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Framing Remote Work as Anti-Racist Promotes Solidarity Among Asian Americans

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Abstract

During the Covid-19 pandemic, many organizations shifted to remote work. This shift in employment context occurred along with an increase in experiences of racism toward Asian Americans, as well as a continuation of racism toward other marginalized groups. In this research, the researchers explore the relationship between remote work, discrimination, and intra-minority solidarity. In Study 1, Asian Americans who worked from home during the COVID-19 pandemic reported fewer experiences of racial discrimination than those who worked in person. Study 2 demonstrated that both Asian and Black Americans who worked hybrid during the pandemic reported less interpersonal conflict and stress but more positive affect and control when they worked from home than when in the office. In Studies 3-5, they examined how Asian Americans make meaning out of these pandemic circumstances. In the studies, learning about discrimination experiences of Asian Americans during the pandemic promoted attitudes and policy preferences for reducing discrimination for all marginalized groups. The researchers discuss the psychological implications of remote work and other equity-enhancing policy for intra-minority solidarity.

Framing remote work as anti-racist promotes solidarity among Asian Americans

An estimated 550,000 people died in the U.S. as a result of the conditions of the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic (AP News, 2022). The pandemic also transformed everyday life for many people. One domain where change occurred was in the workplace, where disease spread forced non-essential employees into virtual or remote work settings. Another domain was in experiences of racism and hate crimes targeted against members of the Asian American community. From March 2020 to March 2021, there were 6,603 reported incidents of violence against Asian people in the U.S. who some people blamed for the pandemic (Yellow Horse et al., 2021).

The COVID-19 pandemic provided a unique context for Asian Americans—work was transformed while they simultaneously experienced a surge in racial discrimination and violence. In this research, we explore the relationship between these two changing contexts of remote work and discrimination. We investigate the extent that remote work protected Asian Americans from experiences of discrimination. We also study how learning about rising experiences of discrimination among Asian Americans, as well as the mitigating effects of remote work, changed Asian American beliefs about solidarity with other marginalized racial groups.

Remote work reduces racism

It is challenging for U.S. workers to find working environments that are free from prejudice and discrimination given that organizations are inherently gendered and racialized (Ray, 2019; 2021). How marginalized workers, including Asian Americans, who witnessed a surge in racist events (Yellow Horse et al., 2021), navigate these contexts remains a critical question. The re-emergence of racism against Asian communities follows a pattern across history where conflict between the U.S. and other Asian communities or countries triggers backlash and

sometimes violence against Asian people living in the U.S. (Tchen & Yeats, 2014). For instance, in historical accounts of Asian racism, violent attacks against Asian communities tended to co-occur with actual disease outbreaks near Asian populations (Chow, 2020), or were stoked by xenophobic political campaigns focused on disease spread (Trauner, 1978).

Several studies, including social science reports of harassment, have documented the scope of discrimination experienced by Asian communities during the pandemic: In one study of restaurants, experiences of discrimination among Asian communities played out in revenue and traffic, wherein, Asian restaurants experienced an 18.4% decrease in online traffic in 2020, a reduction in traffic that was significant relative to other restaurants and the prior year, and consistent with a loss of $7.42 billion USD in collective revenue (Huang et al., 2023). The rise in anti-Asian hate crimes is often attributed to the origins of the COVID-19 virus in Wuhan, China leading to anti-Asian sentiment among prominent U.S. government officials. Indeed, research finds that then-U.S. President Trump's description of the COVID-19 virus as the *Chinese virus* predicted increased anti-Asian sentiment on social media (Hswen et al., 2021; Nguyen et al., 2020).

As Asian communities experienced racial discrimination and violence, the COVID-19 pandemic changed the nature of work, with many non-essential services temporarily closing to reduce the spread of the virus. Though these changes did not occur across essential services in hospitals and food production, office work pivoted to online communication (e.g., in-person meetings transitioned to video conference calls) to allow for the continuation of organizational functions. Previous research has largely focused on the drawbacks of remote work. For example, employees' perceived work-life conflict and social isolation from colleagues were negatively related to employees' perceived productivity, engagement, and stress while working from home

versus in the office (Galanti et al., 2021). Other research analyzing within-firm email communication found that communication among workers became more siloed (i.e., communication across different departments decreased) and their networks remained more static (i.e., the people whom an employee communicated with were the same throughout) in remote versus in-person work (Yang et al., 2022). Although some studies find positive worker impressions around remote work (e.g., Zhang et al., 2021; Shimura et al., 2021), in general, research highlights the negative aspects of remote work. In this research, we focus on a largely understudied advantage of remote work for potentially reducing workplace prejudice and discrimination for employees from marginalized racial groups (Dupree, 2022).

We expect that Asian Americans, during the COVID-19 pandemic, may have experienced less discrimination when working from home than when working in person for several reasons. The first is that remote work reduces or ends commuting, thus, Asian American employees might avoid unwanted confrontations with strangers in transit and/or public places. During the first year of the pandemic, 46.5% of the reported anti-Asian hate incidents occurred in public places (Yellow Horse et al., 2021). Additionally, employees working from home may have greater autonomy than those working in person to make choices about when to engage with other co-workers in ways that are protective against discrimination—such as through the avoidance of contact with those who could target them with prejudice (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2008). Finally, we contend that because remote work involves real distance through digital communication technology, it allows people to process and regulate responses to discrimination more easily than when it occurs in person (Duker et al., 2022; Ford et al., 2022; Green et al., 2024). We expect that the same remote work benefits, of autonomy and distance, will extend

from Asian Americans to other groups also facing workplace discrimination, including Black Americans.

The relationship between remote work, discrimination, and solidarity

In addition to our examination of discrimination, another goal of the present research is to better understand whether learning about discrimination, and solutions to reduce it, can foster intra-minority solidarity among Asian Americans. Scholars and organizers have long been interested in fostering intra-minority solidarity for coalition-building purposes, especially between Asian and Black Americans (Kim, C.J., 1999). In our research, we assess the extent that an informational intervention that highlights pandemic discrimination and remote work's capacity to reduce it, will increase support for anti-discrimination policy among Asian Americans.

Solidarity is not always the outcome of shared stigma. Despite a history of solidarity between Asian and Black Americans (e.g., Fujino, 2005; Kim, J.Y., 1999), racial discourse in the U.S. has often pitted Asian and Black Americans against each other. One example of this is the way elite narratives frame Asian Americans as the "good" or "model" minority group by which other marginalized groups are derisively compared (Kim, J.Y. 1999; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). When beliefs that Asian Americans are the model minority are internalized by Asian Americans (Petersen, 1996; Chun, 1995), these beliefs can lead to intergroup competition and ultimately hinder Asian Americans' perceptions of solidarity with Black Americans (Matriano et al., 2021; Yi & Todd, 2021).

Research indicates that recalling experiences of ingroup discrimination can lead to solidarity with other distinct marginalized groups (Craig & Richeson, 2016). One process that facilitates solidarity is when meaning is paired with discrimination experiences. Because

discrimination is ambiguous in terms of intent, purpose, and appropriate response (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2008), contexts that facilitate a broader understanding of those experiences as shared and as demanding redress are particularly likely to foster solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Warner et al., 2014). Previous work has demonstrated that when Asian Americans were informed about Japanese Americans receiving reparations for Japanese incarceration, support increased for Black Americans receiving reparations compared to a control condition (Kraus & Vinluan, 2023).

In our research, we build on this past work on solidarity between marginalized groups. Specifically, we provided Asian American participants with information about increases in Asian American discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic and how, based on the evidence we generated from the research in this paper, remote work might alleviate these experiences. We then assessed support for policies that decrease discrimination for all racially marginalized groups. We compared support for these policies to a control condition with no video as well as one that only included information about increases in pandemic racism. This latter condition allows us to determine if exposure to rising trends in pandemic racism is sufficient to increase support for anti-discrimination policy, or if the combination of trends in racism experiences and knowledge of remote work as a solution would be necessary to increase support for anti-discrimination policy. Throughout our studies, we borrowed from past methods on informational interventions which included persuasive messaging that directly confronted racism as a problem (Callaghan et al., 2021; Lopez, 2019), and that appealed to values that are commonly shared by a majority of Americans (Dovidio et al., 2000).

The Present Research

The present research tests two primary predictions. First, we predicted that Asian Americans who worked from home during the COVID-19 pandemic would experience less discrimination than Asian Americans who worked in person during the same time frame. We test this prediction in two studies of Asian Americans, along with an additional sample of Black Americans (Study 2) for generalizability. Second, we predicted that learning about Asian American discrimination during the pandemic and remote work's capacity to reduce such experiences will increase support for policies that decrease discrimination for all racially marginalized groups. We test this prediction in three additional studies.

Results

Discrimination experiences for Asian Americans working remotely versus in-person

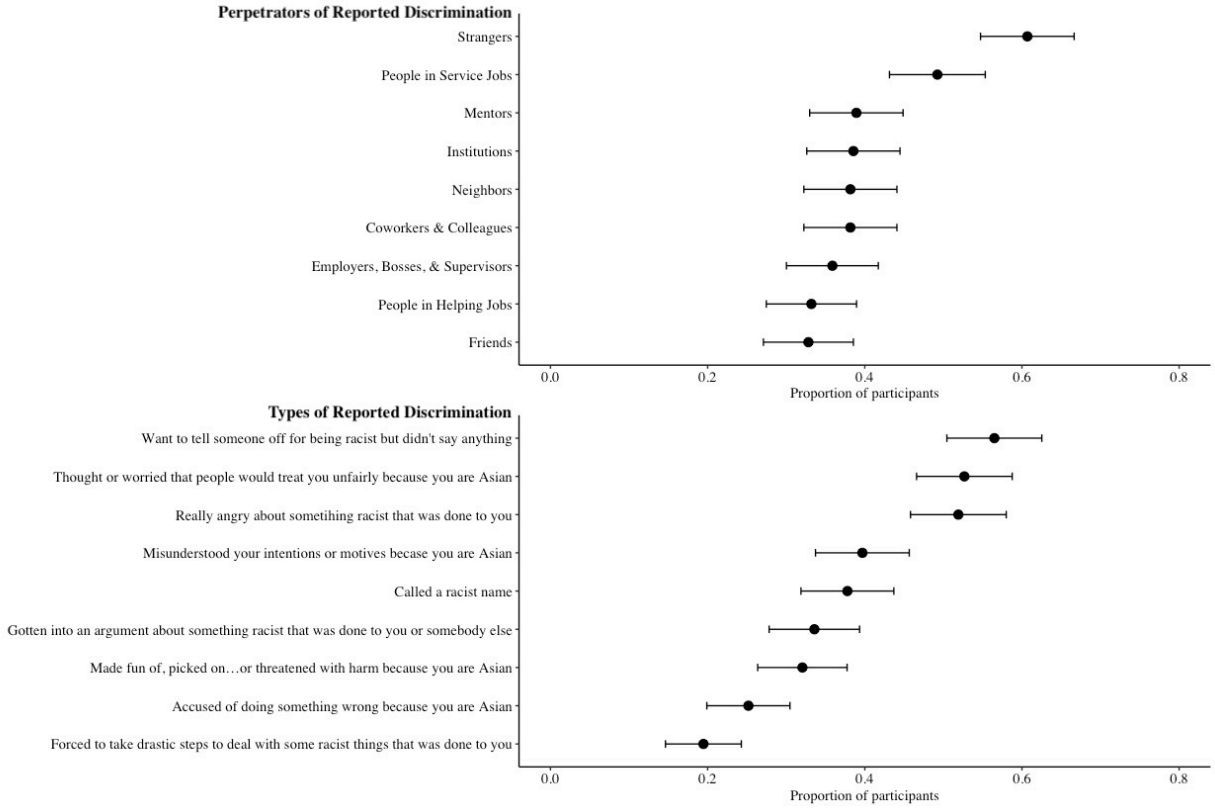
In Study 1, we recruited an ethnically diverse Asian American sample ($N = 262$) who reported working from home or in person. Detailed demographic information about Study 1's sample is provided in Table S1. We asked participants what forms of discrimination, if any, they faced during the pandemic such as being accused of doing something wrong, misunderstood intentions or motivations, wanting to tell someone off for being racist, angry about discrimination that was done to them, being forced to take drastic steps due to treatment based on their race, called a racist name, gotten into an argument about something racist, being bullied due to their race, and worried about being unfairly treated due to their racial identity during the pandemic (January 2020 – July 2021).

Overall, 79.4% ($n = 208$) of our sample reported experiencing at least one form of discrimination during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic (January 2020 to July 2021). Figure 1 shows the variation in experiences of discrimination reported by our sample. Participants were most likely to experience discrimination from strangers (60.7%; $n = 159$) and

least likely to experience it from friends (32.8%; n = 86). The most common experience of discrimination was wanting to "tell someone off for being racist" (56.5%; n = 148) whereas the least likely was being forced to take drastic steps to deal with some racist thing done to you (19.5%; n = 51).

Figure 1

The overall proportion of participants who indicated that they experienced a form of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals surrounding the mean.



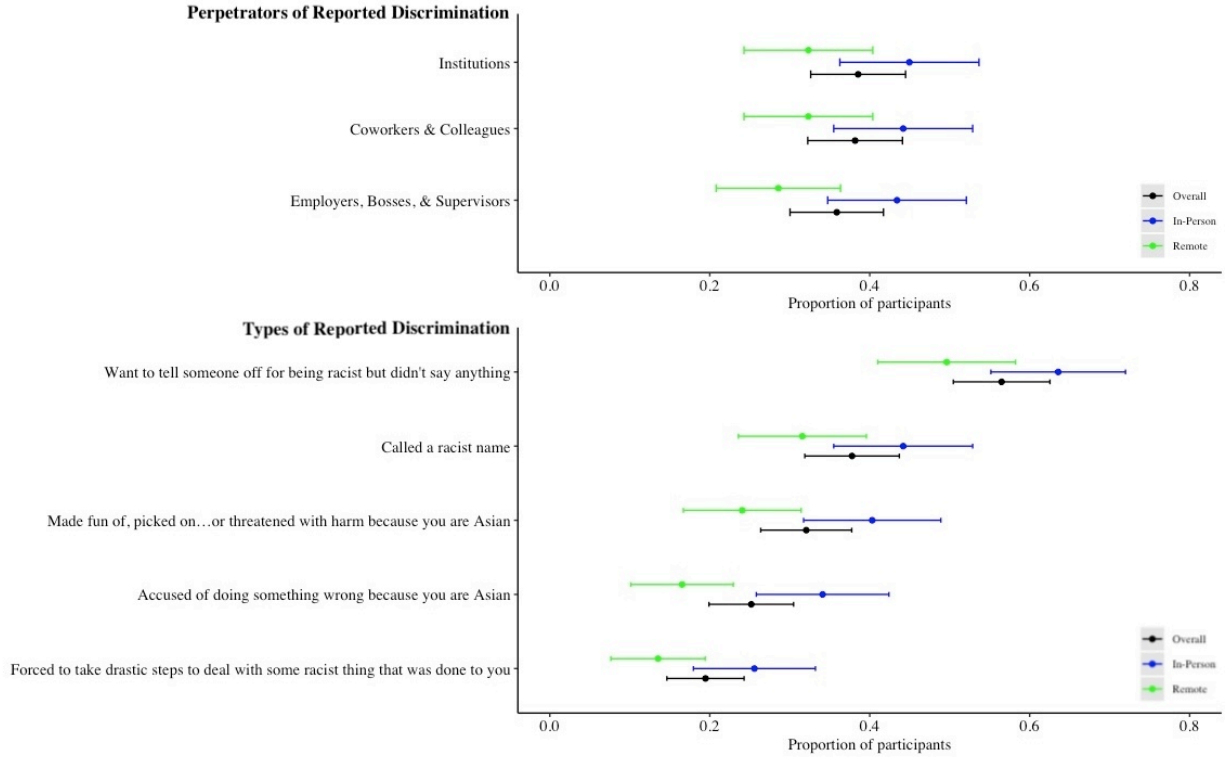
Our central prediction was that Asian Americans would experience more discrimination when working in-person versus remotely. We tested this prediction by comparing discrimination experiences, measured as the average of whether or not the participant indicated they experienced the discrimination, in remote versus in-person work contexts. Our analysis supports this prediction: Asian Americans working from home (M = 0.45, SD = 0.37) experienced

significantly more discrimination compared than Asian Americans working remotely ($M = 0.35$, $SD = 0.34$), $t(260) = 2.30$, $p = .022$, $d = 0.284$.

Examination of specific experiences of discrimination reveals a general pattern aligning with our central prediction. Consistent with our prediction, Asian Americans who worked in person (versus remotely) reported wanting to "tell someone off" for being racist, $t(260) = 2.29$, $p = .023$, $d = .283$, called a racist name, $t(260) = 2.11$, $p = .035$, $d = .261$, made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm because the participant was Asian, $t(260) = 2.85$, $p = .002$, $d = .352$, accused or suspected of doing something wrong because the participant was Asian, $t(260) = 3.33$, $p < .001$, $d = .412$, and forced to "take drastic steps" to deal with some racist thing done to them, $t(260) = 2.28$, $p = .014$, $d = .307$. Participants also reported experiencing greater unfair treatment from their employers, bosses, and supervisors, $t(260) = 2.52$, $p = .012$, $d = .312$, coworkers, $t(260) = 1.98$, $p = .049$, $d = .245$, and institutions, $t(260) = 2.11$, $p = .036$, $d = .261$ (see Figure 2). Participants did not experience statistically significant differences in discrimination experiences for remote or in-person work in the remaining categories p's $> .081$. – see Table S2 for individual t-test results. We additionally conducted separate regression models for each individual discrimination experience reported and controlled for participants' age, gender, Asian subgroup, immigration status, and socioeconomic status (Table S3). With the addition of demographic controls, there was no longer a significant difference between remote versus in-person for called a racist name and forced to "take drastic steps" to deal with some racist thing done to them as well as discrimination from coworkers and institutions.

Figure 2

The proportion of Asian Americans who indicated that they experienced a form of discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic is separated by whether the participant worked remotely or in person during the pandemic. Asian Americans who worked in person during the pandemic are represented in blue, those who worked remotely during the pandemic are represented in green, and the overall proportion of Asian Americans who experienced a form of discrimination are represented in black. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals surrounding the mean.



Study 1's findings suggest that Asian Americans who worked in person during the pandemic experienced more discrimination than Asian Americans who worked from home. However, the study cannot account for third variables that might account for these associations, like how socioeconomic contexts, related to industry and work environments during the COVID-19 pandemic, also shape these patterns of workplace inequality (Ridgeway, 2014). As well, the study does not provide insight into why remote work might protect Asian Americans from experiences of discrimination. Therefore, in Study 2, we recruited Asian Americans who had experiences working in a hybrid format during the COVID-19 pandemic and assessed their experiences in remote and in-person contexts.

Having had experiences at work during the pandemic that were both remote and in-person, we wondered if participant impressions of workplace experiences—particularly their affect, stress, motivation, and agency—would differ as a function of hybrid work type. More specifically, would the physical distance of remote work make remote experiences feel less stressful and more controllable than their in-person equivalent? Moreover, because racism experiences at work generalize to other racial marginalized populations, we recruited a second sample of Black Americans who also worked hybrid during the pandemic.

Hybrid work experiences for Asian and Black American workers

In Study 2, we recruited a sample of Asian Americans (N = 203) and Black Americans (N = 203) who reported working hybrid during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic (January 2020 to July 2021). See Table S1 for detailed demographic information about Study 2's sample. We asked participants to rate how much negative affect (stress), positive affect, agency, interpersonal conflict, and motivation they experienced when working from home versus working in person. We also asked participants to fill out an abbreviated assessment of discrimination focused on perceptions of the perpetrators of those experiences (e.g., bosses, coworkers).

As in Study 1, our hybrid participants in Study 2 experienced racism at work. Overall, 80.8% (n = 328) of our sample reported experiencing at least one form of racism during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic (January 2020 to July 2021). Of these experiences, participants were again more likely to experience discrimination from strangers (73.4%, n = 298). Black Americans (M = 0.65, SD = 0.37) also reported experiencing more racist events than their Asian counterparts (M = 0.51, SD = 0.41), $t(404) = 3.76$, $p<.001$, d = 0.373. Table S4 provides individual t-test results comparing Asian and Black Americans' reported discrimination

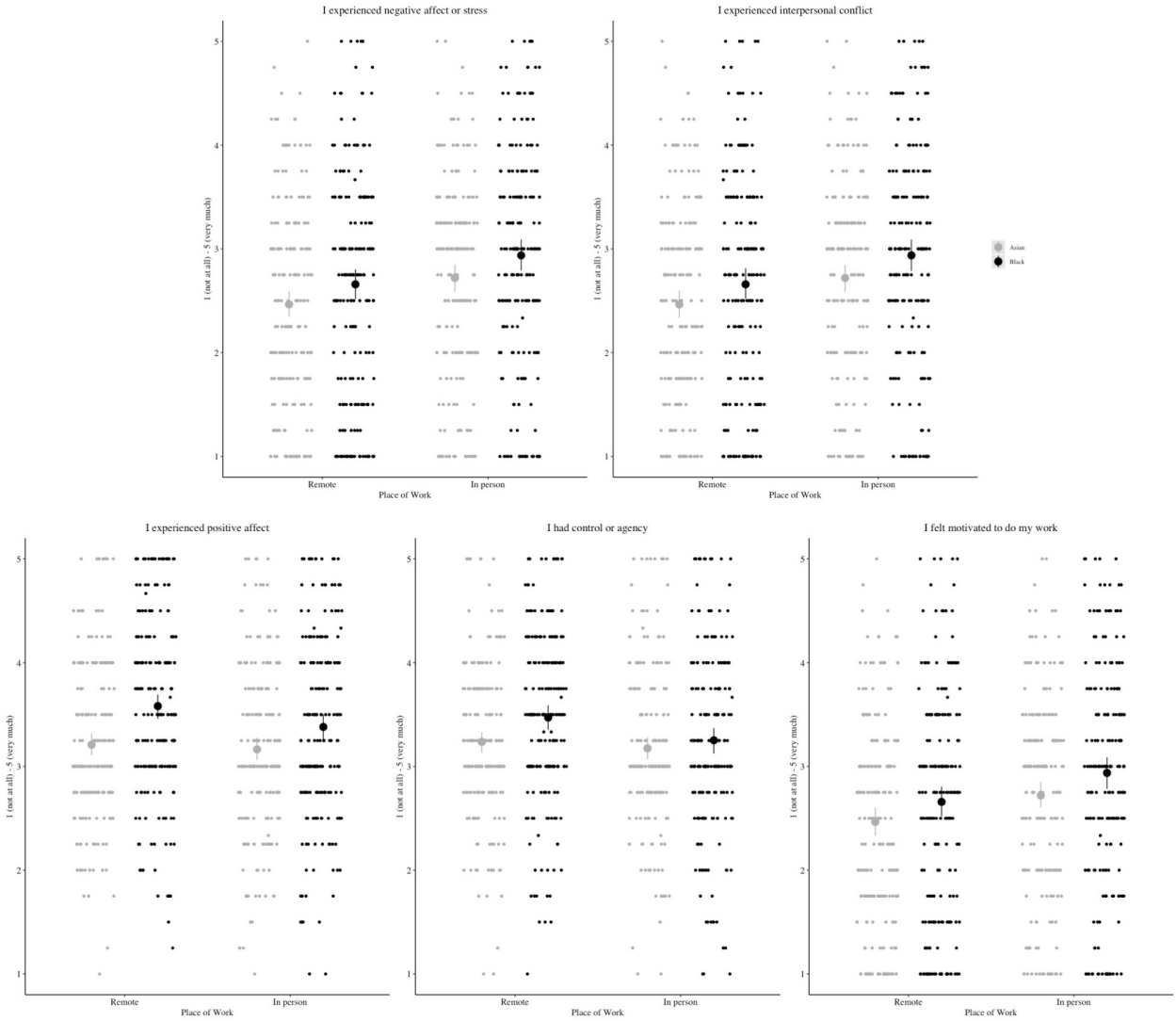
experiences during the pandemic. Additionally, Table S5 provides separate regression model results for participants' reported discrimination experiences while controlling for participants' demographic information.

In the context of these racist experiences within the hybrid work environment, we asked our participants how they experienced work that was remote or in-person. Specifically, we asked participants to indicate on a 1 (not at all) – 5 (very much) Likert scale to what extent they experienced negative affect or stress, experienced positive affect, had control or agency, experienced interpersonal conflict, and felt motivated to do work for a variety of work-related experiences (i.e., transitioning from home to work, time spent in meetings, giving presentations, being told something offensive by a coworker) (Lachman & Weaver, 1998; Lawton et al., 1992; Steptoe & Wardle, 2011). Responses were averaged across work-related experiences to create composite negative affect, positive affect, agency, interpersonal conflict, and motivation scores, but see Table S6 for individual item results. We analyzed the data using a series of mixed Analyses of Variance with work type as the within-subjects factor and worker race as the between-subjects factor (see Figure 3). Asian and Black Americans reported less stress, $F(1,404) = 30.94$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .071$, and less interpersonal conflict, $F(1,404) = 14.45$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .035$, when working remotely than in person. Additionally, Asian and Black Americans reported more positive affect, $F(1,404) = 8.73$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, and more agency, $F(1,404) = 11.25$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$, when working remotely than in person. Together these findings indicate that hybrid workers who experienced racism during the COVID-19 pandemic also had more positive affect, less conflict, less stress, and more agency when working remotely than when working in-person. Moreover, contrary to prior work on the perils of remote office work (e.g., Galanti et al., 2021;

Yang et al., 2022), Asian and Black Americans did not report differences in feelings of motivation when working from home or in person, $F(1,404) = 2.40$, $p = .122$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$.

Figure 3

Measures of Asian and Black Americans' work experiences at work and in person during the COVID-19 pandemic. Asian Americans' responses are represented in gray and Black Americans' responses are represented in black. Higher scores indicate more likely to experience emotion while working. Larger gray and black dots indicate means and 95% confidence intervals surrounding the mean.



Interactions between participant race and work type did not emerge in our analysis except in one context. When examining differences between Asian and Black Americans' reported

motivation remotely versus in person an interaction emerged, $F(1,404) = 4.30$, $p = .039$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$, suggesting that Black Americans report being more motivated while working from home than in person in comparison to Asian Americans, $p = .015$.

A sample of Asian and Black American hybrid workers who had experiences of discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic reported that they felt more positive affect, less stress, less conflict, and more control of their work when working remotely versus in-person. Moreover, participants reported no declines in motivation during remote work. Together, these results indicate that the distance provided by remote work contexts elicited greater positive affect, less stress, and importantly, heightened autonomy, which may explain why this context was relatively freer from experiences of discrimination in Study 1.

Broadly, this research suggests that the racial minority workers benefitted across our psychological assessment dimensions when they worked from home compared to when they worked in person and that working from home did not negatively impact their motivation to work. In fact, for Black Americans, it seems like they actually were more motivated when working from home.

The effect of a proposed remote work policy on government responsibility and policy support

The methods of Studies 3-5 were similar with minor changes in the video content that Asian American participants watched. In Study 3, participants were assigned to the intervention or control condition; in Study 4, the intervention or increased Asian discrimination condition; and in Study 5, the intervention, increased Asian discrimination, or control conditions. In the control condition, participants did not watch a video. In the intervention condition, the first half of the video began with a brief narrated introduction of people of Asian descent immigrating to

the U.S. in hopes of achieving the American Dream and then shifted to how the COVID-19 pandemic negatively affected Asian Americans and the increased discrimination experiences due to their group being blamed for the pandemic. In the second half of the video, the narrator then discusses a proposed remote work policy that would create government incentives for businesses to provide more remote work options and highlights the benefits of the proposed policy by suggesting that remote work reduces racist experiences citing findings from Studies 1 and 2. Finally, the intervention concludes with the proposed policy ensuring equal opportunity for all to achieve the American dream. In the increased Asian discrimination condition, participants watched only the first half of the intervention video which highlighted the increased anti-Asian hate during the COVID-19 pandemic, and did not see the proposed remote work policy.

After being assigned to a condition, participants completed three items assessing support for anti-discrimination policy (Kraus & Vinluan, 2023; Sharpe, 2021) on a four-point scale (e.g., "Do you think the federal government should or should not be responsible for reducing racial injustices?"; 1 = definitely should not, 4 = definitely should). Responses to the three items were averaged to create a composite support for government responsibility score. Next, participants completed a single-item to measure support for the proposed remote work policy on a four-point scale (i.e., "The federal government would create government incentives, like additional tax credits, for businesses to provide more remote work flexibility to their workers, or assistance in moving sales online."; 1 = strongly oppose, 4 = strongly favor) and how effective they perceived the remote work policy to be in reducing violence against Asian Americans (1 = not at all effective; 4 = very effective). Given the similarities in methods and measures, we report combined meta-analytic effect-size estimates in the main text (Goh et al., 2016), but see Supporting Information and Tables S7-S8 for individual study results.

To assess whether participants experienced the intervention as we intended, we asked participants two quiz questions related to information within the intervention: how many total acts of hate against Asian Americans happened during the first year of the pandemic (6,603) and how much is the proposed remote work policy expected to reduce discrimination from bosses (15%). Participants who watched the intervention condition answered more questions correctly than those in the control condition, d = -0.57, z = -8.81, p<.001, 95% Confidence Interval (CI) [-0.70, -0.44], as well as than those in the increased Asian discrimination condition, d = -0.21, z = -2.33, p = .020, 95% CI [-0.39, -0.03]. Finally, participants in the increased Asian discrimination condition answered more questions correctly than those in the control condition, $t(500) = 2.48$, p =.013, d = 0.221. All these results indicate that the informational intervention was successful save one exception: In Study 4, potentially because of the information provided in the Asian discrimination condition, quiz scores show that participants in the intervention condition (M = 0.49, SD = 0.37) did not answer more questions correctly than those in the increased Asian discrimination condition (M = 0.44, SD = 0.36), $t(524) = -1.38$, p = .166, d = -0.121.

We predicted that participants would be more likely to support an anti-discrimination policy when assigned to watch the intervention compared to participants who did not watch a video (pre-registrations: https://osf.io/t9c7x/?view_only=75f1b2ec8f504533b416915595a9aeee and https://osf.io/p8jqm/?view_only=9fa576e5672848cdbd31c36a30d5fa22). When comparing the intervention to the control, we found support for our central hypothesis. The overall composite score showed greater support for anti-discrimination policy in the intervention than the control condition, d = -0.24, z = -3.79, p <.001, 95% CI [-0.37, -0.12]. Figure 4 shows the results by study. The overall analysis was also consistent with our findings from two of the three individual items. When asked if participants thought the federal government should or should not

recommend potential remedies for racial injustices, participants reported greater support in the intervention than the control condition, d = -0.21, z = -3.31, p <.001, 95% CI [-0.33, -0.09]. When asked if participants thought the federal government should or should not establish a commission to study racial injustices, participants reported more support in the intervention than the control condition, d= -0.32, z = -3.44, p <.001, 95% CI [-0.50, -0.14]. Interestingly, when asked if participants thought the federal government should or should not be responsible for reducing racial injustices, there was not a significant difference in participants' responses between the intervention and control conditions, d = -0.08, z = -1.20, p = .232, 95% CI [-0.20, 0.05]. Perhaps this result reflects that respondents view discrimination as a responsibility of organizations outside of the federal government. Together these findings are consistent with our second prediction that reminders of pandemic discrimination and a possible remedy in remote work significantly increased anti-discrimination policy support. Interestingly, and unlike in our prior work (Kraus & Vinluan, 2023), overall support for anti-discrimination policy did not indicate significant differences between the full intervention and the condition exposing participants to the pandemic increases in Asian community racism, d = -0.02, z = -0.39, p = .694, 95% CI [-0.15, 0.10]. Figure 5 shows the results by study. Specifically, there was not a significant difference in participants' responses between the intervention and increased Asian discrimination conditions for responsibility for reducing racial injustices, d = -0.07, z = -1.15, p = .252, 95% CI [-0.19, 0.05], establishing a commission to study racial injustices, d = 0.02, z = 0.40, p = .688, 95% CI [-0.10, 0.15], and recommending potential remedies for racial injustices, d = -0.02, z = -0.37, p = .715, 95% CI [-0.13, -0.10]. These findings indicate that, consistent with other research (Craig & Richeson, 2016), reminders of racism experiences could be sufficient to elicit solidarity with other stigmatized groups. In fact, some evidence is consistent

with this interpretation from Study 5. When we compared the condition exposing participants to statistics on Asian racism and the control condition we found no significant differences on the overall anti-discrimination policy measure, $t(501) = -1.67$, $p = .096$, $d = -0.149$. However, when looking at the individual items, we found that when asked if participants thought the federal government should or should not establish a commission to study racial injustices, participants reported more support in the increased Asian discrimination condition ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 0.62$) than in the control condition ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 0.67$), $p = .022$. No other significant differences emerged.

Interestingly, though participants did not prefer remote work in the intervention relative to the control condition, $d = 0.09$, $z = 1.35$, $p = .178$, 95% CI [-0.04, 0.21], nor between the intervention and increased Asian discrimination condition, $d = -0.02$, $z = -0.29$, $p = .773$, 95% CI [-0.14, -0.10], participants did report that the proposed remote work policy would be more effective in reducing violence against Asian Americans compared to those in the control condition, $d = -0.35$, $z = -5.51$, $p<.001$, 95% CI[-0.48, -0.23], but not those in Asian racism only condition, $d = -0.14$, $z = -1.74$, $p = .082$, 95% CI[-0.30, -0.02]. Finally, there was not a significant difference between the increased Asian discrimination and control conditions, $t(500) = -1.06$, $p = .290$, $d = -0.095$. Thus, it seems like the combination of reminders of increased pandemic racism and the proposed remote work policy is needed for Asian Americans to consider the proposed policy to be effective in reducing racism towards their ingroup.

Figure 4

Measures of Asian Americans' overall and individual support for anti-discrimination policy. The means for Asian Americans assigned to the control condition are represented in blue and the means for Asian Americans assigned to the intervention condition are represented in black. Higher scores indicated greater support for anti-discrimination policy. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals surrounding the mean.

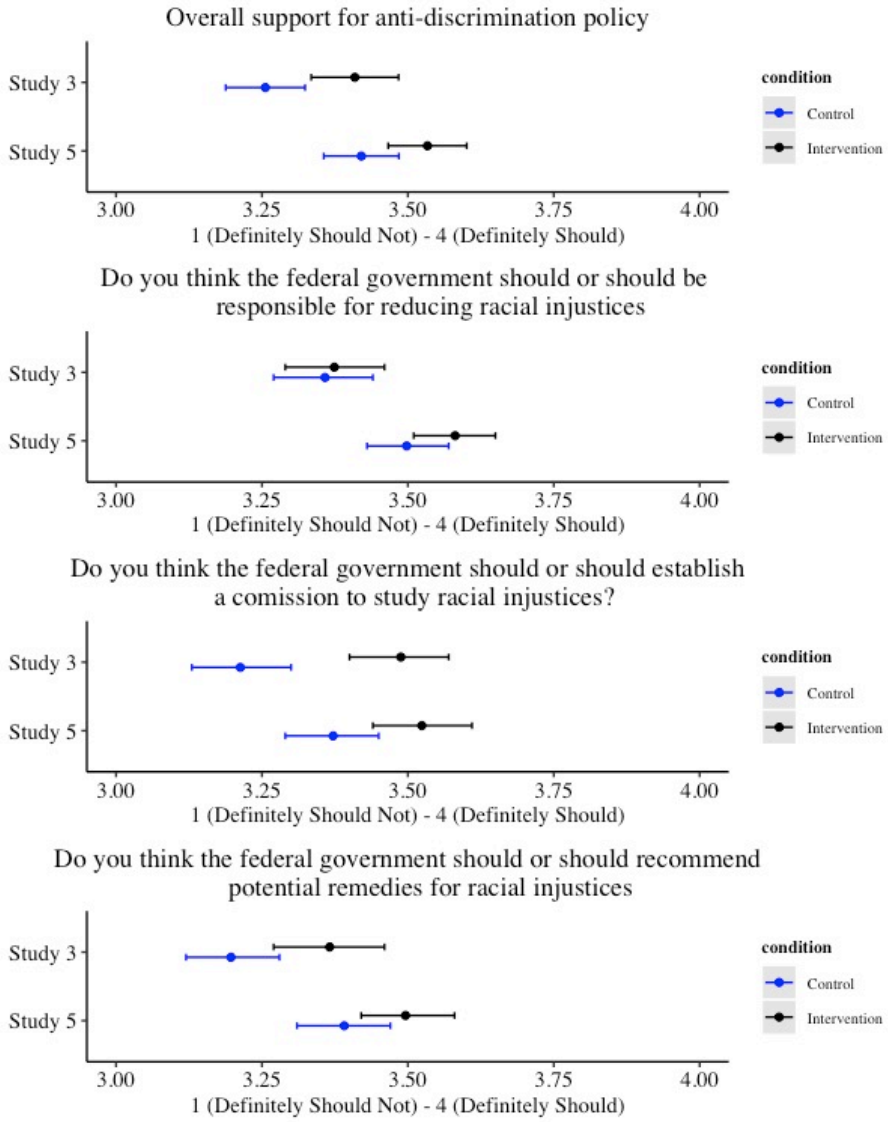
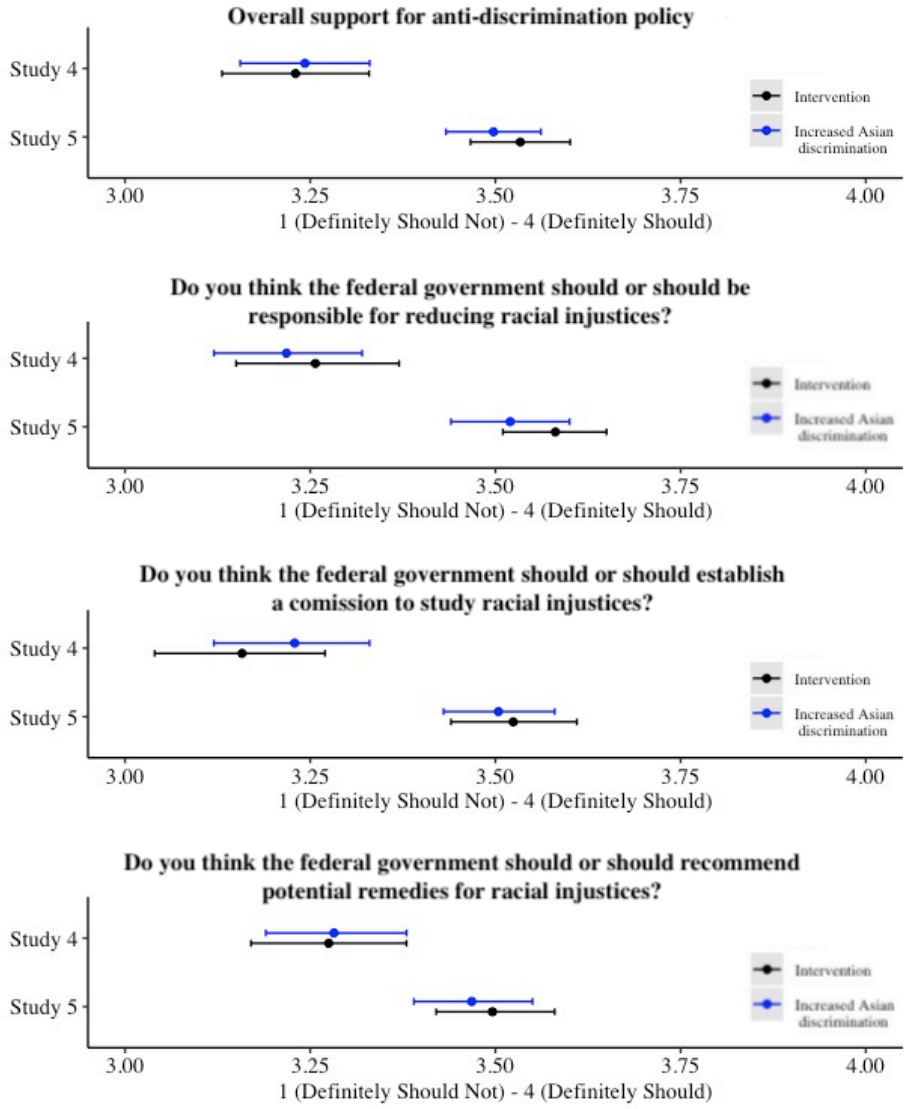


Figure 5

Measures of Asian Americans' overall and individual support for anti-discrimination policy. The means for Asian Americans assigned to the intervention condition are represented in black and the means for Asian Americans assigned to the increased Asian discrimination condition are represented in blue. Higher scores indicated greater support for anti-discrimination policy. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals surrounding the mean.



Discussion

Asian Americans experienced a rise in anti-Asian hate crimes during the COVID-19 pandemic while many workers simultaneously experienced a transition to remote work. In this

study, we examined the relationship between discrimination and remote work among Asian Americans. We found that Asian Americans who worked from home experienced less discrimination than those who worked in person during the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, Asian Americans who worked in both remote and in-person contexts during the pandemic reported experiencing less stress, less interpersonal conflict, more positive affect, and more agency when working from home than in person. Importantly, we did not find differences in Asian Americans' reported motivation to do work when working from home than in person despite decreased motivation being a common criticism of remote work (McGregor & Doshi, 2020). Moreover, when Asian Americans learned about rising Asian American discrimination and our research showing that remote work reduced discrimination, they were more likely to be supportive of federal anti-discrimination policies directed at all marginalized racial groups.

Our research points to the protective benefits of remote work for racial minority individuals and specifically highlights how and why certain social contexts can protect people from discrimination. For example, Asian Americans working in person were more likely to experience racism from strangers than those working remotely. These results are consistent with national report findings that nearly 50% of Asian Americans who reported a hate crime stated that it happened in public (Yellow Horse et al., 2021). For many U.S. employees, commuting to work involves being out in public such as walking, biking, or taking public transportation and as such are much more likely to encounter racist strangers. Additionally, Asian Americans experienced more discrimination from their employers, bosses, and supervisors as well as from their coworkers and colleagues when working in person than at home. Supplemental analyses from Study 2 show that Asian Americans reported less stress and interpersonal conflict when interacting with coworkers remotely than in person (e.g., attending meetings, presenting to

coworkers). While we do not suggest that all organizations transition to remote work to eliminate workplace discrimination, our findings do suggest that it is important for Asian Americans to be able to manage their work environment. Specifically, a remote work option can enable Asian Americans to put themselves in a protective work environment that increases their work productivity. The results demonstrating that Asian Americans report more agency/control and positive affect while working from home than in person provide insight that this may, indeed, be the case. However, future research is needed to determine if Asian Americans experience less discrimination when working from home because they are able to control their environments by removing themselves from situations that make them more susceptible to discrimination

Interestingly, our findings test and clarify the conditions needed to promote intraminority solidarity. Consistent with previous research we demonstrate that shared ingroup discrimination paired with meaning-making promotes solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Kraus & Vinluan, 2023). Specifically, Asian Americans reported greater support for anti-discrimination policy when reminders of increased racism for Asian Americans and other racial minority groups during the COVID-19 pandemic were paired with a proposed remote work policy that would reduce discrimination experiences for all racial minority groups. We theorize that this is due to Asian Americans feeling a moral obligation to decrease racist experiences for other racial minority groups once they were given a solution that would reduce racist experiences for themselves (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Kraus & Vinluan, 2023; Warner et al., 2014). Previous research has also suggested that simply being reminded of shared discrimination experiences is enough to facilitate solidarity due to a shared common stigmatized identity (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2000). The lack of difference between the Asian discrimination condition and our intervention is suggestive of this possibility, although more work is needed to fully test whether discrimination reminders

alone are sufficient. We did not find this to be the case in the one study (Study 5) where our two control conditions could be compared.

A related question is whether we could use our present methods to promote solidarity perceptions among other minoritized racial groups. Like Asian Americans, Black Americans experienced a rise in anti-Black hate crimes during the COVID-19 pandemic which could theoretically foster solidarity perceptions toward other marginalized racial groups. However, our results suggest caution in this regard, as pandemic discrimination experiences between racial groups are likely to vary considerably as well as the meaning assigned to those experiences (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Kraus & Vinluan, 2023). Perhaps solidarity among Black Americans would require connecting, through intervention and meaning-making, the increase in discrimination between Black and Asian Americans to conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic.

We demonstrated, among a diverse sample of Asian Americans, the protective benefits of remote work and how it can be used as a tool for solidarity. Our samples were recruited using an online recruitment platform and therefore, are not nationally representative of the Asian American population. The Asian American category is diverse and consists of Asian Americans of various immigration statuses, socioeconomic statuses, and political ideologies. Furthermore, our surveys were conducted in English, excluding Asian Americans who do not speak or are fluent in English from our samples. Targeted sampling of specific Asian ethnic subgroups to thoroughly understand how racism experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic differed depending on Asian Americans' ethnic identity and how those racism experiences influenced perceptions of solidarity. As well, Asian American discrimination does not tend to impact all Asian Americans equally – instead women, more elderly, and precariously employed Asian Americans experience more than others (Kalish & Moriwaki, 1973; Lee, 2019; Mukkamala &

Suyemoto, 2018). How gender, socioeconomic context, and work setting shapes the results in our study is open for further clarification and study. Finally, future research can examine if remote work can reduce other forms of stigma experienced in the workplace. For example, can remote work reduce sexist experiences among women? Our results suggest that this is possible if most women's sexist experiences occur during interactions with bosses/supervisors and coworkers/colleagues. Given our findings that Asian Americans who worked remotely had fewer racist experiences with bosses/supervisors and coworkers/colleagues, we would similarly expect that women would have fewer sexist experiences with these groups of people and further report that these interactions will be less stressful and are less likely to result in interpersonal conflict.

The COVID-19 pandemic changed the lives of Americans, especially for racial minority members like Asian Americans. The transition from in-person to remote work while simultaneously experiencing a rise in racism targeted toward their ingroup was a difficult time for many Asian Americans. Despite these negative experiences during the pandemic, our research demonstrates how the relationship between remote work and discrimination actually benefits Asian Americans through remote work reducing discrimination experiences. Furthermore, understanding how shared discrimination experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic can be framed to support federal anti-discrimination policies remains an important area of research to reduce racial injustices.

Materials and Methods

Studies 1 – 2

All methods and materials were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board at Yale University and all participants consented to the study procedures. In Studies 1 and 2, Asian American participants were recruited through Centiment, a survey research design and panel service, to complete a 15-minute study and were compensated $5.00 USD. An initial introductory screen informed participants that the study concerned how "you are responding to and coping with work as we continue to work through the effects of COVID-19". Participants were informed that they could skip any questions that they did not want to complete, with no loss of compensation or penalty. Participants indicated their consent to participate in the study by clicking on the arrow to continue. After consenting, an initial pre-screening question confirmed that Asian American participants were "members of Asian, Pacific Islander, and Desi communities residing and working in the US" and whether participants primarily worked in the office or place of business (Study 1) or whether participants primarily worked at home or remotely (Study 2).

The methods of Studies 1 and 2 were similar except for the main dependent variable. In Study 1, participants completed the schedule of racist events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) which is a self-report frequency measure of racist events during work and other interactions. We asked respondents to report racist events during the pandemic and throughout the rest of their lives. We also asked about the stress of these events as per the schedule's normal methodology. We did modify some items to be updated to pandemic experiences and those consistent with racism experienced by Asian people. Some example items included, "How many times have you been treated unfairly by your (e.g., mentors, bosses and supervisors, coworkers, people in service jobs,

strangers, neighbors) because you are Asian?" Responses varied from 1 (Never) to 6 (Almost all of the time). To assess the proportion of experiences of racism, some analyses involve us recoding these items as a binary of 1 (occurred) or 0 (did not occur). In Study 2, participants completed a series of questions about their experiences working from home versus in person. Participants were prompted to think about the following work-related experiences: commuting, time spent in meetings, giving presentations, and being told something offensive by a coworker. For each of these experiences, participants were asked "I experienced negative affect or stress", "I experienced positive affect", "I had control or agency", "I experienced interpersonal conflict", and "I felt motivated to do my work." Responses were recorded on a 1 (not at all) - 5 (very much scale) Likert scale (Lachman & Weaver, 1998; Lawton et al., 1992; Steptoe & Wardle, 2011). Responses were averaged across work-related experiences to create composite negative affect, positive affect, agency, interpersonal conflict, and motivation scores. Participants in both Studies 1 and 2 additionally completed an item measuring their perceived common fate with Black Americans (cite) on a seven-point scale (e.g., How much does your racial group 'doing well' depend on other Black Americans also doing well?"; 1 = not a lot, 7 = a lot). After, participants completed additional questions related to self and group perceptions. The full list of questions for these two studies is available online (https://osf.io/hwg4p/?view_only=2d3b5f6e0f124904ae8432b08da2b894).

Studies 3 – 5

All methods and materials were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board at Yale University. Asian American participants from Studies 3 and 5 were recruited using Prolific, an online participant recruitment platform, and were compensated USD$2.00 for a 10-minute study. Participants recruited from Prolific indicated that were of East, South, or Southeast Asian descent

on the demographic survey participants first completed when they joined Prolific. Asian American participants from Study 4 were recruited using Centiment and were compensated $3.00 USD for a 10-minute study. Participants recruited from Centiment completed the same initial pre-screening question used in Studies 1 and 2 to confirm that participants were Asian American. For Studies 3 through 5, an initial introductory screen informed participants that the study concerned how "individual personality is related to various social judgments." Participants were informed that they could skip any questions that they did not want to complete, with no loss of compensation or penalty. Participants indicated their consent to participate in the study by clicking on the arrow to continue. After consenting, an initial pre-screening question confirmed that Asian American participants were "members of Asian, Pacific Islander, and Desi communities residing and working in the US."

The methods of Studies 3 – 5 were the same except for the intervention conditions that participants were assigned to watch. In Study 3, participants were randomly assigned to the intervention or control condition. In the control condition, participants did not watch a video. In the intervention condition, the video began with a brief narrated introduction of people of Asian descent immigrating to the U.S. in hopes of achieving the American Dream – a concept widely endorsed by Americans throughout the U.S. (Reeves, 2018). Next, the narrator described how the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the closings of businesses and schools as well as the number of people who became or lost their lives. Then, the narrator discussed the specific impact that the COVID-19 pandemic had on Asian Americans due to their group being blamed for the pandemic. As a result, there was an increased number of anti-Asian hate crimes during the pandemic but also for other racial minority groups which served as a reminder that racial minority group members still faced racism. Moreover, the narrator highlighted the call for policies that will help

not only Asian Americans feel safe but for all racial minority groups. Then, the intervention condition continues to propose a remote work policy that would create government incentives for businesses to provide more remote work options and also help small business owners transition more of their business online. Furthermore, the narrator highlights the benefits of the proposed policy by suggesting that remote work reduces racist experiences citing findings from Studies 1 and 2. Finally, the intervention concludes with the proposed policy ensuring equal opportunity for all to achieve their American dream. In Study 4, participants were randomly assigned to the watch the entire intervention video or only the first half of the video which highlighted the increased anti-Asian hate during the COVID-19 pandemic, and did not see the proposed remote work policy. In Study 5, participants were randomly assigned to the intervention, increased Asian discrimination, or control condition. Both the intervention and increased Asian discrimination videos can be viewed at the following links: https://youtu.be/tfZ1DoPWjzU?si=qvHU9MRCcjX8bszR and https://youtu.be/S8xQ7q18qTg?si=2O9luH4TgVhWxdYp.

If participants watched a video, they were given the opportunity to write down their thoughts about the video's contents. If participants did not watch a video, then they had an opportunity to watch the video at the end of the study and to write down their thoughts. After being assigned to a condition, participants completed three items assessing support for government responsibility for reducing racial injustices on a four-point scale (e.g., "Do you think the federal government should or should not be responsible for reducing racial injustices?"; 1 = definitely should not, 4 = definitely should) (Kraus & Vinluan, 2023; Sharpe, 2021). Responses to the three items were averaged to create a composite support for government responsibility score. Next, participants completed a single-item to measure support for the proposed remote

work policy on a four-point scale (i.e., “The federal government would create government incentives, like additional tax credits, for businesses to provide more remote work flexibility to their workers, or assistance in moving sales online.”; 1 = strongly oppose, 4 = strongly favor). Then, participants completed a single item to assess the efficacy of the proposed remote work policy for the Asian, Black, Latinx, and White racial groups on a four-point scale (e.g., “How effective or not effective in preventing violence against the following racial groups in the United States is the following policy: Asian Americans”, 1 = not at all effective, 4 = very effective). Then, participants completed a two-item quiz which asked the following: how many total acts of hate against Asian Americans happened during the first year of the pandemic (6,603) and how much is the proposed remote work policy expected to reduce racism from bosses (15%). After, participants completed additional questions related to self and group perceptions. The full list of questions for these three studies is available online (https://osf.io/hwg4p/?view_only=2d3b5f6e0f124904ae8432b08da2b894).

For Studies 1 – 5, participants reported their demographic information at the end of the study which included age, gender, immigration generation, work type, and conservatism. See Supplement for detailed information about participant demographic characteristics for each study.

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Supporting Information

Methods and Measures

Sample Demographic Characteristics

Table S1 provides detailed information regarding relevant demographic characteristics of the samples recruited for each study including recruitment platform, age, gender identity, racial identity, Asian ethnic subgroup, immigration status, work type, and conservatism.

Racism Experiences for Study 1 and Study 2 samples

Table S2 provides t-test results from Study 1 comparing types and perpetrators of reported discrimination experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic between Asian Americans who worked at home versus in person. We additionally conducted a series of linear regression models for each reported discrimination item to determine if Asian Americans who worked from home still experienced more discrimination when working in person than when working from home when considering participants' age, gender, Asian subgroup, immigration generation status, and socioeconomic status. Regression results are in Table S3. Our results indicate that even with demographic control variables, Asian Americans who worked in person (versus remotely) reported wanting to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything, B = -0.17, SE = 0.07, p = .010, made fun of, picked on,…, or threatened with harm because you are Asian, B = -0.16, SE = 0.06, p = .016, accused of doing something wrong because you are Asian, B = -0.13, SE = 0.06, p = .030, and being really angry about something racist that was done to you, B = -0.15, SE = 0.07, p = .026. However, Asian Americans were no longer more likely to report being called a racist name, B = -0.10, SE = 0.07, p = .128, and forced to take drastic steps with some racist thing that was done to the participant, B = -0.11, SE = 0.05, p = .053, when taking into account demographic control variables. For the perpetrators of reported discrimination items,

only unfair treatment from employers, bosses, and supervisors remained significant, B = -0.13, SE = 0.07, p = .047, when demographic control variables were included in the regression model.

Table S4 provides t-test results from Study 2 comparing perpetrators of reported discrimination experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic between Asian and Black Americans who worked hybrid during the pandemic. Black Americans (versus Asian Americans) were more likely to report experiencing discrimination from people in service jobs, $t(404) = 3.80$, $p < .001$, $d = .377$, employers, bosses, and supervisors, $t(404) = 3.56$, $p < .001$, $d = .354$, neighbors or friends, $t(404) = 3.02$, $p = .003$, $d = .299$, coworkers and colleagues, $t(404) = 2.94$, $p = .003$, $d = .292$, mentors, $t(404) = 2.92$, $p = .004$, $d = .290$, people in helping jobs, $t(404) = 2.52$, $p = .012$, $d = .250$, and strangers, $t(404) = 2.26$, $p = .025$, $d = .224$. We again conducted a series of linear regression models for each reported discrimination to determine if Black Americans reported more discrimination experiences than Asian Americans when considering participants' age, gender, immigration generation status, and socioeconomic status. Regression results are in Table S4. With the demographic control variables, we still found that Black Americans (versus Asian Americans) were more likely to report experiencing discrimination from people in service jobs, B = 0.24, SE = 0.07, p = .001, neighbors or friends, B = 0.20, SE = 0.07, p = .007, coworkers and colleagues, B = 0.18, SE = 0.07, p = .010, and mentors, B = 0.14, SE = 0.07, p = .048. However, there was no longer a significant difference between Black and Asian Americans in reported discrimination from employers, bosses, and supervisors, B = 0.13, SE = 0.07, p = .065, people in helping jobs, B = 0.17, SE = 0.07, p = .020, and strangers, B = 0.11, SE = 0.06, p = .081, when demographic control variables were taken into account in the models.

Work Experiences for Study 2 sample

We conducted a series of 2 (participant race: Asian American, Black American) x 2 (work location: in person, remote) mixed-model Analyses of Variances with work location as a repeated measures factor for each individual item that comprised of the negative affect, positive affect, agency, interpersonal conflict, and motivation to do work composite scores. Any significant interactions were interpreted with least significant differences post-hoc comparisons.

I experience negative affect or stress. Participants reported more overall negative affect or stress when working in-person ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.00$) than working remotely ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.02$), $F(1,404) = 30.94$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .071$. Additionally, Black Americans reported more negative affect or stress ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 0.90$) than Asian Americans ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 0.86$), $F(1,404) = 5.50$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 0.06$, $p = .811$, $\eta_p^2 = .0001$.

Transitioning from home to work activities. Participants reported more negative affect or stress when transitioning from home to work activities when working in person ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 1.17$) than working remotely ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.24$), $F(1,404) = 25.00$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .058$. Black Americans reported more negative affect or stress time transitioning from home to work activities ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.00$) than Asian Americans ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 0.93$), $F(1,404) = 5.44$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 0.35$, $p = .553$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$.

Team meetings with coworkers. Participants reported more negative affect or stress when in meetings with coworkers when working in person ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 1.25$) than working remotely ($M = 2.51$, $SD = 1.20$), $F(1,404) = 13.62$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$. Black Americans reported more negative affect or stress in virtual meetings with coworkers ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.08$) than Asian Americans ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 0.94$), $F(1,404) = 12.72$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 0.20$, $p = .652$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$.

Giving presentations to coworkers. Participants reported more negative affect or stress when giving presentations to coworkers when working in person ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.27$) than remotely ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 1.21$), $F(1,404) = 5.29$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. Black ($M = 2.64$, $SD = 1.07$) and Asian Americans (M 2.47, $SD = 1.02$) reported negative affect or stress when giving presentations to coworkers did not significantly differ, $F(1,404) = 2.76$, $p = .097$, $\eta_p^2 = .007$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 0.02$, $p = .882$, $\eta_p^2 < .0001$.

Coworker said something offensive to you. Participants reported more negative affect or stress when a coworker said something offensive when working in person ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.29$) than remotely ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.31$), $F(1,404) = 22.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .052$. Black ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 1.11$) and Asian Americans ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 1.10$) reported negative affect or stress when a coworker said something offensive did not significantly differ, $F(1,404) = 0.48$, $p = .488$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 0.59$, $p = .442$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$.

I experienced positive affect. Participants reported more overall positive affect when working remotely ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 0.85$) than in-person ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.86$), $F(1,404) = 8.73$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. Black Americans reported more overall positive affect ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 0.78$) than Asian Americans ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 0.67$), $F(1,404) = 16.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .039$. There was not a significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 3.58$, $p = .059$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$.

Transitioning from home to work activities. Participants reported more overall positive affect when transitioning from home to work activities when working remotely ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.07$) than in person ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.07$), $F(1,401) = 7.52$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. Black Americans reported more overall positive affect when transitioning from home to work activities ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.87$) than Asian Americans ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 0.76$), $F(1,401) = 8.22$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,401) = 0.02$, $p = .897$, $\eta_p^2 < .0001$.

Team meetings with coworkers. Participants' reported positive affect when in meetings with coworkers did not significantly differ when working in person (M = 3.45, SD = 1.03) versus remotely (M = 3.54, SD = 1.06), $F(1,401) = 1.91$, $p = .168$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. Black Americans reported more positive affect when in meetings with coworkers (M = 3.63, SD = 0.91) than Asian Americans (M = 3.35, SD = 0.74), $F(1,401) = 11.02$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$. There was a significant interaction, $F(1,401) = 4.11$, $p = .043$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. While Asian Americans' reported positive affect did not differ between working from home versus in person, $p = .648$, Black Americans reported more positive affect when working from home than in person, $p = .016$.

Giving presentations to coworkers. Participants' reported positive affect when giving presentations to coworkers did not significantly differ when working in person (M = 3.42, SD = 1.07) versus remotely (M = 3.49, SD = 1.07), $F(1,401) = 1.32$, $p = .252$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. Black Americans reported more positive affect when giving presentations to coworkers (M = 3.56, SD = 0.96) than Asian Americans (M = 3.34, SD = 0.77), $F(1,401) = 6.20$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,401) = 1.51$, $p = .220$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$.

Coworker said something offensive to you. Participants reported more positive affect when working remotely (M = 2.95, SD = 1.34) than in person (M = 2.82, SD = 1.29), $F(1,401)$ = 4.50, $p = .034$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$. Black Americans reported more positive affect when giving presentations to coworkers (M = 3.10, SD = 1.17) than Asian Americans (M = 2.67, SD = 1.13), $F(1,401) = 13.89$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,401) = 2.18$, p = .140, $\eta_p^2 = .005$.

I had control or agency. Participants reported more overall control or agency when working remotely (M = 3.35, SD = 0.80) than in person (M = 3.21, SD = 0.83), $F(1,404) = 11.25$, p=.0009, $\eta_p^2 = .027$. Black Americans reported more overall control or agency (M = 3.36, SD =

0.73) than Asian Americans (M = 3.21, SD = 0.66), $F(1,404) = 5.14$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 3.49$, $p = .062$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$.

Transitioning from home to work activities. Participants reported more control or agency transitioning from home to work activities when working remotely (M = 3.50, SD = 1.03) than in person (M = 3.31, SD = 1.04), $F(1,399) = 9.23$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. Black Americans reported more control or agency transitioning from home to work activities (M = 3.46, SD = 0.89) than Asian Americans (M = 3.33, SD = 0.73), $F(1,399) = 4.06$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,399) = 1.98$, $p = .160$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$.

Team meetings with coworkers. Participants' reported control or agency in meetings with coworkers did not significantly differ when working remotely (M = 3.31, SD = 1.03) versus in person (M = 3.25, SD 1.02), $F(1,399) = 41.12$, $p = .291$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. Black (M = 3.33, SD = 0.93) and Asian Americans' (M 3.22, SD = 0.73) reported control or agency in meetings did not significantly differ, $F(1,399) = 1.54$, $p = .216$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,399) = 2.18$, $p = .291$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$.

Giving presentations to coworkers. Participants reported more agency or control presenting to coworkers when working remotely (M = 3.45, SD = 0.99) than in person (M = 3.24, SD = 1.04), $F(1,402) = 11.21$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$. Black (M = 3.42, SD = 0.86) and Asian Americans' (M = 3.27, SD = 0.75) reported agency or control presenting to coworkers did not significantly differ, $F(1,399) = 3.70$, $p = .055$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,399) = 0.61$, $p = .435$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$.

Coworker said something offensive to you. Participants' reported agency or control when a coworker said something offensive did not significantly differ when working remotely (M = 3.17, SD = 1.12) versus in person (M = 3.08, SD = 1.12), $F(1,404) = 0.61$, $p = .435$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$.

Black Americans (M = 3.23, SD 0.92) reported more agency or control when a worker said something offensive than Asian Americans (M = 3.23, SD = 0.92), $F(1,404) = 6.17$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 1.62$, $p = .205$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$.

I experienced interpersonal conflict. Participants reported more overall interpersonal conflict when working in person (M = 2.76, SD = 1.01) than working remotely (M = 2.59, SD = 1.05), $F(1,404) = 14.45$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .035$. Black Americans reported more overall interpersonal conflict (M = 2.82, SD = 0.94) than Asian Americans (M = 2.53, SD = 0.90), $F(1,404) = 10.06$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. There was not a significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 0.02$, $p = .888$, $\eta_p^2<.0001$.

Transitioning from home to work activities Participants' reported interpersonal conflict transitioning from home to work activities did not significantly differ when working remotely (M = 2.57, SD = 1.24) versus in person (M = 2.65, SD = 1.25), $F(1,402) = 1.30$, $p = .255$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. Black Americans reported more interpersonal conflict transitioning from home to work activities (M = 2.72, SD = 1.07) than Asian Americans (M = 2.50, SD = 1.01), $F(1,402) = 4.98$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,402) = 0.01$, $p = .917$, $\eta_p^2<.0001$.

Team meetings with coworkers. Participants reported more interpersonal conflict in team meetings with coworkers when working from home (M = 2.68, SD = 1.25) than remotely (M = 2.53, SD = 1.24), $F(1,399) = 5.66$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. Black Americans reported more interpersonal conflict in team meetings with workers (M = 2.82, SD = 1.10) than Asian Americans (M = 2.39, SD = 0.97), $F(1,399) = 18.02$ $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .043$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,399) = 0.80$, $p = .372$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$.

Giving presentations to coworkers. Participants reported more interpersonal conflict presenting to coworkers when working remotely (M = 2.53, SD = 1.29) than in person (M = 2.69, SD = 1.28), $F(1,400) = 6.60$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$. Black Americans reported more interpersonal

conflict presenting to coworkers (M = 2.78, SD = 1.18) than Asian Americans (M = 2.43, SD = 1.04), $F(1,400) = 10.20$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,400) = 0.03$, $p = .873$, $\eta_p^2 < .0001$.

Coworker said something offensive to you. Participants reported more interpersonal conflict when a coworker said something offensive when working in person (M = 3.03, SD = 1.27) than remotely (M = 2.74, SD = 1.29), $F(1,400) = 19.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .046$. Black (M = 2.95, SD = 1.12) and Asian Americans' (M = 2.80, SD = 1.09) reported interpersonal conflict when a coworker said something offensive did not significantly differ, $F(1,400) = 2.17$, $p = .142$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,400) = 0.15$, $p = .695$, $\eta_p^2 < .0001$.

I felt motivated to do my work. There was not a significant main effect of work type (in person: M = 3.49, SD = 0.92; remote: M = 3.56, SD = 0.94), $F(1,404) = 2.40$ $p = .122$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. There was also not a significant main effect of participant race (Asian Americans: M = 3.46, SD = 0.71; Black Americans: M = 3.59, SD = 0.88), $F(1,404) = 2.65$, $p = .104$, $\eta_p^2 = .007$. There was a significant interaction, $F(1,404) = 4.30$, $p = .039$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$. Least Significant Difference post-hoc comparisons showed that Asian and Black Americans reported motivation to do work did not significantly differ when working in person, $p = .719$. However, Black Americans reported more motivation to do work when working remotely than Asian Americans, $p = .015$.

Transitioning from home to work activities. Participants' reported motivation to do work transitioning from home to work activities did not significantly differ when working remotely (M = 3.59, SD = 1.09) versus in person (M = 3.53, SD = 1.13), $F(1,399) = 0.97$, $p = .324$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. Black (M = 3.60, SD = 1.01) and Asian Americans' (M = 3.54, SD = 0.80) reported motivation to do work transitioning from home to work activities did not significantly differ, $F(1,399) = 0.44$, $p = .508$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. There was a significant interaction, $F(1,399) = 4.02$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$.

Asian Americans' reported motivation did not significantly differ when working from home versus in person, $p = .471$. However, Black Americans reported more motivation when remotely than in person, $p = .035$.

Team meetings with coworkers. Participants' reported motivation to do work in team meetings with coworkers did not significantly differ when working remotely ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.09$) versus in person ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.10$), $F(1,398) = 1.83$, $p = .177$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. Black ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.02$) and Asian Americans' ($M = 3.56$, $SD = 0.75$) reported motivation in team meetings with coworkers did not significantly differ, $F(1,398) = 1.22$, $p = .271$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,398) = 1.43$, $p = .232$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$.

Giving presentations to coworkers. Participants' reported motivation to do work presenting to coworkers did not significantly differ when working remotely ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.08$) versus in person ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.06$), $F(1,396) = 0.82$, $p = .367$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. Black ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 0.98$) and Asian Americans' ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 0.79$) reported motivation presenting to coworker did not significantly differ, $F(1,396) = 1.95$, $p = .163$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,396) = 3.37$, $p = .067$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$.

Coworker said something offensive to you. Participants' reported motivation to do work when a coworker said something offensive did not significantly differ when working remotely ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.30$) versus in person ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.26$), $F(1,397) = 1.21$, $p = .271$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. Black Americans ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.14$) reported more motivation to do work when a coworker said something offensive than Asian Americans ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.03$), $F(1,397) = 5.69$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. There was no significant interaction, $F(1,397) = 0.43$, $p = .513$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$.

Table S1

Demographic characteristics of participants from Studies 1 – 5

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4	Study 5
Sample Size	262	406	500	545	751
Recruitment Platform	Centiment	Centiment	Prolific	Centiment	Prolific
Age, Mean (SD)	40.82 (14.06)	38.56 (13.24)	29.62 (8.63)	45.20 (17.38)	28.44 (7.99)
Gender	Men = 128, Women = 132, Another gender = 2	Men = 207, Women = 197, Another gender = 2	Men = 248, Women = 239, Another gender = 8	Men = 279, Women = 258, Another gender = 8	Men = 273, Women = 435, Another gender = 25
Race	Asian = 262	Asian = 203, Black = 203	Asian = 500	Asian = 545	Asian = 751
Largest Asian subgroups	Chinese = 67, Indian = 40, Filipino = 44, Japanese = 32, Korean = 15, Vietnamese = 26	Chinese = 63, Indian = 38, Filipino = 23, Japanese = 25, Korean = 13, Vietnamese = 20	Chinese = 111, Indian = 59, Filipino = 72, Japanese = 27, Korean = 49, Vietnamese = 70	Chinese = 99, Indian = 106, Filipino = 117, Japanese = 60, Korean = 51, Vietnamese = 38	Chinese = 179, Indian = 88, Filipino = 102, Japanese = 26, Korean = 65, Vietnamese = 113
Immigration Generation	1st gen = 132, 2nd gen = 96, 3rd gen = 22, 4th gen = 11, 5th gen = 1	1st gen = 127, 2nd gen = 98, 3rd gen = 41, 4th gen = 29, 5th gen = 111	1st gen = 101, 2nd gen = 356, 3rd gen = 20, 4th gen = 13, 5th gen = 5	1st gen = 101, 2nd gen = 356, 3rd gen = 20, 4th gen = 13, 5th gen = 5	1st gen = 176, 2nd gen = 538, 3rd gen = 18, 4th gen = 11, 5th gen = 5
Work Type	In-Person = 129, Remote = 133	Hybrid = 406	In-Person = 172, Remote = 159, Hybrid = 164	In-person = 219, Remote = 153, Hybrid = 151	In-person = 255, Remote = 211, Hybrid = 282
Conservatism, Mean (SD)	4.02 (1.42)	3.94 (1.39)		4.20 (1.27)	3.01 (1.27)

Condition	Intervention = 246, Control = 254	Intervention = 265, Increased Asian discrimination = 280	Intervention = 248, Increased Asian discrimination = 250, Control = 253

Note: Due to a survey programming error, conservatism was not recorded for Study 3.

Table S2

Descriptive statistics are the proportion of participants who reported an unfair treatment and the source of the unfair treatment during the COVID-19 pandemic in Study 1. Zero indicates that 0% of the participants experienced unfair treatment while one indicates that 100% of the participants experienced unfair treatment. t-test results compare unfair treatment between Asian Americans who worked remote or in-person during the pandemic.

	Remote *M(SD)*	In-person *M(SD)*	*t*-test results
Types of reported discrimination			
Accused of doing something wrong because you are Asian	0.34 (0.48)	0.17 (0.37)	$t(260) = 3.33$, $p<.001$, $d = .412$
Made fun of, picked on,…or threatened with harm because you are Asian	0.40 (0.49)	0.24 (0.43)	$t(260) = 2.85$, $p = .005$, $d = .352$
Forced to take drastic steps to deal with some racist thing with some racist things that was done to you	0.26 (0.44)	0.14 (0.34)	$t(260) = 2.48$, $p = .014$, $d = .307$
Wanted to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything	0.64 (0.48)	0.50 (0.50)	$t(260) = 2.29$, $p = .023$, $d = .283$
Called a racist name	0.44 (0.50)	0.32 (0.47)	$t(260) = 2.11$, $p = .035$, $d = .261$
Really angry about something racist that was done to you	0.57 (0.50)	0.47 (0.50)	$t(260) = 1.74$, $p = .082$, $d = .216$
Misunderstood your intentions and motives because you are Asian	0.44 (0.50)	0.35(0.48)	$t(260) = 1.46$, $p = .144$, $d = .181$
Gotten into an argument about something racist that was done to you or somebody else	0.39 (0.49)	0.29 (0.45)	$t(260) = 1.75$, $p = .081$, $d = .216$
Thought or worried that people would treat you unfairly because you are Asian	0.55 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)	$t(260) = 0.75$, $p = .452$, $d = .093$
Perpetrators of reported discrimination			
Employers, bosses, and supervisors	0.43 (0.50)	0.29 (0.45)	$t(260) = 2.52$, $p = .012$, $d = .312$
Institutions	0.45 (0.50)	0.32 (0.47)	$t(260) = 2.11$, $p = .036$, $d = .261$
Coworkers and colleagues	0.44 (0.50)	0.32 (0.47)	$t(260) = 1.98$, $p = .049$, $d = .245$
Mentors	0.44 (0.50)	0.34 (0.47)	$t(260) = 1.72$, $p = .104$, $d = .213$
Friends	0.37 (0.49)	0.29 (0.45)	$t(260) = 1.49$, $p = .138$, $d = .184$
People in service jobs	0.53 (0.50)	0.45 (0.50)	$t(260) = 1.36$, $p = .177$, $d = .167$
Strangers	0.63 (0.49)	0.59 (0.49)	$t(260) = 0.69$, $p = .494$, $d = .085$
Neighbors	0.40 (0.49)	0.37 (0.48)	$t(260) = 0.45$, $p = .655$, $d = .055$
People in helping jobs	0.33 (0.47)	0.33 (0.47)	$t(260) = 0.04$, $p = .966$, $d = .005$

Table S3

Regression models for each individual reported type and perpetrator of reported discrimination as the dependent variable. Regressions models included work type with in person as the reference group as a predictor variable as well as the following control variables: age, gender, Asian subgroup, immigration generation status, and socioeconomic status. Estimates, t-values, and p-values are provided for each model for only the intercept and work type variable.

Linear regression model with controls variables	Estimate	t-value	p-value
Types of Reported Discrimination			
Model 1 ~ Accused of doing something wrong because you are Asian			
Intercept	0.83	5.36	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.13	-2.18	.0301
Model 2 ~ Made fun of, picked on,…, or threatened with harm because you are Asian			
Intercept	0.89	5.23	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.16	-2.43	.0160
Model 3 ~ Forced to take drastic steps to deal with some racist thing that was done to you			
Intercept	0.66	4.58	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.11	-1.95	.0526
Model 4 ~ Wanted to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything			
Intercept	0.99	5.71	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.17	-2.61	.0096
Model 5 ~ Called a racist name			
Intercept	0.89	4.93	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.10	-1.53	.1281
Model 6 ~ Really angry about something racist that was done to you			
Intercept	1.00	5.64	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.15	-2.24	.0261
Model 7 ~ Misunderstood your intentions and motives because you are Asian			
Intercept	0.63	3.47	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.12	-1.80	.0741

Model 8 ~ Gotten into an argument about something racist that was done to you or somebody else			
Intercept	0.93	5.51	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.10	-1.55	.1217
Model 9 ~ Thought or worried that people would treat you unfairly because you are Asian			
Intercept	1.02	5.67	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.05	-0.68	.5000
Perpetrators of Reported Discrimination			
Model 10 ~ Employers, bosses, and supervisors			
Intercept	0.54	3.12	.0021
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.13	-2.00	.0466
Model 11 ~ Institutions			
Intercept	0.85	4.72	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.11	-1.63	.1039
Model 12 ~ Coworkers and colleagues			
Intercept	0.73	4.04	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.08	-1.18	.2410
Model 13 ~ Mentors			
Intercept	0.64	3.58	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.07	-1.00	.3203
Model 14 ~ Friends			
Intercept	0.84	4.84	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.07	-1.13	.2598
Model 15 ~ People in Service Jobs			
Intercept	0.92	5.07	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.11	-1.64	.1015
Model 16 ~ Strangers			

Intercept	1.03	5.85	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.07	-1.03	.3030
Model 17 ~ Neighbors			
Intercept	0.46	2.55	.0114
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.11	-1.60	.1112
Model 18 ~ People in helping jobs			
Intercept	0.62	3.54	<.001
Work Type (0 = in person, 1 = remote)	-0.05	-0.07	.9427

Table S4

The proportion of Asian and Black Americans who indicated that they experienced a form of discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic in Study 2. Zero indicates that 0% of the participants experienced unfair treatment while one indicates that 100% of the participants experienced unfair treatment. Independent samples t-tests assess differences in the rate of discrimination experiences between Black and Asian Americans.

	Asian Americans *M(SD)*	Black Americans *M(SD)*	*t*-test results
Perpetrators of reported discrimination			
People in service jobs	0.50 (0.50)	0.68 (0.47)	$t(404) = 3.80$, $p < .001$, $d = .377$
Employers, bosses, and supervisors	0.49 (0.50)	0.67 (0.47)	$t(404) = 3.56$, $p < .001$, $d = .354$
Neighbors or Friends	0.47 (0.50)	0.62 (0.49)	$t(404) = 3.02$, $p = .003$, $d = .299$
Coworkers and colleagues	0.51 (0.50)	0.66 (0.48)	$t(404) = 2.94$, $p = .003$, $d = .292$
Mentors	0.37 (0.49)	0.52 (0.50)	$t(404) = 2.92$, $p = .004$, $d = .290$
People in helping jobs	0.51 (0.50)	0.63 (0.48)	$t(404) = 2.52$, $p = .012$, $d = .250$
Strangers	0.68 (0.47)	0.78 (0.41)	$t(404) = 2.26$, $p = .025$, $d = .224$

Table S5

Regression models for each individual perpetrator of reported discrimination as the dependent variable. Regressions models included participant race with Asian Americans as the reference group as a predictor variable as well as the following control variables: age, gender, immigration generation status, and socioeconomic status. Estimates, t-values, and p-values are provided for each model for only the intercept and work type variable.

Linear regression model with controls variables	Estimate	t-value	p-value
Perpetrators of reported discrimination			
Model 1 ~ People in service jobs			
Intercept	0.57	4.39	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.24	3.37	.0008
Model 2 ~ Employers, bosses, and supervisors			
Intercept	0.83	6.38	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.13	1.85	.0652
Model 3 ~ Neighbors or Friends			
Intercept	0.82	6.33	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.20	2.74	.0065
Model 4 ~ Coworkers and colleagues			
Intercept	0.75	5.84	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.18	2.59	.0101
Model 5 ~ Mentors			
Intercept	0.67	5.12	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.14	1.98	.0483
Model 6 ~ People in helping jobs			
Intercept	0.64	4.85	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.17	2.34	.0196
Model 7 ~ Strangers			
Intercept	0.66	5.60	<.001
Participant Race (0 = Asian 1 = Black)	0.11	1.75	.0809

Table S6

Descriptive statistics for the individual items assessing negative affect, interpersonal conflict, positive affect, agency/control, and motivation to work by participant race and in-person versus work from home. Higher numbers indicate more likely to experience the emotion.

Items	Asian Americans		Black Americans	
	In-Person *M(SD)*	Remote *M(SD)*	In-Person *M(SD)*	Remote *M(SD)*
I experienced negative affect or stress				
Overall	2.72 (0.95)	2.46 (0.96)	2.94 (1.04)	2.66 (1.07)
Transitioning from home to work activities	2.79 (1.08)	2.39 (1.14)	2.97 (1.25)	2.66 (1.32)
Virtual team meetings with coworkers	2.57 (1.12)	2.35 (1.10)	2.96 (1.35)	2.68 (1.28)
Giving presentations to coworkers	2.54 (1.22)	2.40 (1.14)	2.72 (1.32)	2.56 (1.28)
Coworker said something offensive to you	2.99 (1.23)	2.71 (1.25)	3.11 (1.34)	2.74 (1.38)
I experienced positive affect				
Overall	3.17 (0.81)	3.21 (0.77)	3.38 (0.89)	3.58 (0.88)
Transitioning from home to work activities	3.30 (1.04)	3.47 (0.99)	3.52 (1.08)	3.72 (1.14)
Virtual team meetings with coworkers	3.34 (0.97)	3.38 (0.93)	3.53 (1.12)	3.74 (1.10)
Giving presentations to coworkers	3.35 (1.00)	3.34 (0.95)	3.49 (1.13)	3.63 (1.16)
Coworker said something offensive to you	2.65 (1.20)	2.69 (1.24)	2.99 (1.36)	3.21 (1.39)
I had control or agency				
Overall	3.18 (0.77)	3.24 (0.75)	3.25 (0.88)	3.47 (0.82)
Transitioning from home to work activities	3.27 (0.92)	3.38 (0.92)	3.35 (1.14)	3.63 (1.11)
Virtual team meetings with coworkers	3.24 (0.86)	3.21 (0.94)	3.25 (1.16)	3.41 (1.11)
Giving presentations to coworkers	3.19 (0.94)	3.34 (0.87)	3.29 (1.14)	3.55 (1.10)
Coworker said something offensive to you	3.00 (1.05)	3.01 (1.04)	3.15 (1.19)	3.32 (1.18)
I experienced interpersonal conflict				
Overall	2.61 (0.93)	2.45 (1.01)	2.91 (1.06)	2.73 (1.08)
Transitioning from home to work activities	2.54 (1.17)	2.45 (1.17)	2.76 (1.32)	2.69 (1.31)
Virtual team meetings with coworkers	2.44 (1.10)	2.34 (1.16)	2.93 (1.38)	2.72 (1.30)
Giving presentations to coworkers	2.51 (1.16)	2.36 (1.17)	2.88 (1.36)	2.71 (1.38)
Coworker said something offensive to you	2.96 (1.21)	2.64 (1.21)	3.10 (1.33)	2.83 (1.36)
I felt motivated to do my work				
Overall	3.47 (0.83)	3.45 (0.84)	3.50 (1.00)	3.67 (1.01)
Transitioning from home to work activities	3.56 (1.00)	3.50 (1.01)	3.50 (1.25)	3.68 (1.15)
Virtual team meetings with coworkers	3.56 (0.95)	3.57 (0.97)	3.58 (1.24)	3.74 (1.20)
Giving presentations to coworkers	3.62 (0.96)	3.56 (0.93)	3.63 (1.16)	3.79 (1.20)
Coworker said something offensive to you	3.13 (1.16)	3.16 (1.18)	3.35 (1.36)	3.46 (1.39)

Table S7

Descriptive statistics for the overall and individual support for anti-discrimination policy and proposed remote work policy as well as the quiz score for Studies 3 and 5. Asian Americans assigned to the intervention condition watched a video reminding participants of the increased Asan discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic and those assigned to the control condition did not watch a video. Higher numbers indicate greater support for the policy or more items correct on the quiz.

Item	Study Number	Condition		t-test results
		Intervention *M(SD)*	Control *M(SD)*	
Overall support for anti-discrimination policy	*Study 3*	3.41 (0.60)	3.26 (0.55)	$t(498) = 2.99$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.267$
	Study 5	3.53 (0.54)	3.42 (0.52)	$t(499) = 2.40$, $p = .017$, $d = 0.214$
Do you think the federal government should or should not be responsible for reducing racial injustices?	*Study 3*	3.37 (0.70)	3.36 (0.70)	$t(498) = 0.25$, $p = .801$, $d = 0.023$
	Study 5	3.53 (0.54)	3.50 (0.59)	$t(499) = 1.59$, $p = .113$, $d = 0.583$
Do you think the federal government should or should not establish a commission to study racial injustices?	*Study 3*	3.49 (0.66)	3.21 (0.69)	$t(498) = 4.55$, $p<.001$, $d = 0.407$
	Study 5	3.52 (0.65)	3.37 (0.67)	$t(499) = 2.59$, $p = .010$, $d = 0.232$
Do you think the federal government should or should not recommend potential remedies for racial injustices?	*Study 3*	3.37 (0.73)	3.20 (0.65)	$t(498) = 2.73$, $p = .007$, $d = 0.244$
	Study 5	3.50 (0.64)	3.39 (0.62)	$t(499) = 1.87$, $p = .062$, $d = 0.167$
The federal government would create government incentives for businesses to provide more remote work flexibility to their workers	*Study 3*	3.18 (0.82)	3.21 (0.69)	$t(498) = 0.38$, $p = .705$, $d = 0.034$
	Study 5	3.20 (0.83)	3.30 (0.69)	$t(499) = 1.51$, $p = .132$, $d = 0.135$
How effective or not effective in preventing violence against Asian Americans in the U.S. is the proposed remote work policy?	*Study 3*	2.79 (0.91)	2.43 (0.97)	$t(498) = 4.35$, $p<.001$, $d = 0.389$
	Study 5	2.75 (0.92)	2.46 (0.94)	$t(499) = 3.57$, $p<.001$, $d = 0.319$
Quiz Scores	*Study 3*	0.67 (0.35)	0.45 (0.34)	$t(493) = 6.97$, $p<.001$, $d = 0.626$
	Study 5	0.67 (0.37)	0.49 (0.35)	$t(498) = 5.77$, $p<.001$, $d = 0.516$

Table S8

Descriptive statistics for the overall and individual support for anti-discrimination policy and proposed remote work policy as well as the quiz score for Studies 3 and 5. Asian Americans assigned to the intervention condition watched a video reminding participants of the increased Asan discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic and those assigned to the Increasde Asian Discrimination condition watched only the reminders of the increased Asian discrimination. Higher numbers indicate greater support for the policy or more items correct on the quiz.

Item	Study Number	Condition		t-test results
		Intervention *M(SD)*	Increased Asian discrimination *M(SD)*	
Overall support for anti-discrimination policy	*Study 4*	2.98 (0.89)	2.95 (0.85)	$t(543) = 0.19$, $p = .850$, $d = 0.016$
	Study 5	3.53 (0.54)	3.50 (0.52)	$t(496) = 0.77$, $p = .443$, $d = 0.069$
Do you think the federal government should or should not be responsible for reducing racial injustices?	*Study 4*	3.26 (0.91)	3.22 (0.87)	$t(543) = 0.51$, $p = .613$, $d = 0.043$
	Study 5	3.58 (0.58)	3.52 (0.62)	$t(496) = 1.13$, $p = .260$, $d = 0.101$
Do you think the federal government should or should not establish a commission to study racial injustices?	*Study 4*	3.16 (0.94	3.23 (0.89)	$t(543) = 0.90$, $p = .371$, $d = 0.077$
	Study 5	3.52 (0.65)	3.50 (0.62)	$t(496) = 0.36$, $p = .722$, $d = 0.032$
Do you think the federal government should or should not recommend potential remedies for racial injustices?	*Study 4*	3.28 (0.90)	3.28 (0.82)	$t(543) = 0.09$, $p = .928$, $d = 0.008$
	Study 5	3.50 (0.64)	3.47 (0.63)	$t(496) = 0.49$, $p = .622$, $d = 0.044$
The federal government would create government incentives for businesses to provide more remote work flexibility to their workers	*Study 4*	2.98 (0.89)	2.95 (0.85)	$t(543) = 0.42$, $p = .678$, $d = 0.036$
	Study 5	3.20 (0.83)	3.20 (0.72)	$t(496) = 0.09$, $p = .926$, $d = 0.008$
How effective or not effective in preventing violence against Asian Americans in the U.S. is the proposed remote work policy?	*Study 4*	2.75 (0.98)	2.69 (0.98)	$t(542) = 0.81$, $p = .417$, $d = 0.238$
	Study 5	2.75 (0.92)	2.55 (0.89)	$t(495) = 2.52$, $p = .012$, $d = 0.226$

Quiz Scores	*Study 4*	0.49 (0.37)	0.44 (0.36)	$t(543) = 1.39$, $p = .166$, $d = 0.121$
	Study 5	0.67 (0.37)	0.56 (0.35)	$t(494) = 3.35$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.301$