Diverse Perspectives on the Model Minority Myth: Listening to Second-Generation Chinese Americans

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Introduction

Asian Americans have long been depicted in popular culture as a "model minority." The model minority myth (MMM) is the belief that Asian Americans are academically successful due to their strong work ethic and cultural emphasis on education (Chew 1994). Sociologist William Peterson originally coined the term in the 1960s to praise Japanese Americans for their accomplishments and to set an example for other racial minority groups (Wong & Halgin 2006). The term then rose to popularity in the media and has been used for decades to emphasize Asian American academic, financial, and occupational success (Wong et al. 1998). Importantly, the myth has both positive and negative connotations: On the one hand, Asian Americans are seen as high-achieving, intelligent, and hard-working. On the other hand, they are simultaneously stereotyped as monolithic, quiet, passive, and unsuited for leadership and executive positions (Jin 2021; Liu 2021; Wong et al. 1998).

A substantial portion of the popular discourse regarding the model minority myth is focused on how *non*-Asian racial groups engage in perpetuating or challenging this myth (e.g., see Girard 2021, Nguyen 2020). Less attention is paid, however, to whether and how the myth is understood and debated by Asian Americans themselves. In this paper, I aim to help fill this gap by using interviews with second-generation Asian Americans to explore three interrelated questions pertaining to the model minority myth. First, how do second-generation Asian Americans make sense of the model minority myth? As I show through both a review of the academic literature as well as original data from interviews, there is some variation in how Asian Americans engage with the myth. Secondly, why do some Asian Americans subscribe to (or internalize) the model minority myth while others do not? It is important to understand why

some Asian Americans feel strongly about the myth while others hold more ambivalent attitudes. Lastly, what effects, if any, does believing in the model minority myth have on behavior or preferences? The 2023 supreme court ruling against affirmative action in college admissions has inflamed racial tensions between Asian Americans and other racial minority groups. Research has yet to examine post-ruling links between the MMM and Asian American attitudes towards affirmative action and other minorities.

The importance of asking the above questions cannot be overstated. Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial group in the United States and make up 7% of the national population as of 2023 (Ruiz et al. 2023). 27% of Asian Americans are classified as second-generation, meaning they were born in the U.S. to immigrant parents (Zhou et al. 2005). Understanding how this growing population makes sense of and is impacted by the dominant stereotype assigned to their racial group will contribute to our knowledge of immigrant integration and inter-group relations in the United States.

The remainder of this paper proceeds as follows. Section II provides a review of literature relevant to each of the three questions outlined above. Sections III describes the research methodology and relates the data to claims in the literature. The final section summarizes main takeaways, notes the limitations of this study, and outlines future research directions.

Literature Review

Question 1: How do second-generation Asian Americans make sense of the model minority myth?

Is there a common understanding of the model minority myth amongst the Asian population, or is there variation in how Asian Americans engage with the myth? Existing literature points us in both directions. For example, in a survey of 704 students from Washington State University, Wong et al. (1998) found that Asian Americans tended to perceive themselves as more prepared, motivated, and more likely to have higher career success than all other (minority and non-minority) racial groups. However, when researchers tested for statistically significant differences in *actual* academic performance between racial groups in this sample, no consistent difference was found. These results indicate that Asian Americans may at least *indirectly* buy into the model minority myth

by seeing themselves as better performing than other racial groups (even if these expectations are not matched by real performance). However, one limitation of this study is that it does not ask respondents to directly report their understanding of the MMM. In addition, the study only reports *average* responses among the Asian students, which does not preclude the possibility that there is still significant variation in whether respondents subscribe to the stereotypes generated by the MMM.

Other literature does indeed show that such variation exists. For example, Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) conducted a survey of 162 Asian American university students to better understand their views on the model minority myth. 51.7% of the students expressed negative views of the model minority label, 26.3% expressed positive views, and 15.9% were ambivalent.

Negative attitudes were associated with a desire for individual over group recognition, as well as the pressure associated with conforming to the myth. Meanwhile, positive attitudes were associated with the belief that the label stands for and promotes positive behavior and treatment. Finally, Asian Americans who expressed ambivalence towards the myth tended to reason that while the model minority myth is a stereotype and stereotypes are generally harmful, it is at least a positive stereotype (compared to certain stereotypes about other groups).

Additional studies have provided more evidence for such reasoning behind positive and negative views of the myth. Lee (1994, 1996) conducted 47 ethnographic interviews of Asian American students at a coed, public high school in Philadelphia. Asian American students in this high school showed wide variation in their perceptions of the model minority myth. For example, some Asian American students anecdotally believed in the model minority myth and attempted to meet model minority expectations. For example, one student said, "[Asian Americans] are smarter. I mean, I don't think it's a stereotype—look at our report cards. We are better, and we have to show it." Lee found that those who viewed the MMM positively saw the myth as a path to success and higher education.

Meanwhile, other Asian American students distanced themselves from the MMM. One such student expressed that "[whites] will have stereotypes, like, [Asians are] smart—They are so wrong; not everyone is smart. They expect you to be this and that, and when you're not—[*shakes her head*]." Lee's findings show that there is great variability in how

Asian Americans perceive the model minority myth, which subsequently impacts how they choose to behave.

Kiang et al. (2017), in a review of the literature, describe additional concerns noted by those who hold negative views of the myth, including unrealistic expectations for academic success, pressure for creating a certain social image, and presumed submissiveness. In contrast to these findings on positive and negative attitudes, ambivalent attitudes are less documented in the existing literature.

Finally, having negative views of the model minority myth does not necessarily prevent Asian Americans from subscribing to the myth. Some Asian Americans choose to conform to the model minority myth despite believing it is inaccurate or harmful. Chae conducted 13 in-depth interviews with Korean American high schoolers and found that Asian American youth may subscribe to the myth despite being critical of it in order to take advantage of its benefits. These benefits included avoiding social judgment and being perceived as intelligent and well-behaved. This suggests two important distinctions: Subscribing to the model minority myth is not equivalent to believing the myth to be accurate, and believing it to be accurate is not the same as believing it to be harmful.

Question 2: Why do some Asian Americans subscribe to (or internalize) the model minority myth while others do not?

As discussed in the previous section, some Asian Americans appear to "internalize" aspects of the model minority myth, some reject the myth entirely, while others feel more conflicted or ambivalent. In addition to understanding the full range of Asian American perceptions of the model minority myth, it is important to ask *why* this variation occurs. Relative to the literature (discussed above) on how Asian Americans differentially grapple with the MMM, there is little work that explicitly addresses the causes of this variation. There are also gaps in the literature when it comes to examining model minority myth internalization in the present-day context, specifically among second-generation Asian Americans. Below, I discuss the limited literature addressing this "why" question, but also expand my discussion to papers that *implicitly* point to certain sources of variation.

Some studies indicate that internalization of the model minority myth is influenced by exposure to the myth through social networks and the composition of one's environment (e.g., ethnic make-up of

one's school). Atkin et al. (2018) conducted the survey of 367 Asian American adolescents in two American high schools. One high school was predominantly Asian while the other was predominantly non-Asian. They found that Asian American adolescents in predominantly non-Asian schools were more likely to internalize the model minority myth than adolescents in predominantly Asian schools. The authors argue that – in schools with large Asian populations – Asian American students were less likely to be treated as homogeneous and more likely to engage in conversation to challenge stereotypes. Social support geared towards Asians and the presence of counterexamples (Asian students that did not fit the model minority stereotype) also minimized the perceived reliability of the model minority myth. This suggests that the racial/ethnic composition of a school, specifically the number of Asian American peers, impacts how Asian American adolescents view the model minority myth. School is one environment among many that can solidify certain perceptions of the model minority myth.

Alongside schooling, one of an adolescent's most prominent social influences are their parents. Existing literature suggests that Asian parents may reinforce or challenge the MMM with their stories and expectations. Park (2008) conducted interviews with 88 Chinese and Korean teenagers to examine why they tended to give similar descriptions of their family's migration experience (despite differences in race, class, history, culture, and geography, etc.). The knowledge that Chinese and Korean teenagers shared about their family's migration experience fit the image of a model minority success story. These stories preserved the image of Asian Americans as a "good" minority, indicating that the stories and experiences that Asian parents share with their Asian American children may play a role in reinforcing the model minority myth. Asian American adolescents' views of the model minority myth has also been connected in previous studies to parental expectations. While conducting ethnographic interviews of Asian Americans at a high school, Lee (1994) found that Asian students commonly cited a sense of responsibility to their families and guilt for parental sacrifice for accepting the model minority myth.

Existing literature also implicitly points to other factors that may contribute to different levels of model minority myth internalization among Asian Americans, including ethnicity and immigration status. For example, Ngo & Lee (2007) conducted a literature review of how the model minority stereotype, in conjunction with assumptions that

Southeast Asians are underachieving, impact the experiences of Southeast Asian students. They found that the contrasting stereotypes of Southeast Asians as both "model minorities" and "high school dropouts, gangsters, and welfare dependents" complicates the experiences of Southeast Asians with the MMM. This indicates that different Asian ethnicities have different experiences with the model minority myth, which may lead to different levels of myth internalization.

A final source of variation implicitly discussed in the literature is immigration status. Lee (2001) interviewed Hmong Americans at a Wisconsin public school and observed that first generation and second-generation Hmong Americans tended to have separate and distinct views about education. The first generation students tended to be more academically motivated. Teachers observed them as "good kids" who conformed to the model minority myth. The second-generation was more "Americanized" and tended to be wary of stereotypes such as the model minority myth. This suggests that immigration experiences and length of time in America can indirectly influence how Asian Americans view the model minority myth.

Question 3: What effects, if any, does believing in the model minority myth have on behavior or preferences (such as attitudes towards affirmative action, and attitudes towards other minorities)?

How does the model minority myth impact the way Asian Americans experience the world and how they view themselves in relation to other members of society? Existing literature that examines such questions reveal that the variation in Asian American views of the model minority myth, as discussed in previous sections, is highly consequential. The model minority myth's known effects show that studying diverse Asian American perspectives on the myth is important, and its lesser-known effects need more research.

The bulk of the existing literature surrounding the impacts of the model minority myth focuses on academic performance and help-seeking tendencies. Kim & Lee (2014) studied help-seeking attitudes among Asian American students in a survey of 106 self-identified Asian American university undergraduates. Using survey scales, the researchers gauged the attitudes of their participants towards help-seeking and the model minority myth. The researchers found that internalized model minority myth significantly predicted unfavorable help-seeking attitudes. They

argue that the model minority myth encourages exemplary academic and financial performance and conversely discourages behavior that contradicts the stereotype.

Comparatively less literature discusses the social and political impacts of the model minority myth. The previously discussed influence of the model minority myth on help-seeking attitudes, however, may have implications for social and political spheres as well. One potential implication is in attitudes towards affirmative action. Affirmative action programs seek to promote opportunity for underrepresented minority groups in admissions and hiring contexts. These programs may be seen by some as a form of help-seeking in which underrepresented minority groups receive aid and preferential treatment. Yi & Todd. (2021) surveyed 251 Asian American college students to examine the links between internalizing the model minority myth and socio-political outcomes such as opposition to affirmative action and anti-Black attitudes. The researchers found that greater internalization of the model minority myth is a predictor for anti-Black attitudes and opposition to affirmative action. Internalizing the model minority myth was also linked to just-world beliefs – i.e., the belief that the world is a fair place in which people get what they deserve no matter what racial group they belong to (Lerner, 1980; Lipkus, 1991). These findings suggest that internalizing the MMM influences how Asian Americans view other racial groups.

The literature that examines the relationships between Asian Americans and other, non-Black racial groups is sparse. Existing literature on this topic focuses predominantly on the relationship between Asian Americans and Black Americans. Both quantitative and qualitative studies have indicated that internalization of the model minority myth is a predictor for anti-Black attitudes. For example, Lee (1996) observed that high-achieving Asian-identified students resented Black Americans because they believed that African Americans received unfair advantages through affirmative action programs. Lee also found that Asian Americans were perceived by students of other races as "unfair competitors" while certain Asian American students viewed Black Americans as "lazy welfare recipients." This indicates that anti-Blackness, for Asian American students, may come from the model minority myth's implication that Black Americans lack the work ethic to become more successful and must receive help to achieve the success that Asian Americans achieve without aid.

However, other studies have not found such a clear link between MMM internalization and antiBlack attitudes. Matriano et al. (2021) investigated this question by examining Asian American college students' support for Black Lives Matter. They surveyed 272 Asian American college students from a large, public university in the Southwest. Their findings suggested that internalization of the MMM was not related significantly to BLM support. Critical reflection (thinking critically about racism and systemic inequality), however, was related to Asian Americans' support of BLM. Additionally, because the stakes and nature of affirmative action have changed since the 2023 supreme court ruling against affirmative action in college admissions, there is still a need for present-day data.

Methodology

In order to answer the three questions discussed above, this study collects original qualitative data through semi-structured interviews. Participants were 10 self-identified second-generation Chinese Americans, and were recruited through a snowball sampling method. The first round of respondents (three people) were recruited from my inner circle. I asked them questions about their personal background (eg. family, schooling), the model minority myth (whether they believed it was harmful/beneficial, accurate/inaccurate, etc.), and their attitudes towards affirmative action and other minority groups. After the interview, participants were asked to refer an individual who was also a second-generation Chinese American. There were three rounds of interviews in total, with one person from the second round referring two individuals, making the total number of participants 10. Each participant took part in a semi-structured interview which lasted, on average, 32.7 minutes in length. A table with details about each respondent, including age, gender, and length of interview, can be found below.

Name	Date of interview	Age (years)	Gender	Length of Interview
Respondent #1	8/17	22	Male	36 min
Respondent #2	8/17	22	Male	45 min
Respondent #3	8/18	82	Male	27 min
Respondent #4	8/21	66	Female	50 min
Respondent #5	8/24	17	Female	26 min
Respondent #6	8/25	21	Female	22 min
Respondent #7	8/28	34	Female	27 min
Respondent #8	9/3	18	Female	21 min
Respondent #9	9/4	21	Female	26 min
Respondent #10	9/2	21	Female	46 min

Each of the interviews was recorded and transcribed with the participant's consent. I then reviewed each of these transcripts thoroughly, and deciphered emerging themes and patterns across respondents. The quotes were edited for clarity. Below, I present the findings from this analysis.

Findings

This section presents findings from the qualitative data collection exercise discussed above. In particular, for each of the three core questions motivating this study, I provide examples of claims made by my interview respondents and link these to debates in the wider literature.

Question 1: How do second-generation Asian Americans make sense of the model minority myth?

The interviews conducted in this study are in line with the existing literature in that Asian Americans have a diverse range of opinions about the model minority myth. In my sample of ten second-generation

Chinese Americans, 50% of individuals expressed unequivocally negative attitudes towards the myth, 20% expressed mixed negative-leaning attitudes, 20% remained ambiguous, and 10% expressed mixed positive-leaning attitudes. None of the participants took a fully positive stance, which differs from previous studies such as Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) and Lee (1994), in which a significant portion of the respondents felt positively about the myth. This suggests that general attitudes towards the model minority myth may have shifted in a negative direction since these studies were conducted. Of the 10 interview respondents, two individuals were unfamiliar with the term "model minority," though both participants recognized the substance of the myth (Asians are intelligent and successful) upon a brief explanation.

Those respondents who felt decidedly negatively about the MMM tended to think of the myth as harmful and demeaning to Asian American individuals, and as perpetuating stereotypes of submissiveness. Of the five out of ten respondents who felt negatively about the myth, three mentioned that the myth was an oversimplification of the diversity in Asian American experiences. They explained that this oversimplification is harmful to Asian American individuals even if the values being assigned to Asian Americans are positive (intelligent, successful). As one participant said, "[The model minority myth] is a stereotype and I think a stereotype is problematic whether it may be viewed in a positive or negative light." Another respondent expressed concern about the pressure Asian Americans feel to conform to the myth: "I think it brings a lot of pressure to kids who feel like "oh, because I'm Asian, I'm supposed to be super smart in a very specific way, right?"...Yet, what they're good at or passionate about is something else. The model minority myth would make them feel less than for that."

The majority of those who had mixed views about the MMM leaned in the negative direction. These respondents generally thought the myth to be harmful but acknowledged potential benefits of being perceived as intelligent or successful. One participant commented, "[The model minority myth is] a double edged sword. I would say that it simultaneously allows certain Asian Americans who fit the criteria to benefit from it and oppress other people. And then it also simultaneously places them within a very confining box."

Other respondents with mixed views mentioned how a positive image may encourage positive behavior: "I just suppose, like, it can be motivating to uphold that kind of image, you know, it can motivate students to do their school and stuff. But it can also harm students too, because it can put really harsh expectations or ideals. It can be really

damaging, especially when things don't always go the way that you want them to." Positive ideas about the myth as expressed by those with mixed attitudes tended to revolve around increased academic motivation and privilege over other minority groups. As one participant noted, "As a result [of the MMM], we are better equipped than the other [racial minority] groups in terms of knowing what to do and what to pursue for success."

In comparison to the existing literature, reasoning about the MMM among Asian Americans seems to be similar in many ways but has also evolved in the past twenty years. In particular, none of the respondents in my sample viewed the model minority myth as unequivocally positive. There seems to be an increasing awareness and emphasis on the negative impact of the MMM on Asian Americans.

Question 2: Why do some Asian Americans subscribe to (or internalize) the model minority myth while others do not?

Existing literature points to explicit factors such as social networks and parenting styles as moderating levels of internalization of the MMM. Implicit factors such as ethnicity and immigration status are also discussed in previous studies. The interviews conducted in this study further explore these factors and their relationship to MMM.

The participants were asked to share details of their schooling experience with questions such as "what is/was the ethnic/racial composition of your school?", "Would you say that you are/were a minority?" and "Would you say your high school was competitive?" Participants were also questioned about the ethnic composition of their social networks. In this sample, the racial/ethnic composition of a respondent's school did not appear to have a significant impact on their views towards the model minority myth. There were participants who went to schools with very few other Asian Americans and viewed the myth as fully negative. There were also participants who went to schools with high Asian American student populations and also felt negatively about the MMM. This finding opposes Atkin et al. (2018), who found that Asian American adolescents in predominantly non-Asian schools were more likely to internalize the model minority myth than those in predominantly Asian schools.

Instead, it may be that the experience of going to college tends to shift Asian Americans' views about the model minority and about Asian American identity in general. Of the eight interviewees who have attended college for at least two years, six said that college changed or developed their understanding of the MMM. All six of these participants

attended liberal colleges and either felt fully negative or mixed (leaning negative) about the MMM. One participant stated how he expected other Asian American students to behave in high school: "When I heard the term Asian in high school, I would attribute values of, like, 'hard working' and 'heads down.' Because, to be honest, if I saw an Asian kid who didn't behave like that in my school, I'd be like, "Whoa, like, they're different." He then explained how his views changed *after* going to college. "Meeting more people outside of high school, maturing a little bit more, learning more about terminology, having more of a political awareness, learning in classes about the model minority myth…I think that just in general increased my worldview," he said.

Another participant expanded on the impact of a diverse and flexible college environment: "It wasn't until I went to like college that I felt like I was able to take courses that I could relate to…I'm very grateful and lucky that I am in this different kind of academic sphere where I feel like my lived experiences do matter." The participants who mentioned their college experience tended to reference their conversations with peers, Asian American history classes, and campus diversity. The two out of ten participants who were unfamiliar with the term "model minority myth" before the interview either had not attended college yet or attended college a long time ago. This suggests that knowledge about and internalization of the model minority myth may be moderated by contemporary liberal discourse on college campuses and access to classes about Asian American history.

Another existing hypothesis in the literature is that children of parents who preserve "model minority" values such as academic success, intelligence, or submissiveness, are more likely to internalize the MMM. Of the 10 participants in this sample, four indicated that their parents actively promoted and enforced such values. These four respondents did not tend to view the myth any more positively than the other respondents. Three of them felt negatively about the myth and one felt mixed (leaning negatively). All four respondents, however, expressed that they felt the MMM was partially truthful. As one individual said, "I think, like a lot of stereotypes, [the MMM] does stem from some truth. Especially knowing what Chinese American values are sometimes. Sometimes my parents would tell me to just like, you know, sit down, shut up, like put your head down and just do your work. So there definitely is some truth that comes from that." The same respondent said, "I think [the MMM] primarily harms [Asian Americans]." These findings indicate that, while parental pressure may not influence whether an individual views the MMM as being *harmful*, it may influence whether an individual

perceives the myth to be *accurate*.

In regard to implicit factors, ethnicity and immigration status were kept constant in the sample with all participants being second-generation Chinese Americans. However, when asked: " Do you think your answers to any of these questions would be different if you belonged to a different group of Asian Americans?" nine out of ten of participants said that their responses would likely be different if they belonged to a different ethnic subgroup (for reasons such as differences in physical appearance, history, culture, and experiences).

Question 3: What effects, if any, does believing in the model minority myth have on behavior or preferences (such as attitudes towards affirmative action, and attitudes towards other minorities)?

Existing literature suggests that internalizing the model minority myth may have social and political implications such as on attitudes towards affirmative action and towards other minorities. Since no individuals in my sample expressed a fully positive view of the model minority, this study lacks the full range of responses that would provide for a more comprehensive analysis of MMM links with social/political attitudes. There are, however, several links that the responses from this sample seem to support.

My interviews support the claim in existing literature that internalization of the model minority influences an individual's degree of support towards affirmative action (Yi & Todd. 2021). Six out of ten respondents expressed support for affirmative action (opposition towards the recent decision against affirmative action in college admissions). Of these six individuals, five viewed the model minority myth negatively and one was mixed (leaning negative). Of the four individuals who did not feel positively about affirmative action, three people felt unsure or neutral and one person opposed affirmative action programs. The three individuals with unsure or neutral attitudes towards affirmative action also felt mixed or ambiguous about the MMM. The one respondent in opposition to affirmative action felt ambiguously about the MMM.

"To be honest, I could probably see both sides. I think I'm leaning towards the fact that this is not necessarily a good thing—having it be race blind. I think it's just not fair because there is a lot of systemic inequity in this country that is associated with race," said one participant, who also expressed a 'double-sided' view of the MMM but leaned negatively. Those who felt decidedly negatively about the MMM tended to take a more firm stance about affirmative action. For example, one participant who felt negatively about the MMM said, "I don't think [the

supreme court decision] was a good ruling. In some ways, I feel like the Asian Americans that were involved in the lawsuit were actually kind of manipulated."

Other existing literature links internalizing the MMM with anti-Blackness. Participants were asked about their understanding of the current relationship between Asian Americans and Black Americans. Some included the model minority myth in their response without being prompted, emphasizing Asian Americans are pitted against Black Americans. Those who did so either viewed the MMM negatively or were mixed (leaning negatively). "Especially with the model minority…I think there's times when Asian Americans are put up on this pedestal for other like minorities to look at. And I think that in general, that doesn't play well," one participant, who viewed the MMM mixed leaning negatively, said. Others responded that Asian Americans are more privileged than Black Americans, citing resources, education, home-ownership, and colorism. Two participants declined to describe the relationship between Asian and Black Americans or answered ambiguously. They had mixed or ambiguous attitudes towards the MMM.

Conclusion

This study has examined three main questions: How do second-generation Asian Americans make sense of the model minority myth? Why do some Asian Americans subscribe to (or internalize) the model minority myth while others do not? And what effects, if any, does believing in the model minority myth have on behavior or preferences?" I first outlined claims in the existing literature for each of the three questions. I then examined original qualitative data (10 semi-structured interviews with second-generation Chinese Americans) in light of the claims. For the first question, I found that second-generation Asian Americans do have a diverse range of attitudes towards the MMM, but those attitudes tend to lean negative. This is a departure from earlier literature, in which significant portions of the samples viewed the MMM positively. For the second question, I found little connection between internalizing the MMM and school racial/ethnic composition. However, liberal discourse and Asian American-centered courses in college appear to be associated with more negative views towards the myth. Finally, parenting style seemed to influence the extent to which an individual believed the MMM to be true, but did not influence how much they believed it to be harmful. For the third question, those who felt strongly

about the MMM tended to also feel more strongly about affirmative action. Negative views towards the MMM were associated with positive views towards affirmative action. The connection with anti-Blackness was not as clear, but those who believed the MMM was harmful to Asian-Black relations tended to view the myth negatively.

This study probes hypotheses suggested in the existing literature through the use of original qualitative data, and also suggests a new hypothesis regarding the impact of college education on views towards the MMM. However, qualitative data collected through snowball sampling is necessarily limited in making generalizable claims. In particular, this study only examines the experiences of second-generation Chinese Americans. Further study is needed to understand the experiences of other Asian American ethnic groups, especially those that are frequently underrepresented in data pertaining to Asian Americans, such as Hmong Americans or Filipino Americans. To understand the full diversity of contemporary Asian American experiences with the MMM, future research should further test these claims by collecting and analyzing probability-based quantitative data, and by expanding the sample to Asian Americans from all ethnic backgrounds.

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