

Penalized for Personality: A Case Study of Asian-Origin Disadvantage at the Point of Hire

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Do employers penalize Asian-origin workers for personality-related reasons during real hiring decisions? Current theoretical approaches—the Model Minority Myth perspective and the Heterogeneity approach—provide conflicting predictions as to the nature of an Asian-origin personality penalty, if one exists. Furthermore, evidence of an Asian-origin personality penalty is typically derived from laboratory experiments based on evaluation of fictitious material rather than from real hiring decisions based on face-to-face interviews and hiring deliberations. To fill the empirical gap and resolve theoretical tension, I provide evidence of an Asian-origin personality penalty from a case study of hiring at a Silicon Valley high-technology firm. Drawing from quantitative and qualitative data, I demonstrate how the firm’s decision makers penalize Asian-origin job candidates during hiring decisions for their judged personality traits in a way that does not fully coincide with either theoretical approach, and I propose a theoretical model to describe the personality “content” of the Asian-origin personality penalty as it occurs in real hiring decisions.

Keywords

Asian Americans, immigrants, labor market, stereotypes, hiring

The Asian-origin population in the United States, it seems, has a personality problem. In admission to elite universities, gatekeepers penalize Asian-origin students for their perceived personality traits (Hartocollis 2015). Employers may also penalize Asian-origin workers for personality-related reasons when deciding whom to hire, particularly when the positions require assertiveness, social skills, and other attributes that Asians purportedly lack (e.g., Sy et al. 2010). With Asian-origin workers constituting 6.5 percent of wage earners in the U.S. labor force, the magnitude of a potential “personality penalty” cannot be understated.¹

Yet when it comes to real hiring decisions, it is unclear whether and how an Asian-origin personality penalty occurs, given that to date, evidence of such a penalty comes from evaluations of written material in experimental settings rather than from

in-person interviews typical of actual hiring decisions. Theoretical approaches, moreover, offer conflicting predictions as to *who* within the Asian-origin population is affected by a personality-based penalty at the point of hire. The Model Minority Myth perspective would suggest that employers penalize Asian-origin workers in general for perceived personality faults (Chou and Feagin 2008; Lee and Kye 2016), whereas the Heterogeneity approach suggests that such a penalty, if one exists,

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is relegated to Asian-origin workers educated in a foreign country (Kim and Sakamoto 2010; Wang, Takei, and Sakamoto 2017). In this paper, I address these theoretical and empirical blind spots by turning to a case study of software engineering hiring at mid-sized Silicon Valley firm I call InGen.² I ask, are Asian-origin job candidates at this firm penalized during face-to-face hiring evaluations and hiring decisions for personality-related reasons, and if so, how does this penalty occur, and who among the Asian-origin population is affected?

The InGen case study represents hiring under a specific cultural context: (a) InGen decision makers value both the candidates' ability to perform the technical tasks of the job as well as their ability to get along socially others; (b) InGen decision makers associate candidate performance ability with masculine-typed traits like assertiveness, confidence, and dominance; and (c) decision makers are majority White non-Hispanic, although Asian-origin workers, particularly those from China and India, are well represented. In this context, I find support for both the Model Minority Myth perspective and the Heterogeneity approach: Chinese candidates, regardless of immigrant generation, are penalized for personality reasons related to passivity, but so too are foreign-educated Asian-origin candidates (ethnically Chinese and Indian) for personality reasons related to social distance. Drawing on these findings, I develop a model of personality content for the Asian-origin personality penalty during face-to-face evaluations in which judgments related to passivity and assertiveness fluctuate by race and ethnicity, judgments related to social distance fluctuate by immigrant generation, and the hiring penalty depends on the extent to which judged differences correspond to the prized candidate qualities in the hiring context.

This paper makes three contributions. First, to my knowledge, it provides the first empirical evidence of an Asian-origin personality penalty in real hiring decisions based on face-to-face candidate evaluations. Second, it develops a model of the personality content underlying the Asian personality penalty that incorporates Model Minority Myth and Heterogeneity approaches. Third, the findings imply that an Asian-origin personality penalty is a demand-side mechanism that contributes to the disparities that some Asian-origin workers face in wages (Kim and Sakamoto 2010; Zeng and Xie 2004) and in representation in management (Woo 2000). The findings draw attention to subtle economic disadvantages often ignored by scholars given the general success of the Asian-origin

population relative to other racial minorities (Gee and Peck 2018).

THE THEORETICAL ASIAN PERSONALITY PENALTY AT THE POINT OF HIRE

The Model Minority Myth Perspective

The Asian-origin population in the United States has come to rival, and at times exceed, Whites in terms of income, education, and other measures of socioeconomic status (Sakamoto, Goyette, and Kim 2009). As a result, the Asian-origin population is often labeled in popular discourse as a "model minority"—an economically and scholastically successful racial minority group implicitly compared with Blacks and Latinos, who are not (Lee and Kye 2016). Some scholars, however, argue that the "model minority" label elides the racial discrimination that the Asian-origin population faces, including when employers make hiring decisions (Chou and Feagin 2008; Lee and Kye 2016). According to the Model Minority Myth perspective, the Asian-origin population is a racialized group that faces systemic racial discrimination in American society like other disadvantaged racial minorities.

From the Model Minority Myth perspective, Asian-origin workers are penalized for personality as a racial group, with employers less likely to hire Asian-origin workers because employers perceive these workers, in general, as lacking personality-based qualities prized in the hiring setting. Indeed, social psychological studies suggest that personality-based perceptions tend to cluster by racial group, with Asians perceived as nerdy, antisocial, interpersonally cold, and socially distant compared with Whites (Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2002; Lin et al. 2005) and as possessing fewer masculine-typed traits like assertiveness, leadership, influence, and risk taking (Burriss et al. 2013; Galinsky, Hall, and Cuddy 2013; Lin et al. 2005), while at the same time being seen as more competent, intelligent, and industrious (Chao et al. 2013).³ In theory, these racial stereotypes are based on the underlying perception of the Asian-origin population as a high-status racial group in competition with Whites (Fiske et al. 2002) or, alternatively, as a high-status but "culturally foreign" racial group regardless of immigrant generation (Xu and Lee 2013; Zou and Cheryan 2017).

Evidence from laboratory experiments supports a general Asian-origin "personality penalty" during hiring evaluations for jobs requiring the personality

traits that Asian-origin workers stereotypically lack. Evaluators are least likely to select Asian men to leadership positions and other masculine-typed jobs compared with White or Black men because of their perceived lack of masculine traits (Galinsky et al. 2013, Study 5; Hall, Galinsky, and Phillips, 2015). Evaluators perceive Asian workers as less suitable for management positions because they are seen as not friendly enough for such a social job (Burriss et al. 2013) and as less suitable for sales positions because they are perceived as less assertive, decisive, and confident (Lee et al. 2015; Sy et al. 2010). Notwithstanding the caveat that experimental study participants evaluate fictitious workers based on written material rather than social interaction, current evidence supports the Model Minority Myth perspective: When deciding whom to hire based on face-to-face interviews, employers tend to penalize Asian-origin individuals in general for judged personality traits that correspond to Asian-origin stereotypes.

Although the South Asian population is often included under the “model minority” moniker, there is evidence that South Asian ethnicities like Indian and Pakistani are not perceived as racially Asian whereas East Asians ethnicities like Chinese, Japanese, and Korean are (Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019). Furthermore, “Asian” stereotypes may apply to East Asians but not South Asians (Lee and Fiske 2006). Since the underlying logic of the Model Minority Myth perspective is that Asian-origin workers face a personality penalty as a racial group, whether South Asians are considered Asian is an empirical question and one that does not conflict with the main thrust of the Model Minority Myth perspective.

The Heterogeneity Approach

In opposition to the Model Minority Myth perspective, proponents of the Heterogeneity approach argue that the Asian-origin population is not economically disadvantaged as a racial group. Rather, the disadvantage (typically in wage differentials) is “explained” by key omitted variables in quantitative studies (Sakamoto, Takei, and Woo 2012). “Place of education,” in particular whether workers receive their education in the United States or in another country, has emerged as a crucial axis within the Asian-origin population. Zeng and Xie (2004) found that foreign-educated Asians earn approximately 16 percent less than U.S.-born Asians, U.S.-educated Asian immigrants, and U.S.-born Whites. Kim and Sakamoto (2010), focusing

on male college graduates, found a substantial earnings penalty for Asian immigrants schooled entirely overseas, a moderate earnings penalty for Asian immigrants who attend high school abroad, and no earnings penalty for Asian immigrants who attend U.S. high school.⁴ Following a Heterogeneity approach, economic penalties among Asian-origin workers, including penalties at the point of hire, are likely limited to foreign-educated Asian-origin workers.

Proponents of the Heterogeneity approach are somewhat agnostic about why foreign-educated Asian-origin workers are penalized, offering several theoretical reasons for the disadvantage. Foreign educational credentials may be lower quality than U.S. credentials (or perceived as such) (Zeng and Xie 2004) or less transferrable in the U.S. context (Bratsberg and Ragan 2002); further, foreign-educated Asian-origin workers may have poor English language ability (Espenshade and Fu 1997) or relatively limited social networks (Sakamoto et al. 2009). The Heterogeneity approach also allows for foreign-educated Asian-origin individuals to be penalized for personality-related reasons, either because those differences truly exist due to the difficulty of acculturation (Wang et al. 2017) or because employers use stereotypes specific to Asian immigrants when evaluating foreign-educated Asian-origin workers (Oreopoulos 2011). Whether based in truth or not, there is evidence that perceptions of personality differ by Asian immigrant generation. For instance, Whites and Asians perceive third-plus-generation Asians as “Americanized” or “whitewashed,” compared with more recent Asian immigrants, because of their relatively relaxed approach to school (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013). In short, the Heterogeneity perspective supports the following: To the extent that a personality-based penalty exists among Asian-origin workers, it will be concentrated among Asian-origin workers who received their education outside of the United States.

Guided by the predictions of the Model Minority Myth perspective and Heterogeneity approach, I turn to a case study of a software engineering hiring process at a mid-sized high-technology firm. The goal of this research is not to formally test one theoretical perspective against another; indeed, a case study research design does not allow for such generalizable hypothesis testing. Nor is my goal to formally adjudicate the extent to which judged differences in personality are due to true or simply perceived differences, although I do highlight evidence of this divergence when applicable. Rather,

the goal is to examine the extent to which Asian-origin workers are penalized for personality during face-to-face evaluations and hiring decisions in this case study, to assess how and for whom this penalty occurs, to determine whether the findings coincide with either theoretical approach, and, if neither theoretical approach is adequate, to develop a more nuanced theoretical understanding of the Asian-origin personality penalty.

SILICON VALLEY, INGEN, AND INGEN'S HIRING PROCESS

California's Silicon Valley, where InGen is located, has a technical workforce shaped by historical and contemporary demand for immigrant labor (Chiswick 2005). Today, Chinese and Asian Indian workers represent 18 percent and 27 percent of the technical workforce, respectively; nearly half of Chinese workers and 80 percent of Asian Indian workers immigrated to the United States after age 21.⁵ Given the workforce diversity, software engineering hiring in Silicon Valley is a conservative setting to study hiring penalties for Asian-origin workers. Not only does the strong demand for technical skill likely restrict personality-related factors in selection decisions compared with other occupations (Gans 2007:155), employers may be accustomed to hiring Asian-origin workers and thus may be less likely to penalize them for personality-based reasons.

InGen is a relatively successful web application company and hires a high volume of software engineers to keep pace of its rapid growth. About a third of InGen's roughly 1,000 employees are software engineers, 72 percent of whom were hired within the previous two years.⁶ Like Silicon Valley in general, InGen has relatively high Asian representation among its employees. Based on a company-wide survey, 17 percent of InGen workers are East Asian, 11 percent are South Asian, and 63 percent are White non-Hispanic.⁷

InGen engineers have a collaborative working style, following the trend in the software engineering profession toward organization around project teams and emphasis on collaboration and interpersonal skills (IBM 2008).

InGen has a typical software engineering hiring process. After passing a technical interview screen in which interviewers test candidates' coding and algorithmic fundamentals, candidates undergo four or five 1-hour, one-on-one technical interviews with InGen engineers. The hiring manager, who is also an engineer, conducts one of the interviews.

During each interview, candidates have 45 minutes to work through a technical question on a white board while the interviewer stands alongside discussing the problem and verbally questioning candidates' decisions. Interview coordinators tell me they randomly select interviewers—besides the hiring manager—depending on the interviewers' availability. Each interview team consists of, on average, 10 percent women, 14 percent Asian Indian, 15 percent Chinese, 3 percent other Asian, and 68 percent ethnically other engineers. On average, 23 percent of each interview team is foreign educated.

After each one-on-one interview, interviewers subjectively evaluate the candidate on two dimensions: technical ability and "cultural fit" (described in detail below). Another interviewer also assesses the candidate's cultural fit during a coffee break. Interviewers evaluate technical ability and cultural fit on two separate 4-category scales. The evaluation scale is as follows:

1. Would not recommend for hire and would fight for a rejection.
2. Would not recommend for hire but could be persuaded otherwise.
3. Would recommend for hire but could be persuaded otherwise.
4. Would recommend for hire and would fight for the candidate.

Interviewers often give technical and cultural scores between the main evaluation categories, such as a 2+ or 3-.⁸

After the candidate's visit, the interviewers meet for a hiring deliberation meeting lasting roughly 15 minutes in which they explain their technical and cultural evaluations in the order of the interview schedule. During each explanation, other interviewers or the hiring manager ask clarifying questions or offer additional evidence. At the end of this process, the hiring panel makes a hiring decision.

THE DATA

I present analyses of both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data are from all 1,094 face-to-face interview candidates from June 2011 to February 2014 and include the candidates' numeric technical and cultural evaluations and the offer decision, supplemented with the candidates' educational and employment information collected from resumes and publicly available online

databases (e.g., LinkedIn). To identify candidate ethnicity as Asian Indian, Chinese or “other Asian,” I matched candidate surnames and given names to name databases developed by Lauderdale and Kestenbaum (2000) and Shah et al. (2010). If candidates received their earliest recorded education in China, India, or another Asian country, I considered them ethnically Chinese, Indian, or “other Asian,” respectively.⁹ The remaining candidates of “other ethnicity” are overwhelmingly White non-Hispanic—only four candidates are Black or Hispanic. I divide candidates into three groups based on immigrant generation: candidates raised in the United States, candidates who attended college in the United States, and candidates who attended college in their sending country. I classified candidates as U.S.-educated or foreign-educated based on their education history. To classify candidates as U.S.-raised, I scoured publicly available sources for any information that signaled either U.S. or foreign birth or childhood (up until college) such as the location of middle school or high school, place of citizenship, or even large friend groups that cluster in foreign high schools. Twelve candidates were missing education or work-related information, reducing the dataset to 1,082 candidates.

Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics of the analytic sample. Appendix A provides a count of candidates by ethnicity and immigrant generation. Roughly 27 percent of candidates are Indian, 39 percent are Chinese, and 6 percent are other Asian. The rest are “other ethnicities,” almost all of whom would be classified as White non-Hispanic. Given the small number size of the “other Asian” grouping, I focus on Indian and Chinese candidates. About half of candidates are foreign-educated, 80 percent of whom are Chinese or Asian Indian. The remaining 20 percent of foreign-educated candidates attended universities in a number of countries around the world.¹⁰ I assume interviewers have *serious* English ability concerns if at least one interviewer mentions difficulty understanding the candidate during deliberation or in their interview notes. Interviewers have *some* English ability concerns if at least one interviewer mentions difficulty understanding the candidate with a qualifier (e.g., “it was not that bad”).

I collected qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with interviewers, from observations of the hiring deliberations, and from interviewers’ notes from interviews and recruiters’ notes from hiring deliberations. From August 2013 to August

2014, I used snowball sampling to recruit and interview 50 InGen employees involved in the hiring process. Interviews took place on-site at a time of the respondents’ choosing and were recorded and transcribed with the respondents’ consent. Each interview lasted about an hour, and I interviewed some key respondents such as hiring managers multiple times to better understand the hiring process from the perspective of those more deeply involved in hiring decisions. Respondents were offered a small compensation for their time after the interview. Appendix B provides interview respondent characteristics.

I also observed 69 candidate hiring deliberations over the course of 11 months. For the first month of observation, I introduced myself as a researcher working with the recruiting team to learn about the hiring process and asked for verbal permission to observe the conversation. I sat in the corner, taking notes. Interviewers were very welcoming. After about a month, I became a regular fixture in the hiring meetings. Finally, I gathered InGen interviewers’ and recruiters’ own notes from their candidate interviews and hiring deliberations, available for 996 of the 1,082 in-person job candidates from June 2011 to August 2014. These notes contain the interviewers’ written impressions of the candidate and the hiring deliberations, ranging from a few sentences to full paragraphs of description.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

The goal of the quantitative analysis is to determine whether candidates are penalized in job offers along race-ethnicity and immigrant generation and whether the technical and cultural evaluations explain the job offer penalties. I first present simple associations between candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation, evaluations, and offer decisions. I then turn to a more rigorous mediation analysis in which I determine whether differences in job offers by candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation are due to differences in evaluations. Specifically, I compare average marginal effects of candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation on the predicted probability of an offer across a series of logistic regression models in which I cumulatively account for the candidate technical evaluations, interviewer’s English ability concerns, and cultural evaluations. I simultaneously estimate models using seemingly unrelated estimation (SUEST) as described by Mize, Doan, and Long (2019). Significant changes in the average

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of In-person Interview Candidates.

	Mean (SD)	Percentage
Ethnicity		
Asian Indian		26.6
Chinese		39.2
Other Asian		5.6
Other ethnicity		28.6
Immigrant generation		
U.S. raised		41.3
U.S. educated		9.7
Foreign educated		49.0
English language concerns		
Some concerns		2.4
Serious concerns		2.6
Female		13.0
Elite university degree		71.4
Prestigious firm experience		52.4
Entrepreneurship experience		8.3
Regular work experience		80.8
Total experience (in years) ^a	8.3 (5.8)	
Intermittent work history ^a		17.3
Ever promoted ^a		32.4
Recruitment method		
Contingency recruiter		15.3
Passive recruitment		18.9
Employee referral		19.0
Self-application		19.8
Unspecified		27.0
Position level ^b		
Junior		14.7
Regular		56.7
Senior or higher		28.6
Division		
Frontend		14.8
Backend		30.5
Specific		39.9
General		14.8
In-person interview evaluations		
Technical	2.4 (0.6)	
Cultural	2.7 (0.5)	
One or more represented on hiring panel		
Foreign educated		65.3
Asian Indian		48.8
Chinese		50.9
Other Asian		15.7
Other ethnicity		98.8

Note: $N = 1,082$. I use InGen management's informal definitions for "elite" university status (an informal list of 66 national and international universities), for experience in large prestigious high-technology firms (an informal list including Google and Yahoo), and for intermittent work history (average job tenure of less than two years in the last seven years of work experience, applicable for candidates with more than four years of experience). I define *regular work experience* as nonintern, nonconsultant, and noncontract work and *entrepreneurship experience* as starting a company or creating an online application.

^aAmong those with regular work experience.

^bPosition to which the candidate applied.

marginal effects of candidate ethnicity and/or immigrant generation across models suggest mediation of the average marginal effects by the technical evaluations or cultural evaluations. A residual average marginal effect of Asian ethnicity or immigrant generation after accounting for evaluations would suggest discrimination not captured by differences in evaluation.

I then turn to qualitative data to better understand the on-the-ground reasons for the pattern of evaluations and job offer penalty for Asian-origin candidates. Following a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967), I analyzed all qualitative data from my interviews with hiring decision makers, from my notes during hiring deliberations, and from interviewers' own notes from deliberations and interviews. Using the qualitative analysis program Dedoose, I highlighted emergent themes in the transcribed textual data and then aggregated those themes until I arrived at major overarching themes. I present how themes differ by candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation. I also conduct the qualitative analysis at the candidate-level, analyzing interviewer-observed, candidate-specific traits based on the interviewer notes describing the candidates from evaluation and from the hiring deliberations. For example, an interviewer observed that the candidate "seemed to be fairly dismissive of younger engineers." This was coded as candidate "dismissiveness," which then fell under the overarching theme of candidate "hostility." Before continuing to the main analyses, I first describe how interviewers evaluate technical ability and cultural fit during the face-to-face interviews.

CULTURAL FIT AND TECHNICAL EVALUATIONS

Interviewers evaluate candidates on two measures: technical ability and "cultural fit." The technical ability evaluation captures the candidates' judged ability to perform the technical tasks of the job based on interviewers' subjective evaluations of how the candidates work through the technical question. There is often no clear right or wrong answer. Importantly, interviewers intertwine their perceptions of technical ability with technical confidence and assertiveness in presentation. As senior engineer John Brown told me, "If you have somebody who is so timid that they can't call out your mistake, that's not going to be a good engineering practice." Interviewers look for signs of assertiveness, or lack thereof, during the interview. "It's good to throw people off [during the interview],

because you don't want . . . sheep," engineer Rich Lu told me. "You don't want people that are like, 'I guess you're right.'"

Similar to hiring in other corporate settings, "cultural fit" is, in practice, a measure of the emotional chemistry InGen interviewers feel with candidates during the face-to-face interviews (see Rivera 2015). For instance, when measuring a candidate's cultural fit, hiring manager Renaud Leinart asks two questions, "Would I be happy working with this person? Do I feel comfortable with this person?" Management and engineers told me the cultural fit evaluation was primarily a "check" for "assholes," extremely awkward candidates, or other candidates to be socially avoided. Interviewers believe chemistry is important despite its subjective and unmeritocratic nature. As staff engineer Steve Zhou told me, "I really hate saying that emotion comes into play, but, because you're going to be working with these people . . . we have to be compatible." The on-the-ground meaning of "cultural fit" at InGen is distinct from the analytical definitions of cultural fit found in organizational studies, which denotes homophily across personality and values (e.g., Chatman 1991) or social norms (Goldberg et al. 2016).

OFFERS AND EVALUATIONS BY ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRANT GENERATION

Table 2 shows the breakdown of job offer rates, average technical evaluations, and average cultural evaluations by candidate ethnicity and by candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation.¹¹ Three patterns in job offers emerge: Chinese candidates across immigrant generation receive fewer job offers than "other ethnic" (almost all White) candidates; foreign-educated candidates of Asian origin receive fewer job offers than their U.S.-raised counterparts; and the job offer differential between foreign-educated and U.S.-raised candidates is particularly large for Indian candidates.¹²

The differences in job offers by ethnicity and immigrant generation correspond to patterns in the technical and cultural evaluations. Chinese candidates, who receive fewer job offers than other ethnic candidates across immigrant generation, also receive significantly lower technical evaluations ($p < .05$ among U.S.-raised candidates, $p < .001$ among U.S.-educated candidates, $p < .01$ among foreign-educated candidates). Foreign-educated Indian and Chinese candidates, who receive fewer

Table 2. Job Offers and Technical and Cultural Evaluations by Candidate Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation.

	By Ethnicity ^a	By Ethnicity and Immigration Generation ^b		
		U.S. Raised	U.S. Educated	Foreign Educated
Percentage of candidates who receive a job offer				
Other ethnic	37.9	36.8	68.4**	34.3
Indian	22.6***	46.0	35.0	16.1***
Chinese	24.5***	28.7	28.3	20.0†
Other Asian	24.6*	24.4	30.8	14.3
Average technical evaluations (SD)				
Other ethnic	2.60 (0.58)	2.58 (0.60)	2.82 (0.45)	2.59 (0.56)
Indian	2.32*** (0.59)	2.54 (0.56)	2.46 (0.75)	2.26** (0.57)
Chinese	2.39*** (0.58)	2.42 (0.56)	2.30 (0.59)	2.39 (0.59)
Other Asian	2.28*** (0.55)	2.33 (0.54)	2.37 (0.45)	1.79* (0.59)
Average cultural evaluations (SD)				
Other ethnic	2.85 (0.49)	2.86 (0.53)	2.97 (0.48)	2.80 (0.41)
Indian	2.71*** (0.46)	2.92 (0.43)	2.89 (0.46)	2.65*** (0.45)
Chinese	2.71*** (0.44)	2.82 (0.43)	2.70† (0.40)	2.62*** (0.45)
Other Asian	2.64** (0.47)	2.68 (0.52)	2.68 (0.28)	2.35 (0.45)

Note: $N = 1,082$.

^aChi-square tests (differences in job offers) and two-sided t tests (differences in evaluations) use other ethnic candidates as the comparison.

^bChi-square tests and two-sided t tests conducted within ethnicity, with U.S.-raised candidates as the comparison.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. † $p < .10$.

job offers than their U.S.-raised counterparts, receive significantly lower cultural fit evaluations.¹³ Foreign-educated Indian candidates also receive significantly lower technical evaluations than U.S.-raised Indian candidates. These patterns suggest that lower technical and cultural evaluations may explain the job offer penalty by ethnicity and immigrant generation.

Mediation of Offer Penalties by the Technical and Cultural Fit Evaluations

To more rigorously investigate whether the technical and cultural evaluations explain job offer patterns by ethnicity and immigrant generation, I conduct a series of nested logistic regression models of the effect of candidate ethnicity and

immigrant generation on the log odds of receiving an offer. Table 3 displays the results. Figures 1 and 2 show the average adjusted predictions of the probability of receiving an offer, and the average marginal effects, by candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation based on the logistic regression results.

Model I includes an interaction of candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation. Based on Model I, the average marginal effect of candidate ethnicity by immigrant generation on the probability of receiving an offer supports the pattern of job offers among ethnically Chinese candidates and foreign-educated Indian candidates in the descriptive analysis. Chinese candidates have a lower probability of receiving an offer than other ethnic candidates across immigrant generation, all else equal (13 percentage points less likely among

Table 3. Logistic Regression Models of the Log Odds of Receiving an Offer, Reported in Odds Ratios.

	I	II	III	IV	V
Candidate ethnicity (Ref = other ethnic)					
Indian	1.12 (0.39)	1.93 (0.79)	1.05 (0.31)	1.01 (0.29)	1.04 (0.32)
Chinese	0.52** (0.13)	0.92 (0.31)	0.71 (0.19)	0.71 (0.19)	0.81 (0.23)
Other Asian	0.43* (0.18)	0.80 (0.48)	0.78 (0.35)	0.77 (0.35)	1.17 (0.64)
Immigrant generation (Ref = U.S. raised)					
U.S. educated	3.34* (1.93)	3.42† (2.86)	1.55 (0.53)	1.56 (0.55)	1.92 (0.78)
Foreign educated	0.91 (0.25)	0.82 (0.33)	0.57* (0.14)	0.60* (0.15)	0.84 (0.23)
Ethnicity × immigrant generation					
Indian × U.S. educated	0.22† (0.18)	0.12 (0.15)			
Indian × Foreign educated	0.28** (0.13)	0.40 (0.23)			
Chinese × U.S. educated	0.35 (0.24)	0.37 (0.36)			
Chinese × Foreign educated	0.84 (0.32)	0.60 (0.32)			
Other Asian × U.S. educated	0.58 (0.58)	0.65 (0.74)			
Other Asian × Foreign educated	1.00 (1.06)	5.00† (4.69)			
Technical evaluation		19.01*** (3.84)	18.77*** (3.79)	19.30*** (3.99)	15.50*** (3.66)
Language issue					
Minor concerns				1.56 (0.81)	2.33 (1.64)
Major concerns				0.17* (0.12)	0.46 (0.35)
Cultural evaluation					5.19*** (0.95)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: $N = 1,082$. Cultural and technical evaluations are centered and standardized in all models. I report effects in odds ratios using robust standard errors. Control variables: candidate gender; elite university postsecondary degree; prestigious firm experience; regular work experience (years); regular work experience (years, square root); entrepreneurship experience; intermittent work history; ever promoted; recruitment method (reference = self-application): passive recruitment; employee referral; contingency firm referral; unspecified recruitment method; position level (reference = regular): junior; senior, or higher; division (reference = backend): frontend; specific division; general; one or more Indian interviewer; one or more Chinese interviewer; one or more other Asian interviewer; one or more foreign-educated interviewer. Models I and II, and Models III, IV, and V, are simultaneously estimated using seemingly unrelated estimation (SUEST).

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. † $p < .10$.

U.S.-raised, $p < .01$; 38 percentage points less likely among U.S.-educated, $p < .01$; 16 percentage points less likely among foreign-educated, $p < .01$. Indian ethnicity has a significant average marginal

effect on the probability of an offer among U.S.-educated and foreign-educated candidates (31 percentage points less likely among U.S.-educated, $p < .05$; 20 percentage points less likely among

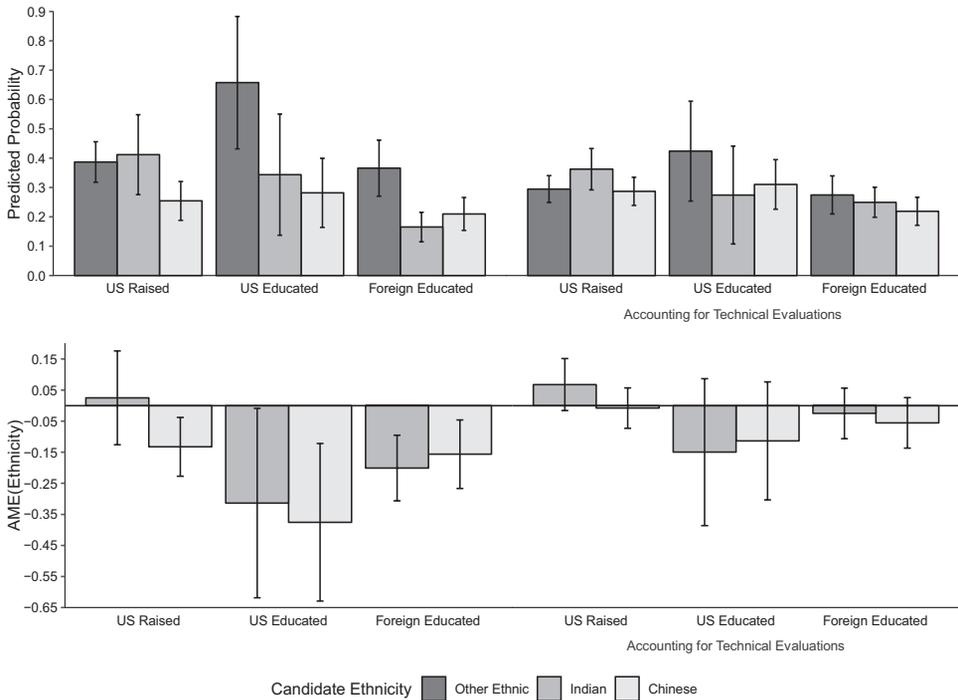


Figure 1. Predicted probability of job offer and average marginal effects of candidate ethnicity for U.S.-raised, U.S.-educated, and foreign-educated candidates based on Table 3, Models I and II.

foreign-educated $p < .001$) but not among U.S.-raised candidates ($p = .74$).

Comparison of average marginal effects across Models I and II suggests that technical evaluations explain the lower probability of receiving an offer for Chinese candidates relative to other ethnic candidates and also explain the outsized job offer penalty for foreign-educated Indian candidates. After I accounted for technical evaluations in Model II, the average marginal effects of Chinese ethnicity across immigrant generation, and of Indian ethnicity among foreign-educated candidates, were significantly reduced across models in magnitude and to nonsignificance.¹⁴ The average marginal effect of Indian ethnicity among U.S.-educated candidates is also nonsignificant in Model II, but the change in magnitude between models is not significant.

Comparisons of average marginal effects across Models III, IV, and IV suggest that there is a job offer penalty for foreign-educated candidates in general, explained by lower cultural evaluations, rather than a unique penalty in job offers for foreign-educated candidates of Asian origin. In Model II, the average marginal effect of foreign education on the probability of a job offer does not significantly

differ by candidate ethnicity. However, when the interaction of candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation is excluded in Model III, the average marginal effect of foreign education is significant: Foreign-educated candidates are 6 percentage points less likely than U.S.-raised candidates to receive an offer ($p < .05$). Accounting for interviewer language concerns in Model IV reduces this penalty to 5 percentage points ($p < .05$). The remaining unexplained penalty for foreign-educated candidates is fully explained with the addition of candidate cultural evaluations (4 percentage point decrease). The marginal effect of foreign education changes significantly from Model III to Model IV ($p < .10$) and from Model IV to Model V ($p < .01$).

REASONS BEHIND THE ASIAN PENALTIES IN JOB OFFERS

While the quantitative analysis outlines the general relationship between Asian ethnicity, foreign education, and the offer, it says little regarding interviewers' reasons behind the penalties. For this, I turn to the qualitative data. Figure 3 shows how

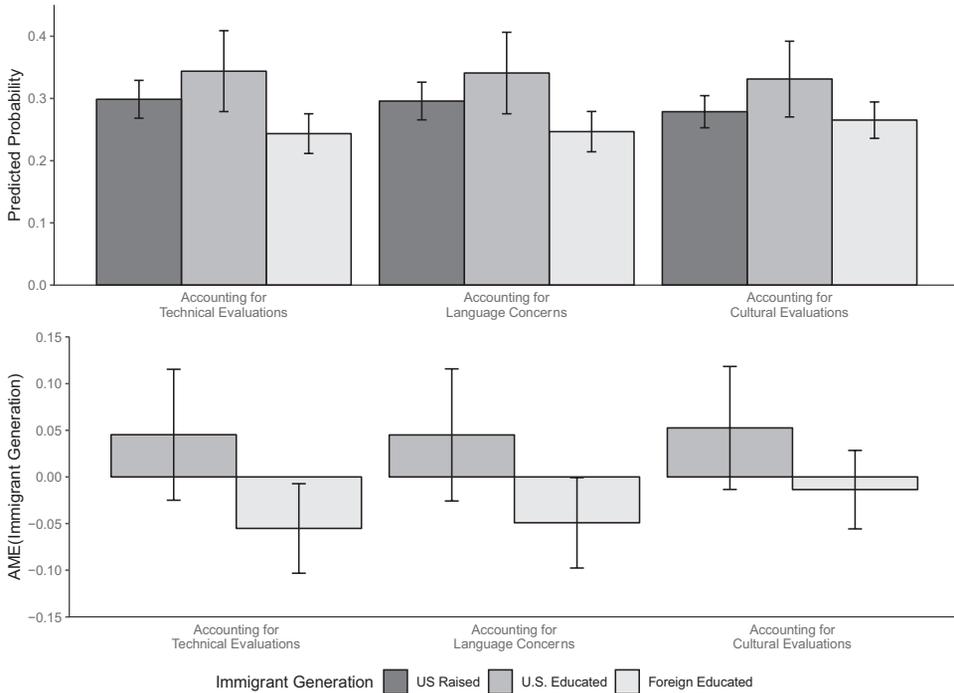


Figure 2. Predicted probability of job offer and average marginal effects of candidate immigrant generation based on Table 3, Models III, IV, and V.

interviewers judge candidate personality traits by candidate ethnicity (top row) and immigrant generation (bottom row) based on the analysis of interviewers’ notes. For each grouping (e.g., Chinese), the horizontal columns represent the percentage of candidates whom interviewers describe as exhibiting the given traits. For instance, interviewers describe 33 percent of other ethnic candidates as “having good energy.”¹⁵

Chinese Ethnicity and Perceived Passivity

The qualitative data suggest that interviewers’ judgments of passivity undergird the job offer penalty that Chinese applicants face due to lower technical evaluations, since the perception of technical ability is intertwined with assertiveness. Interviewers are more likely to mention candidate assertiveness, for instance a “get it done” attitude, for other ethnic candidates than for Chinese candidates ($p < .05$). For example, senior engineer James Hoffman praised a U.S.-raised White candidate (technical average 3, cultural average 3.2, received offer) as “show[ing] some go-getter attributes by finding the rest-room on his own when the

prior interview ended early.” Interviewers are more likely to record Chinese candidates’ lack of confidence in their interview notes compared with both other ethnic and Indian candidates ($p < .01$ and $p < .10$, respectively). Even more telling, interviewers are more likely to mention a lack of initiative for a candidate rejected for technical concerns if the candidate is Chinese than if the candidate is ethnically “other” (21 percent compared with 12 percent, $p < .05$, auxiliary analysis). Take engineer David Chang’s observations of a U.S.-raised Chinese candidate who received low technical evaluations due technical confidence issues (technical average 2.25, cultural average 2.8, rejected):

[The candidate] was able to come up with a competent data model relatively quickly, almost too quickly. . . . However, the problem was not in the candidate’s coding ability. [He] seemed to know his stuff, but wasn’t very proactive in giving responses. . . . It required significant amounts of prodding to get the desired answers.

In another example, a U.S.-raised Chinese candidate, who otherwise received good technical and cultural fit marks (technical average 2.9, cultural

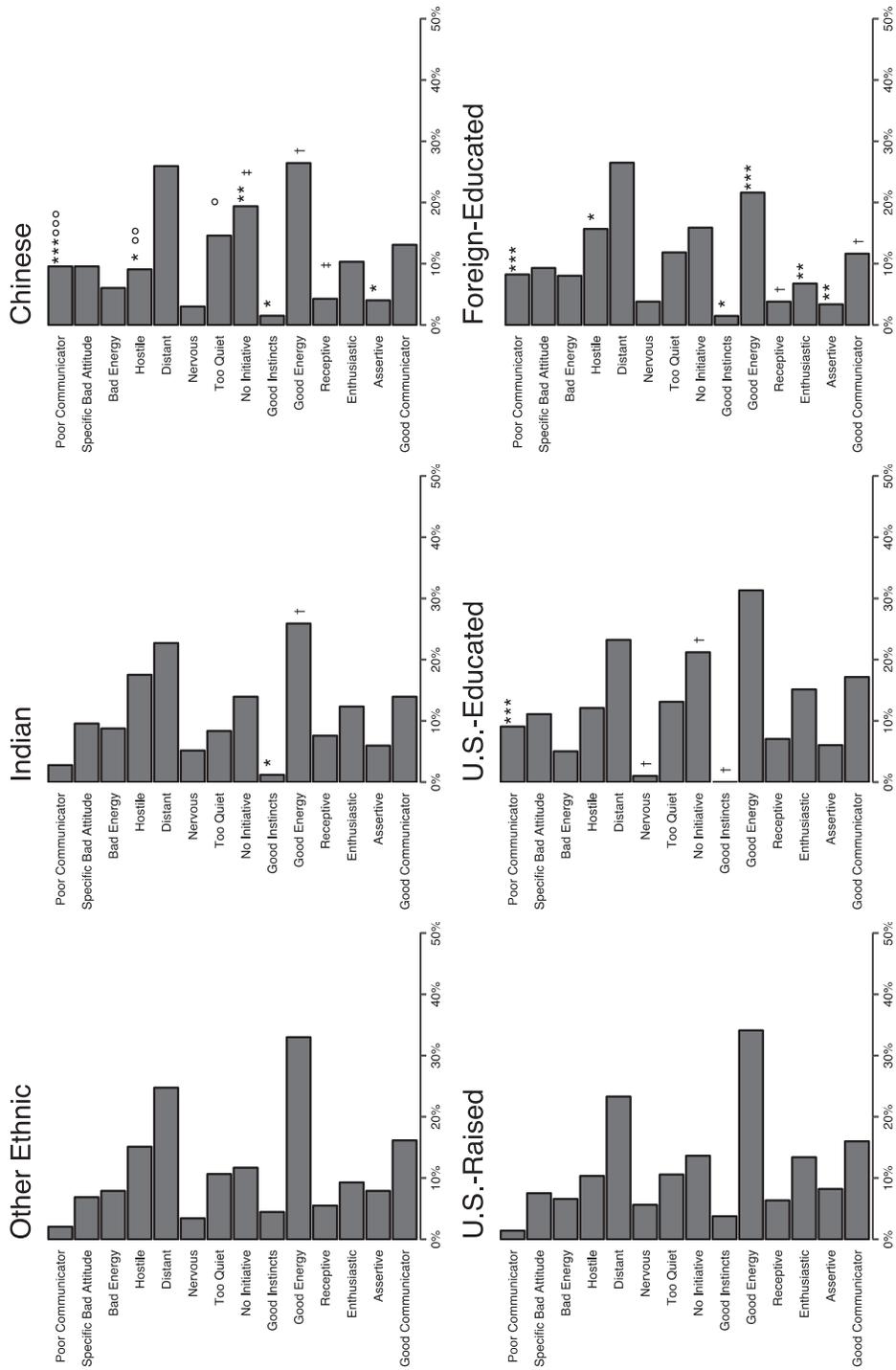


Figure 3. Percentage of candidates with interviewer-observed traits by ethnicity (top row) and by immigrant generation (bottom row).
 Note: $N = 996$.
 *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$, Fisher test. Significance in comparison to other ethnic candidates and U.S.-raised candidates.
 †† $p < .001$, † $p < .01$, † $p < .05$, ‡ $p < .10$, Fisher test. Significance in comparison to Indian candidates.

average 2.8), is eventually rejected for one poor evaluation (technical 2, cultural 2) in which the interviewer writes, “[The candidate] seemed lacking in self-confidence, especially so for someone who has been in the industry for some time. While he did engage me throughout the process, I did not get the impression of someone I would particularly enjoy collaborating with.” Interviewers are also less likely to judge Chinese candidates as able to defend technical decisions, an important aspect of technical ability. After one interview with a U.S.-raised Chinese candidate (technical average 2.5, cultural average 3.8), engineering manager Andrew Morgan wrote that the candidate’s “coding was fine . . . [but he] never fought me on anything, always redirected. Never really stood behind designs he was putting forward.” Although this candidate was eventually given a job offer, it was clear that the perceived inability to confidently argue was a concern.

Interviewers are less likely to judge Chinese candidates as hostile compared with both Indian and other ethnic candidates ($p < .01$ and $p < .05$, respectively), for whom interviewers perceive no difference in hostility. For Chinese candidates, the tradeoff of less perceived hostility for more passivity may not be worth it, as the latter directly conflicts with the traditional image of the ideal engineer (Jorgenson 2002), but the former may be recast during deliberations as simply being passionate. Finally, interviewers are more likely to report that Chinese candidates have worse technical communication than other ethnic or Indian candidates ($p < .001$ and $p < .001$, respectively), and interviewers are less likely to observe good technical instincts, or feel “good energy,” in Chinese candidates compared with other ethnic or Indian candidates ($p < .05$ and $p < .10$, respectively). But as I show below, these traits are associated with immigrant generation rather than Chinese ethnicity.

Immigrant Generation and Perceived Social Distance

Personality-based judgments associated with felt social distance undergird the cultural fit penalty for foreign-educated candidates (Figure 3, bottom row). Foreign-educated candidates, across ethnicity, are less likely to be marked as having good energy than U.S.-raised candidates ($p < .001$) and are less likely to be seen as enthusiastic or excited ($p < .01$). Interviewers are also less likely to describe foreign-educated candidates, relative to

U.S.-raised candidates, as receptive to the interviewers’ advice ($p < .10$) and are more likely to describe foreign-educated candidates as hostile to the interviewer ($p < .05$). While foreign-educated candidates are also judged as having poor technical instincts and less assertiveness ($p < .05$ and $p < .01$, respectively), social distance–related traits are most salient for interviewers.

This qualitative pattern reflects how interviewers draw the brightest cultural boundaries between those who “grew up” in the United States, and are thus acculturated to “American” middle-class habits, and those “very immigrant” candidates who more recently immigrated. Interviewers often cannot differentiate between immigrants who grew up in the United States and the native born. As staff engineer Frank Liu told me, “Chinese [people are] interesting because there are so many American-born Chinese . . . same with Indian, right? . . . I think [the behavioral differences are] likely to be a culture thing in terms of where you grew up.” Interviewers are aware of the correlation between their feelings of social distance and immigrant generation. Hiring manager Thierry Olivier told me, “Every culture has a different way of interacting. We usually take that into consideration as a way to attenuate the things that look bad. . . . But . . . there are certain boundaries that we do not go beyond. If the way you live in your culture is so obnoxious to the other culture, then it’ll just be a problem.” While Thierry uses the blanket term *culture*, it is clear from the larger context of the conversation that he is referring to those not raised in the United States.

Foreign-Educated Chinese: More Socially Distant, Compounded Passivity. Despite the general perception of those who grew up outside of the United States as being more socially distant, corresponding to a general cultural fit penalty for foreign-educated candidates in the quantitative analysis, interviewers perceive foreign-educated Chinese candidates as qualitatively different than foreign-educated Indian or other ethnic candidates. I show the interviewer-observed candidate traits by candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation as a visual guide (Figure 4); however, the coarse nature of interviewers’ notes belies more substantial trends I observed on the ground and during my interviews.

While interviewers associate “foreignness” with a lack of assertiveness for foreign candidates in general, the association is more dramatic for foreign Chinese candidates. As hiring manager Ryan Chou explained, “If you grew up in America, the

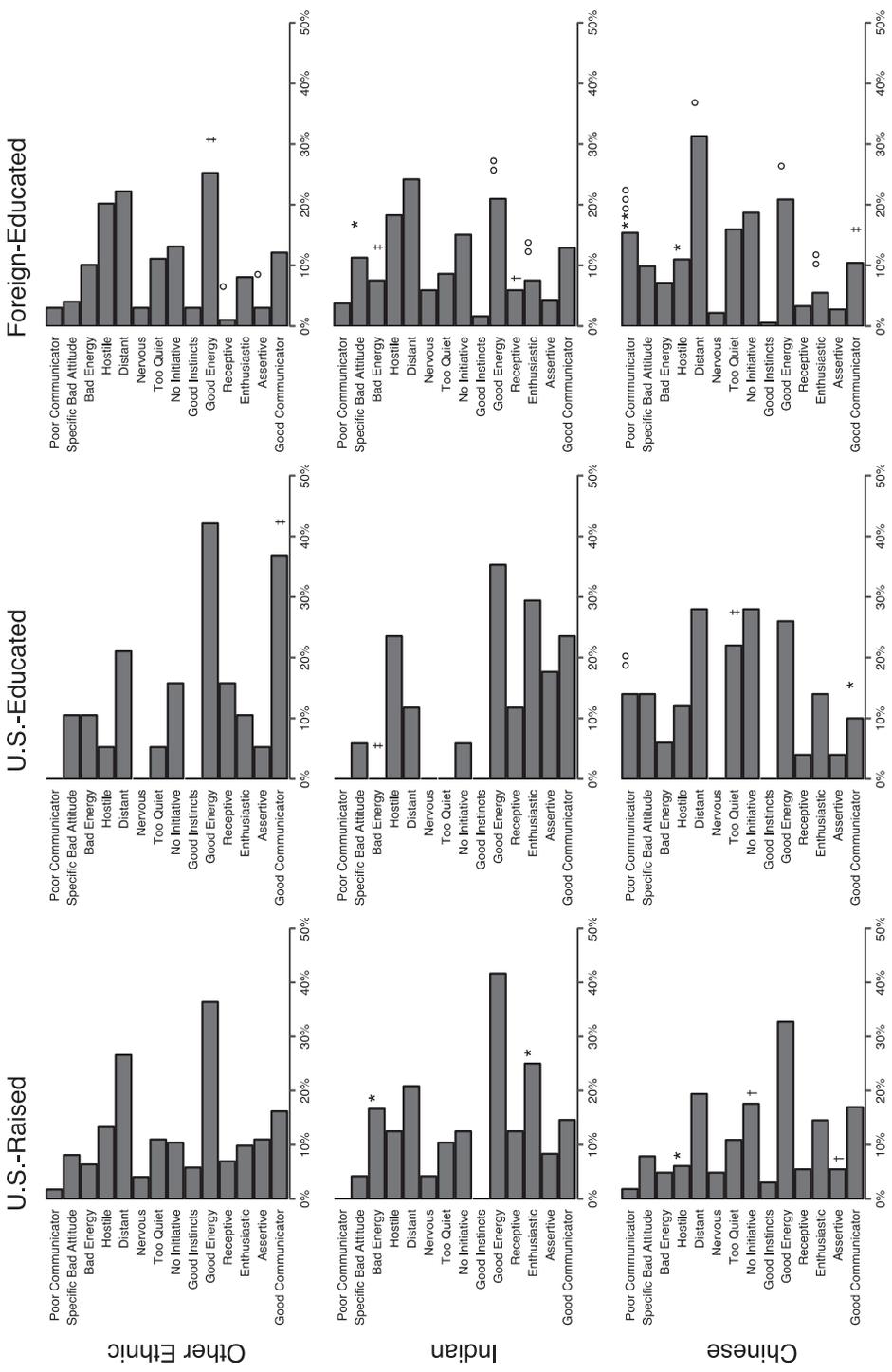


Figure 4. Percentage of candidates with interviewer-observed traits by candidate ethnicity and immigrant generation.
 Note: N = 996.
 ***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05, †p < .10, Fisher test. Significance in comparison to other ethnic candidates of the same immigrant generation.
 †††p < .001, ††p < .01, †p < .05, ‡p < .10, Fisher test. Significance in comparison to U.S.-raised candidates of the same ethnicity.

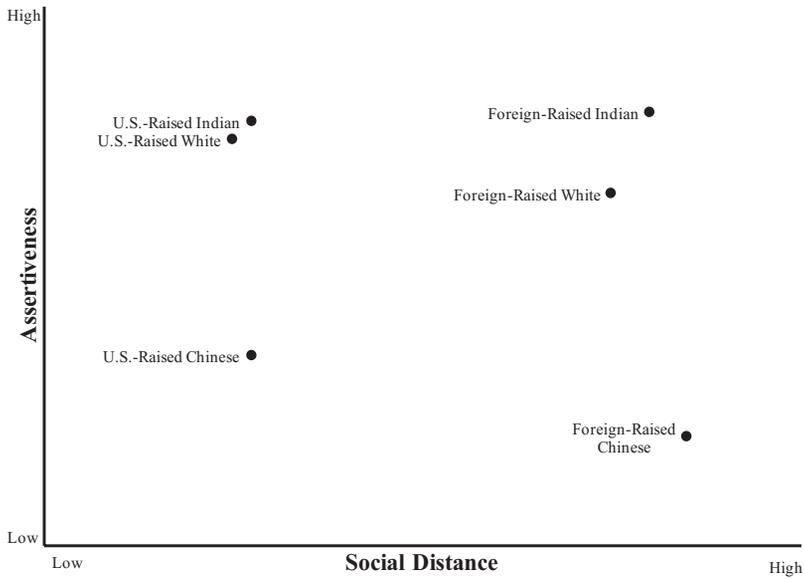


Figure 5. Stylized model of the personality content underlying the Asian-origin personality penalty at InGen.

whole individualism thing, works to your advantage. If you come from a more homogeneous society where obedience is the way to go, [interviewers] are like, ‘I don’t know if I can work with this person. It seems like they’ll do whatever you tell them to do, but they’re not going to be able to really contribute. It’s not a two-way street.’ [Foreign-educated Chinese] may be at a disadvantage.” In addition, interviewers describe foreign-educated Chinese as more socially distant than other foreign-educated candidates. The observed-trait data bear out this general qualitative finding, as interviewers are more likely to record feeling socially distant to foreign-educated Chinese—describing them as “standoffish,” “low energy,” or “cold”—compared with foreign-educated Indian and other ethnics or U.S.-raised Chinese ($p < .05$).

During deliberation, interviewers easily attribute foreign-educated Chinese candidates’ judged social distance and quietness to Asian stereotypes of passivity or lack of creativity. In one meeting, interviewers deliberated whether to hire a foreign-educated Chinese candidate who had done very well technically during his on-site evaluations (technical average 3.25, cultural average 2.4):

Walt Weidman (staff engineer): I got nothing at all from coffee. It was awkward. I was trying to look at my watch and get through the half hour

because . . . he would answer my questions accurately and terse[ly] and not elaborate and look at me expectantly. So, I was like, “Is there anything you’d like to know about InGen?” He looked at me and said, “Well what do you do here [my notes: said in a meek accented voice]?” Trying to extrapolate from that based on my half hour, it would be hard to see him doing anything proactive at all. (cultural 1)

Lillie Thompson (hiring manager): No curiosity, nothing [summarizing Walt’s comment]. (technical 3, cultural 3)

Ryan Chou (an interviewer for this candidate): It seems like if you take him a technical question he lights up, but if you want to talk to him personally, he shuts down. (technical 3, cultural 3)

Walt: I wonder if he is a solid implementer but not necessarily a . . . I mean if you give him a task, he’s like “boom.”

Walt [later]: One of the things I value most is if I’m struggling with a problem, and I can go to them and talk it through and leave the conversation feeling like, “That was helpful, I feel good about that, it gave me some insights

into that problem.” With him, I don’t know. Based on the rest of the feedback with the people that did the technical interviews, if I got to know him I’d trust his technical skills, but I don’t know if I’d go to him because I don’t know if I’d have the conversation that I want to have.

Hiring deliberation, November 18, 2013

Walt spent half an hour with the candidate without evaluating the candidate technically. Yet during this interaction, Walt felt socially distant to the candidate and was annoyed at the candidate’s quietness. Walt wove these observations into a larger, more damaging narrative drawing on Asian stereotypes: The candidate was not technically assertive enough, or technically creative enough, to be an effective employee. Walt did not anticipate “feeling good” working with the candidate, even if Walt were to trust the candidate’s technical skills. Walt eventually convinced the other interviewers to reject the candidate based on his cultural fit concerns.

Foreign-Educated Indians: Hostility and Lack of Creativity. In contrast to the highlighted qualities of foreign-educated Chinese candidates, candidate hostility is most salient when interviewers talk about foreign-educated Indian candidates. Senior engineer Lisa Roberts remembers a recent candidate “who was just super blunt and abrasive. . . . Indian social custom is more blunt [*sic*]. He would say, ‘Oh, have you thought about this?’ It was just a condescending response.” During one observation, recruiters discussed a foreign-educated Indian candidate whom they described as “arrogant,” “not friendly,” “snarky,” and “matter of fact.” One recruiter chimed in, “Is he an Indian guy?” after which he glanced at the candidate’s resume, said “yes” with a groan, followed by chuckles from the other recruiters (recruiter observations August 12, 2014). Interviewers likely exaggerate foreign-educated Indian hostility when recalling candidate performance, however, given the general similarities in the observed traits between foreign-educated Indian and other ethnic candidates (Figure 4).

Interviewers also tend to perceive foreign-educated Indians as less technically creative than those educated in the United States, corresponding to lower average technical evaluations. There is “very little thinking outside of the text problems, trying to be creative with solutions, and thinking

for yourself,” hiring manager Lillie Thompson informed me. “[They] score really well on the textbook questions, like the algorithm questions, but then if you said, ‘Go design something,’ they just bomb.” Despite this common refrain, I find in an auxiliary analysis that foreign-educated candidates across ethnicity, not only foreign-educated Indians, perform worse in design-based technical questions than in straight-forward algorithm-based questions. This suggests interviewers attribute poor performance to a lack of creativity when it resonates with foreign Indian stereotypes.

PERSONALITY CONTENT OF THE ASIAN-ORIGIN PERSONALITY PENALTY

Neither the Model Minority Myth perspective nor the Heterogeneity approach fully explains the Asian-origin personality penalty found at InGen. In line with the former, InGen decision makers penalize ethnically Chinese candidates because the decision makers judge these candidates as lacking assertiveness during face-to-face interviews and thus as less able to perform on the job. In line with the latter, decision makers judge foreign-educated Asian-origin candidates as socially distant—either as too interpersonally cold, as is the case with Chinese candidates, or too hostile, as is the case with Indian candidates—and penalize them in job offers by suggesting that their personality traits are not conducive to getting along with others. To ameliorate the tension between the Model Minority Myth and Heterogeneity approaches, I propose a dual-axis model of the personality content underlying the Asian-origin personality penalty at InGen. One axis represents passivity-assertiveness primarily associated with the candidate’s ethnoracial category, and the other represents social distance primarily associated with the candidate’s immigrant generation.

The first axis of personality highlighted in the Asian-origin personality penalty is passivity-assertiveness associated with Asian-origin workers along ethnoracial lines. From a social psychological perspective, ethnoracial categories are implicitly gendered, with Whiteness associated with “appropriate masculinity and “Asianness” associated with femininity or the absence of masculinity (Galinsky et al. 2013). During face-to-face evaluations, decision makers judge Chinese workers as lacking masculine-typed traits such as assertiveness compared with White workers, while Indian

workers tend to escape a similar association. If previous research is any indication (Lin et al. 2005), these judged differences between Chinese and Indian workers likely extend to judged differences between East Asian and South Asian workers in general. Importantly, judgments of passivity-assertiveness diverge by ethnicity more dramatically the closer the immigrant generation is to “first arrival.” While behavioral differences may exist, the proximity of recently immigrated Asian-origin workers to an ethnic immigrant “ground zero” means decision makers are also quick to attribute judged behavior to ethnic immigrant stereotypes: InGen decision makers judge Chinese candidates as more passive relative to Whites, Indian candidates as *too* assertive (e.g., aggressive), and both as lacking creativity. In brief, judged differences in assertiveness correlate with ethnicity in line with the Model Minority perspective, although immigrant generation moderates the relationship.

The second axis of personality content, resonating with the Heterogeneity approach, represents social distance–related traits associated with immigrant generation—the more recent the candidate’s immigrant generation, the more decision makers will judge the candidate as behaving in culturally inappropriate ways, resulting in increased feelings of social distance (Alba and Nee 2003:42). However, ethnicity moderates the specific personality content related to social distance given the relationship of ethnicity with perceived assertiveness: While more recent immigrant generation, in general, corresponds to social distance–related personality traits, InGen decision makers emphasize hostility as the source of social distance for foreign-educated Indian workers but the lack of an active personality (e.g., coldness) as the source of social distance for foreign-educated Chinese workers. Figure 5 shows a stylized depiction of the content of the Asian-origin personality penalty as it occurs at InGen. I depict the salient social groupings in this context, which are based on where candidates grew up (U.S.-raised or foreign-raised) and their ethnoracial category (White, Chinese, and Indian).

Judging candidates in person, as opposed to judging applicant material in laboratory experiments, likely influences who is perceived as too socially distant. The former allows decision makers to systematically differentiate among Asian-origin individuals by immigrant generation, whereas for the latter, evaluators may simply assume Asian-origin individuals are also first-generation immigrants. To be sure, there is likely contextual

variability during face-to-face interviews as to the cues decision makers consider culturally inappropriate, the extent to which those cues are associated with felt social distance, and which immigrant generations are generally considered too socially distant. Furthermore, bias may inform decision makers’ judgments of appropriateness and feelings of social distance, just as it may inform judgments of assertiveness.

Whether the perceived “personality” cleavages by ethnoracial category and immigrant generation lead to a hiring penalty depends on the extent to which the personality differences align with those characteristics prized in the local context. At InGen where (1) notions of productivity are linked to masculine traits like assertiveness, (2) decision makers value candidate productivity as well as felt chemistry, and (3) the majority of workers are White non-Hispanic yet immigrants from China and India are well represented, ethnically Chinese and foreign-educated Asian-origin candidates are penalized during hiring decisions for perceptions of personality.

DISCUSSION

This study provides empirical and theoretical contributions. Empirically, it shows the Asian personality penalty for real hiring decisions at the face-to-face hiring evaluations and hiring deliberation stages—*how* and *why* it occurs. This study also contributes to our theoretical understanding of the Asian-origin personality penalty by presenting a dual-axes model of the content of the Asian-origin personality penalty that builds off of competing Model Minority Myth and Heterogeneity approaches.

Implications for Racialization of the Asian-Origin Population

The content of the Asian-origin personality penalty, and to whom it applies, may imply that East Asians are becoming racialized in the United States whereas South Asians are not. At InGen, the perceived content of Indian candidate personality across immigrant generation bears more similarity to the perceived personality of other ethnic candidates—the vast majority of whom are White non-Hispanic—than to that of Chinese candidates. Decision makers ascribe similar personality traits, albeit with more emphasis on hostility, to foreign-educated Indian candidates as they do to foreign-educated candidates from Israel, Russia, Greece, and other European countries. Decision makers also

perceive few differences between U.S.-raised Indians and U.S.-raised other ethnics and are equally likely to give them a job offer, all else equal. This suggests that Indians are penalized for personality if they grew up outside of the United States, but with time and generation in the United States, they are perceived as similar to U.S.-raised White non-Hispanics. Perceptions of Chinese candidates follow a different pattern. While decision makers perceive Chinese candidates as less socially distant with time and generation in the United States, decision makers consistently perceive Chinese candidates as less assertive, less confident, and less hostile regardless of immigrant generation. Unlike Indian candidates raised in the United States, U.S.-raised Chinese candidates are penalized in offers for lacking assertiveness. The consistency of the association of Chinese ethnicity and passivity suggests that Chinese ethnicity, and perhaps East Asian ethnicities at large, are becoming racialized as an unassuming and unassertive racial group in relation to the implicit White comparison.

Implications for Asian-Origin Economic Inequality

Finally, this study has implications for Asian-origin economic inequality. Asian underrepresentation in jobs associated with a high masculine traits such as leadership, supervisory, or management positions

(Takei and Sakamoto 2008; Woo 2000), or in positions associated with building an emotional rapport with customers such as sales, may be the result not simply of racial differences in supply of workers to those jobs but also of employer discrimination based on perceived personality. Policy aimed to increase Asian representation in management and supervisory positions should focus on cataloging the underlying reasons decision makers hire or reject Asian job candidates to determine the extent to which they coincide with stereotypical perceptions and should aim to adjust hiring practices if indeed they exclude Asians disproportionately for perceived personality.

The findings also suggest that the Asian-origin personality penalty may help explain another economic inequality within the Asian-origin population: the wage penalty for foreign-educated Asians (Kim and Sakamoto 2010; Zeng and Xie 2004). While the underlying mechanisms of this penalty are unspecified in previous research (Kim and Sakamoto 2010:953–54), the findings here highlight the potential importance of the felt social distance, and accompanying perceptions of personality, associated with Asian immigrants. Employers not only may exclude foreign Asians at the point of hire because they feel less chemistry with them but also may penalize foreign Asians for similar reasons during personnel decisions once within the organization.

Appendix A. Count of Candidates.

Ethnicity	U.S. Raised	U.S. Educated	Foreign Educated
Other ethnic	185	19	105
Indian	50	20	218
Chinese	171	53	200
Other Asian	41	13	7

Appendix B. Descriptive Statistics of Interview Respondents.

	Percentage
Education	
Elite university degree	79
Advanced degree	38
Prestigious firm experience	44
Female	34
Ethnicity	
South Asian	12
East Asian	24
White	54
Other	10
Foreign undergraduate degree	16
Position	
Recruiting team	20
Engineering core	
Regular engineer	20
Senior	26
Staff	8
Manager	20
Director	6
N	50

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NOTES

- 2017 American Community Survey 5-year sample, author's calculations.
- I use pseudonyms for the company name and study participants. I describe InGen and InGen employees in as much detail as possible per guidelines set by InGen's legal department.
- There is debate whether such stereotypical perceptions represent real cultural differences (Lin and Liu 2017). I focus on how Asian-origin workers are perceived, with less adjudication regarding the basis of the perceptions.
- Later studies confirmed Kim and Sakamoto's (2010) suspicion that the wage penalty they found for U.S.-born Asian men was due to overcontrolling for geographic region, as U.S.-born Asian men choose to live on the west coast where wages are higher (e.g., Wang et al. 2017).
- 2017 American Community Survey 5-year sample, author's calculations.
- Includes former employees (23 percent of total).
- Self-reported; the breakdown among software engineers is similar: 58 percent White non-Hispanic, 22 percent East Asian, 15 percent South Asian, and 4 percent another ethnorate.
- I add/subtract 0.25 to individual evaluations slightly higher/lower than the main evaluation category. For example, a candidate with technical evaluations of 2, 2+, 3+, 2, and 3 has an average technical evaluation of 2.5.
- I consider candidates who attended a university in Taiwan or Hong Kong as ethnically Chinese. Eight candidates attended a Pakistani university. I include them in the "Indian" ethnic category.
- Europe = 47; Russia = 17; Middle East = 20; other non-Asian countries = 8; Canada = 13.
- Since candidates are evaluated multiple times, each candidate is assigned an average technical and cultural evaluation. The averages displayed here are averages of candidates' average evaluations.
- Foreign-educated Chinese receive significantly fewer job offers than U.S.-raised Chinese and U.S.-educated Chinese candidates combined ($p < .05$).
- Other Asian candidates follow a similar pattern.
- The change in the average marginal effect of Chinese ethnicity after accounting for the technical evaluations is significant among U.S.-raised candidates ($p < .001$), among U.S.-educated candidates ($p < .01$), and among foreign-educated candidates ($p < .05$). The change in the average marginal effect of Indian ethnicity after accounting for technical evaluations is significant among foreign-educated candidates ($p < .001$).
- Subthemes include "pleasant," "easy going."

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