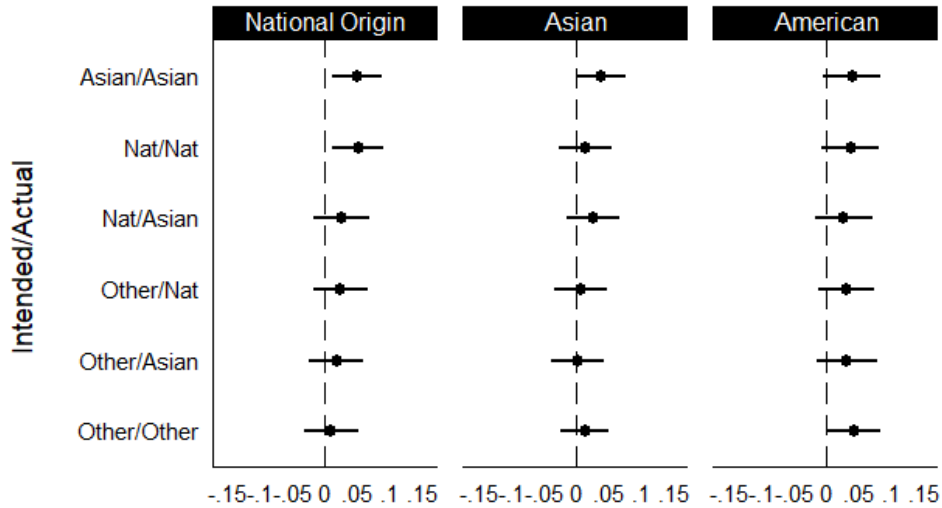
(b) By Identification Strength
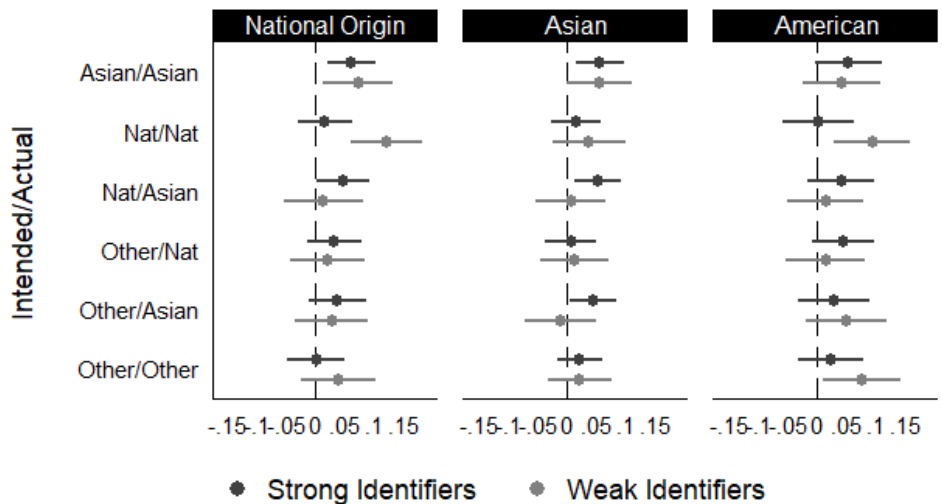
● Strong Identifiers   ● Weak Identifiers

Notes: Each column presents results from an OLS regression of the outcome variable (denoted by the column heading) on indicators for each treatment condition. Each point is a coefficient with 95% confidence intervals, denoting the marginal effect of the treatment relative to the control condition.

Figure 2. Effect of Identity Threat on Groupness Measures

(a) Linked Fate with...

(b) Perceived Likelihood of Discrimination

(c) Perceived Likelihood of Being Identified as...
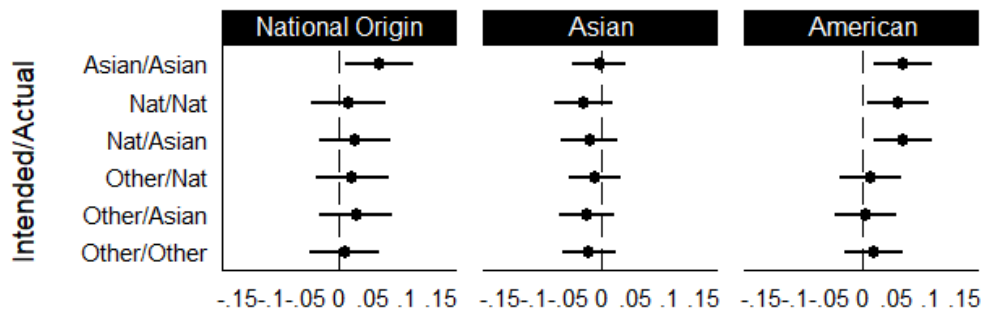
Notes: Each column presents results from an OLS regression of the outcome variable (denoted by the column heading) on indicators for each treatment condition. Each point is a coefficient with 95% confidence intervals, denoting the marginal effect of the treatment relative to the control condition.

Figure 3. Effect of Identity Threat on Groupness Measures, by Identity Strength

(a) Linked Fate with...
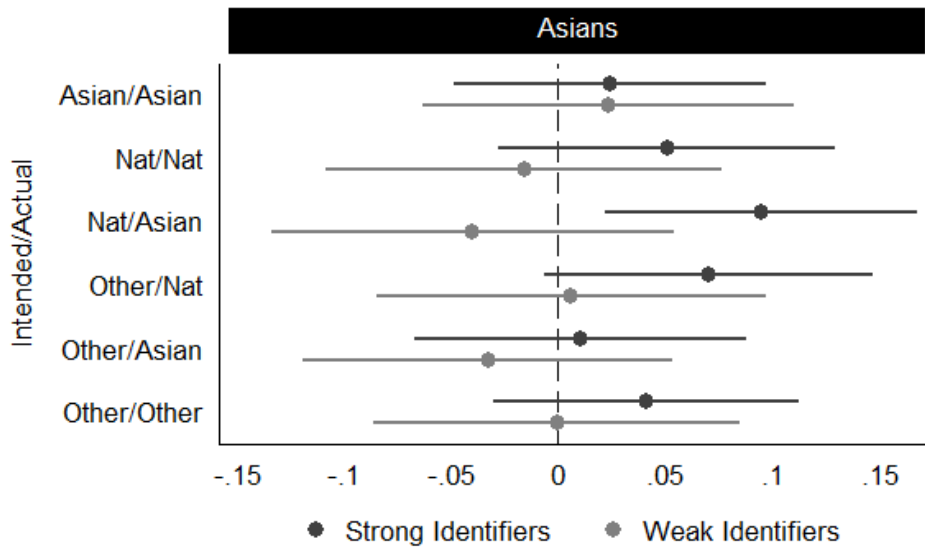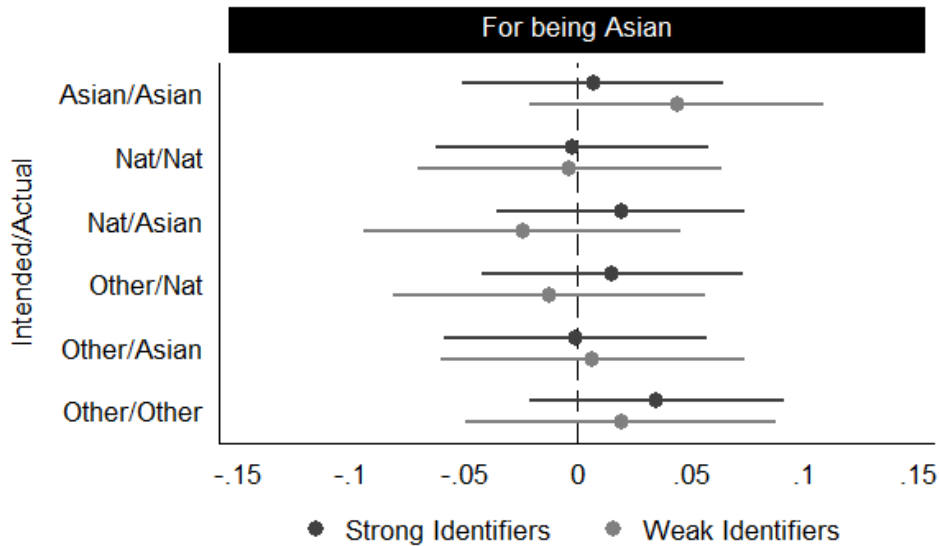
(b) Perceived Likelihood of Discrimination
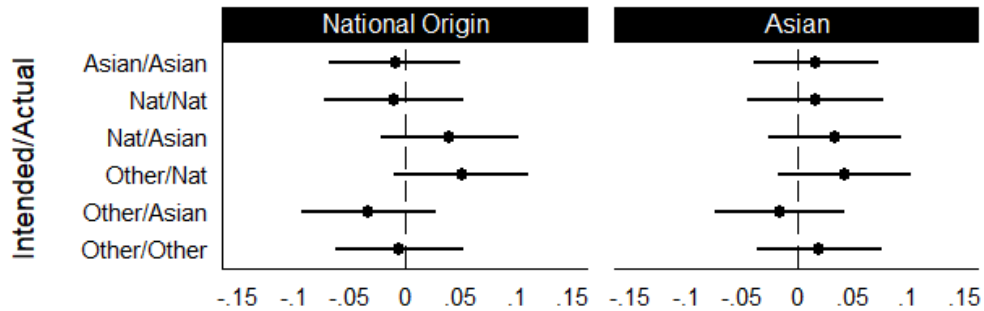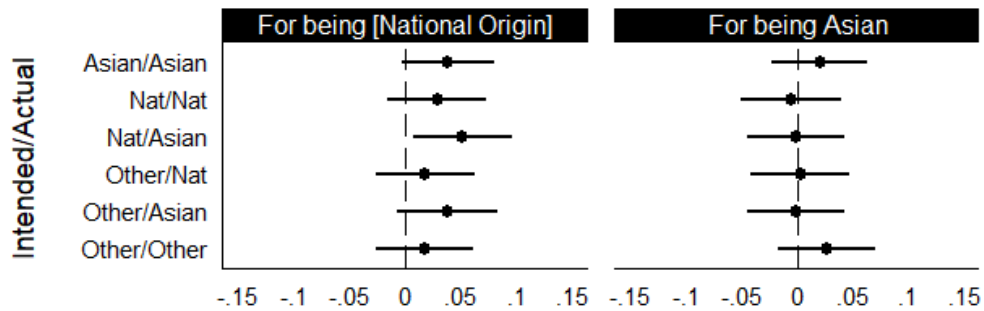

Notes: Each column presents results from an OLS regression of the outcome variable (denoted by the column heading) on indicators for each treatment condition. Each point is a coefficient with 95% confidence intervals, denoting the marginal effect of the treatment relative to the control condition.

Table 1. Treatment Conditions

Treatments:	Intended	Actual
Asian/Asian	Asian	Asian
Nat/Nat	[R's National Origin]	[R's National Origin]
Nat/Asian	[R's National Origin]	Asian
Other/Nat	Chinese (if R not Chinese), Korean (if R Chinese)	[R's National Origin]
Other/Asian	Chinese (if R not Chinese), Korean (if R Chinese)	Asian
Other/Other	Chinese (if R not Chinese), Korean (if R Chinese)	Chinese (if R not Chinese), Korean (if R Chinese)
Control	out-of-state	out-of-state

Notes: R refers to respondent. Treatment conditions are labeled based on the ordering: Intended Target Group/Actual Affected Group.

Table 2. Prediction of Main Effects of Treatments on Changes in Identity Attachment

Treatments: Intended/Actual	Effect on National Origin Identity Attachment Relative to Control	Effect on Asian Identity Attachment Relative to Control
Asian/Asian	+	+
Nat/Nat	+	+
Nat/Asian	-	+ +
Other/Nat	+ +	-
Other/Asian	+ +	-
Other/Other	+	+

Notes: Predicted changes in identity attachment are made relative to the average level of attachment in the control condition. "+ +" = large increase, "+" = increase, "-" = decrease

Table 3. Identification Strength Among Respondents

	Level of Identification			
Analytic Sample:	**Strong**		**Weak**	
Identification with…	N	% of Total	N	% of Total
Asian	1097	57.11	824	42.89
National Origin	1102	57.37	819	42.63
Non-Asian Respondents:	**Strong**		**Weak**	
Identification with…	N	% of Total	N	% of Total
Asian	9	32.14	19	67.86
National Origin	9	32.14	19	67.86

Notes: Identity strength is measured on a 0-100 scale. Strong identifiers are those who respond with values greater than 76.8. Non-Asian Respondents are respondents who indicated a racial group other than Asian but traced ancestry to an Asian country.

Online Appendix for Understanding Pan-Asian Identity: How and When Threat Affects Asian and National Origin Identity Attachment

Table of Contents

1. Description of Survey Design

A. Measuring National Origin

In order to measure respondents' national origin identity, I apply the following procedure. Respondents are first asked, "Asians and Asian Americans have their roots in many different countries in Asia. To which country or countries do you or your family trace your ancestry?" If they indicated more than one country, the national origin identity that is used in the survey is randomly chosen from that set. Additional analysis accounting for multiple national origin ancestry is provided in the appendix tables.

B. Key Survey Items

Identity Importance

Pre-Treatment Identity Importance: "On a scale from 0 to 100, how proud would you say you are to be [National Origin/Asian]?
   - Respondents who answer with a value greater than the sample mean (76.8) with respect to being Asian are coded as *strong* Asian identifiers and the others as *weak* Asian identifiers. Additional analyses using a 50-point cutoff are provided in the appendix tables in the subsequent sections.

Post-Treatment Identity Importance: "How important would you say each of the following is to your identity?"
   - Being [National Origin]
   - Being Asian
   - Being American
   - Your gender
   - Your religion

Respondents can respond based on a 4-point scale: Not at all important, Not that important, Somewhat important, Very important. For the analysis, each identity importance measure is discretely scaled to be from 0 to 1. The last two measures of one's gender and religion are used in placebo specifications.

Groupness

National Origin Linked Fate: "Thinking about [National Origin] people in America, do you think what happens generally to [National Origin] Americans will affect what happens in your life?"

Respondents can answer either: Yes, No, Not Sure. If they say "Yes", they are additionally asked: "Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much". The final measure is scaled from 0 to 1, taking the following values: 0 = No or Not sure, 0.333 = Not very much, 0.667 = Some, 1 = A lot.

Asian Linked Fate: "Do you think what happens generally to Asian Americans will affect what happens in your life?"

Respondents can answer either: Yes, No, Not Sure. If they say "Yes", they are additionally asked: "Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much". The final measure is scaled from 0 to 1, taking the following values: 0 = No or Not sure, 0.333 = Not very much, 0.667 = Some, 1 = A lot.

External Categorization: "If you were walking down the street, how likely do you think that white Americans who do not know you personally would say you are…"
-   [National Origin]
-   Asian
-   American

Respondents can answer using the following 4-point scale: Extremely unlikely, Somewhat unlikely, Somewhat likely, Extremely likely. For the analysis, each identity importance measure is discretely scaled to be from 0 to 1.

Discrimination: "How much discrimination would you say you've experienced…"
-   Because you are [National Origin]?
-   Because you are Asian?
-   Because of your gender?
-   Because of your religion?

Respondents can respond based on a 4-point scale: None at all, A little, Some, A lot. For the analysis, each measure is discretely scaled to be from 0 to 1. The last two measures of discrimination due to one's gender and religion are used in placebo specifications.

C. Survey Recruitment

Participants were recruited through survey platforms Turk Prime and Prolific. The same 5-minute survey was used in both platforms. In particular, Prolific requires a payment that calculates to an hourly rate of $6.50/hour. Based on this minimum, participants on both platforms were paid $0.55 for entering into the survey, and study statistics using actual time spent taking the survey from Prolific suggest that this payment averaged about $7.71/hour. Respondents who were eligible for the survey based on the platform's prescreening criteria but were ultimately exited out of the survey were still paid this base rate. Before any survey questions were asked, respondents were shown a consent form page outlining the details of their involvement and how their data were to be collected. Respondents were required to consent to the study terms prior to entering into the survey.

D. Comments on Treatment Design

While there are nine possible pairwise combinations of Nat, Other, and Asian identities, these six treatment conditions were chosen for the purposes of optimizing power while still being able to identify the effects from different identity-relationships. For example, there is not a Nat/Other condition, in which a respondent's national origin group is the intended target and another Asian group is the actual target. However, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that the effect of a Nat/Other treatment would be similar to the effect from the Nat/Asian condition. Any differences between these two groups would be a function of either the respondent's affect towards another national origin group or due to the unifying nature of the Asian label. Thus, because the Asian

label is more general than, we should expect the Nat/Asian condition to produce a more conservative effect on identity attachment than a Nat/Other condition but one that is nonetheless more oriented to the broader research question.

E. Analysis Pre-registration

The experimental design was pre-registered with an analysis plan at OSF Registries. The main results, Figures 1-3 in the manuscript, are all specified in the pre-analysis plan to some degree (as Tables 1-5). The follow changes were made in drafting the manuscript. First, for reader convenience, the regression tables specified in the pre-analysis plan are presented as coefficient plots, with the corresponding tables provided this online appendix. Second, Columns (3) and (4) of Table 4 in the pre-analysis plan are moved to Table A6 in this online appendix. Finally, Table 6 in the pre-analysis plan was removed due to convolutedness.

F. Discussion of Vignette Design

While there are numerous contexts in which identity threat could be characterized in a survey vignette, the choice of university setting for this study was primarily motivated by the saliency of affirmation action policy among Asian Americans, both in its role in recruiting Asian students from underrepresented national origin groups and in its perceived inadvertent discrimination against other national origin groups. This is most recently captured by the 2019 *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard* court case. Other forms of discrimination are no less worth studying, but the main intent of the experiment design is to understand the response of identity salience to a stimulus. To motivate this choice, I first use data from the 2016 National Asian American Survey (NAAS). Figure F1 shows that Education is perceived to be a top issue facing the US among Asian survey respondents. Additionally, data from AAPI Data (https://aapidata.com/) suggests that education, and affirmative action in particular, are salient issues for Asians in the US. Specifically, a majority of Asians believe that education is extremely or very important[10], and a majority of Asians support affirmative action (notably, the proportions vary across national origin group).[11]

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[10] https://aapidata.com/infograpic-2020-issue-importance-education/

[11] https://aapidata.com/infograpic-2020-affirmative-action-favor-or-oppose/

Figure F1. Asian Respondents' Most Important Issue Facing US

Most Important Policy Issues
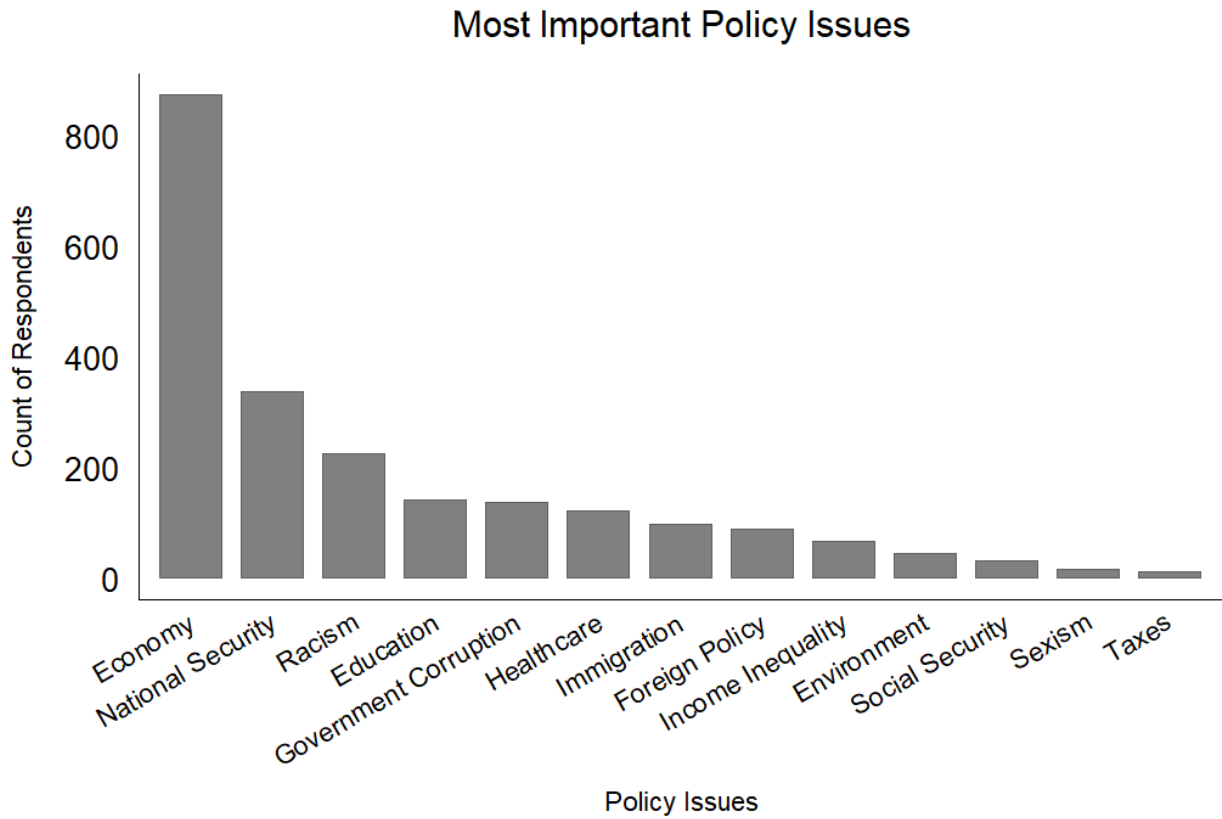
Data from 2016 National Asian American Survey (NAAS), Pre-Election Survey
Question wording: *What do you think is the most important problem facing the US today?*

2. Appendix Tables

Table A1. Respondent Demographics

	Prolific		Turk Prime	
	N	**Mean**	**N**	**Mean**
Age	-	25.71	-	30.05
U.S. Citizen	272	0.20	145	0.25
Not a U.S. Citizen	151	0.11	51	0.09
Skipped Citizen Question	922	0.69	380	0.66
Multiple National Origins	186	0.14	67	0.12
Female	627	0.47	314	0.55
Generation 1	426	0.32	202	0.35
Generation 2	786	0.58	290	0.50
Generation 3	119	0.09	82	0.14
Total	1345	-	576	-

Notes: The total number of respondents in the sample used in the main analysis is 1,921. Generation 1 respondents are those who were born outside of the United States but are currently living in the US. Generation 2 respondents are those who were born in the US but whose parents were both born outside of the US. Generation 3 respondents are those who were born in the US and have at least one parent who was also born in the US. Due to cost restraints, the survey was designed to be succinct and focused survey items related to one's racial/ethnic identity. Thus, demographic questions that are typically asked, such as partisanship, education, or household income, were not asked in this survey.

Table A2. Racial and Ethnic Identification by National Origin

Country of Origin	Number of Respondents Selecting _____ for Race				# Identifying as Hispanic/Latino		# with Multiple National Origins
	Asian	Black	White	Other	Yes	No	
Bangladesh	37	1	0	1	1	38	3
Cambodia	32	1	0	0	1	32	21
China	606	1	8	4	11	608	191
India	322	0	3	1	5	321	12
Indonesia	29	0	0	0	0	29	16
Japan	115	0	2	2	2	117	42
Korea	244	0	2	1	0	247	30
Laos	32	0	1	0	1	32	22
Malaysia	20	0	2	0	3	19	16
Myanmar	13	0	1	0	1	13	5
The Philippines	292	0	2	3	16	281	50
Singapore	9	0	0	0	1	8	6
Taiwan	108	0	2	0	2	108	46
Thailand	38	0	1	0	2	37	23
Vietnam	283	0	2	0	3	282	70

Notes: I code whether respondents identify as Asian by asking "Which racial or ethnic group best describes you? (White/Black/African-American/Asian/Other)." If respondents selected Asian, they were then to select the country or countries in Asian from which they trace their ancestry (full question wording and list of countries can be found in the appendix). If respondents selected a group other than Asian, they were asked "To your knowledge, do you or your family trace your ancestry to any country/countries in Asia?" Respondents who said "No" or "I don't know" were exited out of the survey.

Table A3. Identification Strength by Country of Origin

Country of Origin	Strong Asian Identifiers		Strong National Origin Identifiers	
	N	% of COO Total	N	% of COO Total
Bangladesh	18	46.15	16	41.03
Cambodia	23	69.7	18	54.55
China	353	57.03	288	46.53
India	164	50.31	182	55.83
Indonesia	20	68.97	14	48.28
Japan	74	62.18	69	57.98
Korea	129	52.23	144	58.3
Laos	25	75.76	15	45.45
Malaysia	11	50	5	22.73
Myanmar	8	57.14	5	35.71
The Philippines	190	63.97	173	58.25
Singapore	4	44.44	2	22.22
Taiwan	77	70	71	64.55
Thailand	22	56.41	13	33.33
Vietnam	190	66.67	164	57.54

Notes: Identity strength is measured on a 0-100 scale. Respondents are asked: "How proud are you to be [Asian/National Origin]?" Strong identifiers are those who respond with values greater than 75.

Table A4. Effect of Treatments on Importance of Identity

Outcome Measures:	(1) Importance of being [National Origin]	(2) Importance of being Asian	(3) Importance of being American
Treatments (Intended/Actual):			
Asian/Asian	0.0486**	0.0385**	0.0398*
	(0.0197)	(0.0195)	(0.0223)
Nat/Nat	0.0507**	0.0142	0.0381*
	(0.0201)	(0.0206)	(0.0225)
Nat/Asian	0.0252	0.0266	0.0271
	(0.0215)	(0.0205)	(0.0223)
Other/Nat	0.0236	0.00774	0.0314
	(0.0212)	(0.0202)	(0.0218)
Other/Asian	0.0171	0.00378	0.0318
	(0.0217)	(0.0208)	(0.0234)
Other/Other	0.00934	0.0143	0.0426**
	(0.0211)	(0.0188)	(0.0216)
Constant	0.730***	0.737***	0.679***
(Control)	(0.0122)	(0.0111)	(0.0131)
N	1,921	1,921	1,921
R-squared	0.005	0.003	0.003

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese).

Table A5. Effect of Treatments on Importance of Identity, by Pre-Treatment Identity Strength

Identification Strength	*Strong*	*Weak*		*Strong*	*Weak*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Importance of being [National Origin]	Importance of being [National Origin]	Difference: Strong (1) – Weak (2)	Importance of being Asian	Importance of being Asian	Difference: Strong (3) – Weak (4)
Treatments (Intended/Actual):						
Asian/Asian	0.060***	0.0725**	0.216***	0.0577***	0.0570**	0.25***
	(0.021)	(0.0301)	(0.03)	(0.0204)	(0.0283)	(0.03)
Nat/Nat	0.016	0.120***	0.125***	0.0172	0.0391	0.227***
	(0.024)	(0.0315)	(0.03)	(0.0219)	(0.0312)	(0.03)
Nat/Asian	0.047**	0.0135	0.262***	0.0542***	0.00820	0.295***
	(0.022)	(0.0335)	(0.03)	(0.0200)	(0.0304)	(0.03)
Other/Nat	0.031	0.0198	0.24***	0.00858	0.0144	0.243***
	(0.023)	(0.0325)	(0.03)	(0.0222)	(0.0295)	(0.03)
Other/Asian	0.037	0.0273	0.238***	0.0460**	-0.00945	0.305***
	(0.025)	(0.0317)	(0.03)	(0.0196)	(0.0304)	(0.03)
Other/Other	0.001	0.0383	0.192***	0.0225	0.0234	0.248***
	(0.025)	(0.0321)	(0.03)	(0.0196)	(0.0280)	(0.03)
Constant (Control)	0.820***	0.591***	0.229***	0.836***	0.586***	0.249***
	(0.014)	(0.0182)	(0.02)	(0.0119)	(0.0165)	(0.02)
N	1,097	824		1,097	824	
R-squared	0.009	0.020		0.012	0.007	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese). Estimates in the Difference columns are based on difference in means tests comparing respondents who are coded as Strong Identifiers to those coded as Weak Identifiers within each treatment condition. Identity strength is coded based on a pre-treatment measure of how proud a respondent is of being Asian.

Table A6. Effect of Treatments on Importance of Identity, by Pre-Treatment Identity Strength

Identification Strength	*Strong*	*Weak*	
	(1)	(2)	Difference:
	Importance of	**Importance of**	**Strong (3) –**
	being American	**being American**	**Weak (4)**
Treatments (Intended/Actual):			
Asian/Asian	0.053*	0.0419	0.121***
	(0.029)	(0.0336)	(0.04)
Nat/Nat	0.002	0.0949***	0.017
	(0.031)	(0.0327)	(0.04)
Nat/Asian	0.042	0.0158	0.135***
	(0.029)	(0.0330)	(0.04)
Other/Nat	0.045*	0.0154	0.139***
	(0.027)	(0.0346)	(0.04)
Other/Asian	0.029	0.0504	0.089**
	(0.031)	(0.0352)	(0.04)
Other/Other	0.024	0.0764**	0.057
	(0.028)	(0.0335)	(0.04)
Constant (Control)	0.723***	0.613***	0.11***
	(0.016)	(0.0205)	(0.03)
N	1,097	824	
R-squared	0.005	0.014	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese). All dependent variables are measured on a scale from 0 to 1. Estimates in the Difference columns are based on difference in means tests comparing respondents who are coded as Strong Identifiers to those coded as Weak Identifiers within each treatment condition. Identity strength is coded based on a pre-treatment measure of how proud a respondent is of being Asian.

Table A7. Effect of Treatments on Importance of Identity, by Pre-Treatment National Origin Identity Strength

Identification Strength	Strong	Weak		Strong	Weak	
	(1) Importance of being [National Origin]	**(2)** Importance of being [National Origin]	**(3)** Difference: Strong (1) – Weak (2)	**(4)** Importance of being Asian	**(5)** Importance of being Asian	**(6)** Difference: Strong (3) – Weak (4)
Treatments (Intended/Actual):						
Asian/Asian	0.022	0.087***	0.241***	0.019	0.067**	0.147***
	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.03)	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.03)
Nat/Nat	0.032	0.111***	0.227***	0.007	0.046	0.156***
	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.03)	(0.023)	(0.031)	(0.03)
Nat/Asian	0.034*	-0.005	0.345***	0.043**	-0.008	0.246***
	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.03)	(0.021)	(0.033)	(0.03)
Other/Nat	0.024	0.013	0.316***	0.001	0.011	0.185***
	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.03)	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.03)
Other/Asian	0.031*	-0.016	0.352***	0.011	-0.015	0.221***
	(0.019)	(0.031)	(0.03)	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.03)
Other/Other	0.006	0.004	0.308***	-0.010	0.040	0.145***
	(0.020)	(0.031)	(0.03)	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.03)
Constant (Control)	0.867***	0.562***	0.305***	0.825***	0.630***	0.195***
	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.02)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.02)
N	1,049	866		1,049	866	
R-squared	0.006	0.029		0.005	0.011	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese). Estimates in the Difference columns are based on difference in means tests comparing respondents who are coded as Strong Identifiers to those coded as Weak Identifiers within each treatment condition. Identity strength is coded based on a pre-treatment measure of how proud a respondent is of being Asian.

Table A8. Effect of Treatments on Importance of Identity, Placebo Identities

Outcome Measures:	(1) Importance of Gender	(2) Importance of Religion
Treatments (Intended/Actual):		
Asian/Asian	0.0380*	0.0211
	(0.0218)	(0.0288)
Nat/Nat	-0.0128	-0.00738
	(0.0235)	(0.0291)
Nat/Asian	0.000948	0.0116
	(0.0238)	(0.0274)
Other/Nat	0.0322	0.000791
	(0.0212)	(0.0279)
Other/Asian	0.0128	0.0236
	(0.0242)	(0.0289)
Other/Other	0.0127	-0.00588
	(0.0220)	(0.0264)
Constant	0.669***	0.345***
(Control)	(0.0131)	(0.0158)
N	1,915	1,915
R-squared	0.003	0.001

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese).

Table A9. Effect of Treatments on Importance of Identity, Excluding Multiple National Origin

Outcome Measures:	(1) Importance of being [National Origin]	(2) Importance of being Asian	(3) Importance of being American
Treatments (Intended/Actual):			
Asian/Asian	0.0529**	0.0350	0.0485**
	(0.0208)	(0.0217)	(0.0239)
Nat/Nat	0.0526**	0.0186	0.0443*
	(0.0216)	(0.0227)	(0.0245)
Nat/Asian	0.0236	0.0299	0.0338
	(0.0233)	(0.0226)	(0.0240)
Other/Nat	0.0238	0.0160	0.0317
	(0.0222)	(0.0214)	(0.0236)
Other/Asian	0.0281	0.00600	0.0503**
	(0.0221)	(0.0224)	(0.0246)
Other/Other	0.0120	0.0195	0.0398*
	(0.0221)	(0.0202)	(0.0232)
Constant	0.739***	0.726***	0.677***
(Control)	(0.0129)	(0.0122)	(0.0139)
N	1,668	1,668	1,668
R-squared	0.005	0.002	0.005

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese).

Table A10. Effect of Treatments on Groupness

Outcome Measures:	Linked Fate		Fear of Discrimination		Categorization by White Americans		
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**(6)**	**(7)**
	Linked Fate w/ [National Origin]	**Linked Fate w/ Asian Americans**	**Likelihood of discrimination for being [National Origin]**	**Likelihood of discrimination for being Asian**	**Likelihood of being identified as [National Origin]**	**Likelihood of being identified as Asian**	**Likelihood of being identified as American**
Treatments (Intended/Actual)							
Asian/Asian	-0.00893	0.0173	0.0385*	0.0204	0.0596**	-0.00221	0.0604***
	(0.0297)	(0.0287)	(0.0212)	(0.0219)	(0.0255)	(0.0200)	(0.0219)
Nat/Nat	-0.0101	0.0168	0.0289	-0.00530	0.0127	-0.0252	0.0532**
	(0.0318)	(0.0310)	(0.0229)	(0.0228)	(0.0279)	(0.0216)	(0.0234)
Nat/Asian	0.0400	0.0347	0.0518**	-0.000796	0.0224	-0.0163	0.0590***
	(0.0316)	(0.0304)	(0.0225)	(0.0222)	(0.0265)	(0.0212)	(0.0220)
Other/Nat	0.0507*	0.0430	0.0185	0.00341	0.0191	-0.00795	0.0118
	(0.0305)	(0.0303)	(0.0225)	(0.0227)	(0.0270)	(0.0194)	(0.0231)
Other/Asian	-0.0328	-0.0153	0.0378*	-0.000754	0.0244	-0.0206	0.00422
	(0.0308)	(0.0296)	(0.0228)	(0.0223)	(0.0277)	(0.0208)	(0.0230)
Other/Other	-0.00487	0.0203	0.0176	0.0264	0.00755	-0.0180	0.0175
	(0.0294)	(0.0282)	(0.0221)	(0.0223)	(0.0257)	(0.0199)	(0.0216)
Constant (Control)	0.439***	0.512***	0.384***	0.503***	0.534***	0.856***	0.451***
	(0.0174)	(0.0168)	(0.0128)	(0.0128)	(0.0153)	(0.0106)	(0.0130)
N	1,921	1,921	1,921	1,921	1,921	1,921	1,921
R-squared	0.004	0.002	0.004	0.002	0.003	0.001	0.008

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese).

Table A11. Effect of Treatments on Groupness, by Pre-Treatment Asian Identity Strength

Identification Strength	Strong	Weak		Strong	Weak	
	(1) Linked Fate w/ Asian Americans	(2) Linked Fate w/ Asian Americans	(3) Difference: Strong (1) – Weak (2)	(4) Likelihood of discrimination for being Asian	(5) Likelihood of discrimination for being Asian	(6) Difference: Strong (3) – Weak (4)
Treatments (Intended/Actual):						
Asian/Asian	0.024	0.023	0.017	0.007	0.0439	0.088*
	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.04)	(0.029)	(0.0330)	(0.05)
Nat/Nat	0.051	-0.016	0.055	-0.002	-0.00336	0.154***
	(0.040)	(0.047)	(0.04)	(0.031)	(0.0342)	(0.05)
Nat/Asian	0.095**	-0.040	0.097***	0.019	-0.0240	0.222***
	(0.037)	(0.048)	(0.04)	(0.028)	(0.0356)	(0.05)
Other/Nat	0.070*	0.006	0.081**	0.015	-0.0124	0.151***
	(0.039)	(0.046)	(0.04)	(0.029)	(0.0350)	(0.05)
Other/Asian	0.010	-0.033	0.046	-0.001	0.00691	0.13***
	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.04)	(0.029)	(0.0340)	(0.05)
Other/Other	0.041	-0.000	0.069*	0.035	0.0193	0.128***
	(0.036)	(0.044)	(0.04)	(0.029)	(0.0350)	(0.05)
Constant (Control)	0.546***	0.459***	0.053**	0.524***	0.471***	0.087**
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.03)	(0.016)	(0.0204)	(0.03)
N	1,097	824		1,097	824	
R-squared	0.008	0.003		0.002	0.005	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese). Estimates in the Difference columns are based on difference in means comparing respondents who are coded as Strong Identifiers to those coded as Weak Identifiers within each treatment condition. Identity strength is coded based on a pre-treatment measure of how proud a respondent is of being Asian.

Table A12. Effect of Treatments on Groupness, by Pre-Treatment Asian Identity Strength

Identification Strength	Strong	Weak		Strong	Weak	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Linked Fate w/ [National Origin]	Linked Fate w/ [National Origin]	Difference: Strong (1) – Weak (2)	Likelihood of discrimination for being [National Origin]	Likelihood of discrimination for being [National Origin]	Difference: Strong (3) – Weak (4)
Treatments (Intended/Actual):						
Asian/Asian	-0.025	0.022	0.014	0.032	0.0517	0.033
	(0.041)	(0.043)	(0.03)	(0.028)	(0.0318)	(0.05)
Nat/Nat	-0.006	-0.005	-0.03	0.002	0.0661*	0.079
	(0.042)	(0.048)	(0.04)	(0.030)	(0.0354)	(0.05)
Nat/Asian	0.073*	0.001	0.041	0.056*	0.0489	0.152***
	(0.041)	(0.048)	(0.04)	(0.029)	(0.0350)	(0.05)
Other/Nat	0.069*	0.026	0.03	0.017	0.0219	0.123**
	(0.040)	(0.047)	(0.04)	(0.030)	(0.0344)	(0.05)
Other/Asian	-0.027	-0.028	0.022	0.034	0.0467	0.081
	(0.042)	(0.045)	(0.04)	(0.030)	(0.0345)	(0.05)
Other/Other	0.011	-0.020	0.07*	0.034	-0.00169	0.111**
	(0.039)	(0.044)	(0.04)	(0.029)	(0.0338)	(0.05)
Constant (Control)	0.471***	0.390***	0.035	0.398***	0.363***	0.08**
	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.03)	(0.017)	(0.0199)	(0.04)
N	1,097	824		1,097	824	
R-squared	0.008	0.002		0.005	0.008	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese). Estimates in the Difference columns are based on difference in means comparing respondents who are coded as Strong Identifiers to those coded as Weak Identifiers within each treatment condition. Identity strength is coded based on a pre-treatment measure of how proud a respondent is of being Asian.

Table A13. Effect of Treatments on Groupness, Excluding Multiple National Origins
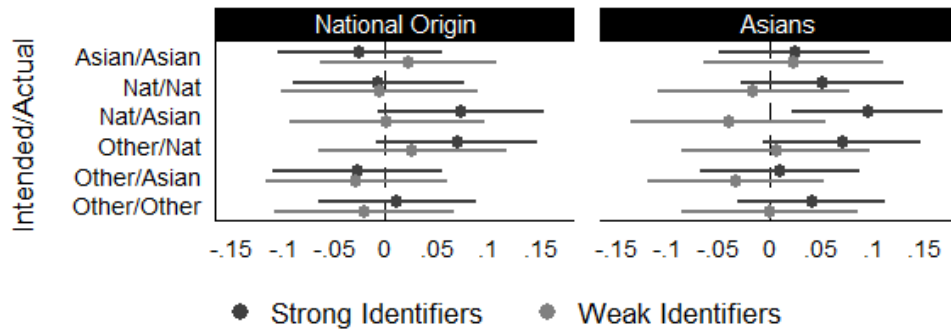
Outcome Measures:	*Linked Fate*		*Fear of Discrimination*		*Categorization by White Americans*		
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**(6)**	**(7)**
	Linked Fate w/ [National Origin]	**Linked Fate w/ Asian Americans**	**Likelihood of discrimination for being [National Origin]**	**Likelihood of discrimination for being Asian**	**Likelihood of being identified as [National Origin]**	**Likelihood of being identified as Asian**	**Likelihood of being identified as American**
Treatments (Intended/Actual)							
Asian/Asian	0.000338	0.00975	0.0364	0.0150	0.0533*	0.000937	0.0652***
	(0.0321)	(0.0314)	(0.0232)	(0.0239)	(0.0279)	(0.0224)	(0.0241)
Nat/Nat	0.00170	0.0164	0.0468*	-0.00610	0.0108	-0.0223	0.0625**
	(0.0346)	(0.0337)	(0.0244)	(0.0247)	(0.0300)	(0.0237)	(0.0260)
Nat/Asian	0.0361	0.0427	0.0565**	-0.00223	0.00199	-0.0197	0.0762***
	(0.0339)	(0.0327)	(0.0240)	(0.0239)	(0.0288)	(0.0238)	(0.0237)
Other/Nat	0.0597*	0.0457	0.0319	0.0124	0.0254	-0.00800	0.00502
	(0.0326)	(0.0325)	(0.0238)	(0.0242)	(0.0285)	(0.0214)	(0.0247)
Other/Asian	-0.0249	-0.00692	0.0458*	0.0104	0.0159	-0.0205	0.0132
	(0.0327)	(0.0318)	(0.0243)	(0.0242)	(0.0294)	(0.0230)	(0.0247)
Other/Other	-0.000495	0.0288	0.0228	0.0309	0.00977	-0.0131	0.0124
	(0.0312)	(0.0299)	(0.0237)	(0.0240)	(0.0270)	(0.0219)	(0.0234)
Constant (Control)	0.440***	0.493***	0.388***	0.499***	0.544***	0.843***	0.436***
	(0.0188)	(0.0180)	(0.0137)	(0.0140)	(0.0163)	(0.0118)	(0.0142)
N	1,668	1,668	1,668	1,668	1,668	1,668	1,668
R-squared	0.004	0.002	0.005	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.011

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$. All dependent variables are measured on a four-point scale from 0 to 1. Treatment conditions are labeled according to Intended/Actual, where Intended refers to the national origin group intended to be targeted, and Actual refers to the national origin group actually targeted. In refers to the respondent's own national origin group. Out refers to a national origin outgroup (Chinese, if respondent is not Chinese, or Korean, if respondent is Chinese).
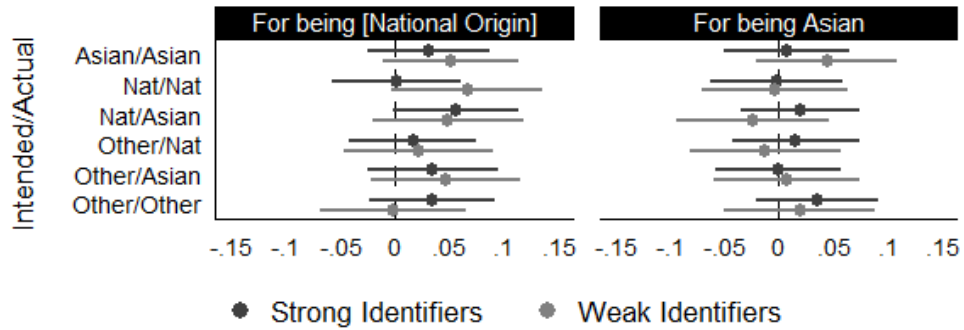
3. Appendix Figures

Figure A1.

(a) Linked Fate with…

(b) Perceived Likelihood of Discrimination

(c) Perceived Likelihood of Being Identified as…