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Panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos: panethnicity as both a dependent variable and independent variable

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University of Iowa

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PANETHNICITY AMONG ASIAN AMERICANS AND LATINOS:
PANETHNICITY
AS BOTH A DEPENDENT VARIABLE AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

by
Tae Eun Min

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
in Political Science in
the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

July 2010

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Michael S. Lewis-Beck

ABSTRACT

What leads Asian Americans and Latinos to develop panethnicity? What are the political consequences of panethnicity? In answering these two questions, I first define panethnicity as a sense of solidarity beyond different ethnic or national origins. My emphasis in defining panethnicity as a sense of solidarity shared among Asian Americans and Latinos is on differentiating the concept panethnicity from panethnic self-identification and group consciousness. Then, I theoretically discuss the nature of panethnicity, drawing on the ethnic studies literature. I identify two important groups of theories on ethnicity: culturalism and instrumentalism. Building on instrumentalism as an underlying theory of panethnicity, I assume that panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos is a social product. Panethnicity is a creation of both objective outer contextual settings and personal reactions to them.

Following the theoretical discussion, I empirically test how outer contextual settings and individual features affect the formation of panethnicity. Specifically, the contextual factors include the size of the panethnic population, the level of segregation, the number of panethnic elected officials and organizations, and religious service attendance. The individual factors of interest include panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience, English proficiency and birth place. I call these factors individual socializing factors. After this test, I examine how panethnicity, combined with the contextual factors and individual socializing factors, affects political participation including voting and nonvoting activities among Asian Americans and Latinos.

The main thesis of this dissertation is threefold. First, panethnicity is formed as a product of social process. Asian Americans and Latinos develop panethnicity by responding to external settings and through their personal socializing experiences. Second, panethnicity shapes Asian Americans' and Latinos' political participation. That

is, panethnicity as a political resource influences voting and nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. However, how panethnicity affects political participation varies, depending on panethnic groups and their modes of political participation. Lastly, along with panethnicity, group features such as discrimination experience and contextual factors are important ingredients for political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Particularly, my evidence suggests that the contextual factors are better predictors of Asian American and Latino voting participation than nonvoting participation.

Abstract Approved:

Thesis Supervisor

Title and Department

Date

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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To My Husband, Yohan

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Asian American and Latino Panethnicity

This dissertation is a study of panethnicity as a manifestation of solidarity beyond individual national origins and as distinct from panethnic self-identification. With a comparative approach, I attempt here to investigate how Asian Americans and Latinos from diverse national origins develop panethnic solidarity respectively. I also attempt to examine the effect of panethnic solidarity on Asian Americans' and Latinos' political behavior.

For most Asian Americans and Latinos, panethnicity is a newly created awareness. As a matter of fact, both Asian Americans and Latinos show considerable internal heterogeneity based on national boundaries (Bobo et al. 1994; Lee 2000; Uhlaner et al.1989). The community structures of both panethnic groups are continuously recharged by their large-scale, sustained incorporation of new immigrants. Consequently, most Asian Americans and Latinos in the U.S. insist on keeping their own ethnicity or national identity based on unique cultural heritage and diverse national origins.

Interestingly, however, they often identify themselves as Asian Americans or Latinos, insisting on their common goals and similarities. Put differently, unlike other racial identities in this society, such as African Americans, Asian Americans and Latinos identify panethnically as well as according to their own unique ethnic or national identity. Further, they emphasize solidarity at the panethnic level. Then, what makes Asian Americans and Latinos expand their national attachment to the panethnic level? And, what are the political consequences of panethnicity. This dissertation explores these questions.

Specifically, I attempt to explore the determinants of the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos¹. I assume that Asian Americans and Latinos develop panethnic solidarity as a response to external circumstances. Among external circumstantial settings, I focus particularly on contextual factors which structure Asian Americans' and Latinos' social and political responses to and interactions with the outer world. As for contextual factors, I examine the size of panethnic population, the level of segregation, the number of panethnic elected officials and the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations. These contextual factors determine both the daily informal contacts, and economic, social and political opportunities of Asian Americans and Latinos. They, in turn, affect various political and social attitudes of Asian Americans and Latinos. Among the various attitudes, I examine how these factors affect Asian American and Latino panethnicity.

Along with contextual factors, I investigate the effect of individual socializing factors which condition individual Asian Americans' and Latinos' responses to given external settings and their psychological attitudes. Particularly, I investigate the impact of panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience, birth place and English proficiency. The premise of these factors is that they are important in forming attitudes at the individual level. Many Asian Americans and Latinos view and react to the world in a distinctive way, partly because they use socially imposed identification categories, experience discrimination, and speak different languages in communicating with other members of society. Individual Asian Americans' and Latinos' differences in these aspects offer different experiences and opportunities in reacting to the outer world, and thereby shape their various psychological and behavioral features. That is, these

¹ In this dissertation, Asian Americans refer to people born in the United States who have an Asian background and who live here now but were born in Asian countries. By Latino, I mean both people born in the United States who have a Latin American or Iberian background and people who live here now but were born in Latin American or Iberian countries.

socializing factors structure Asian Americans' and Latinos' reactions to outer settings which they encounter everyday. In this dissertation, I examine panethnicity as a psychological product of the suggested factors.

After examining how contextual and socializing factors mold panethnicity, I investigate how panethnicity affects voting as well as nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Along with the effect of panethnicity, I examine the independent effects of both contextual factors and individual socializing factors. To summarize, defining panethnicity as a manifestation of group solidarity beyond national or ethnic origins², I attempt to answer the following three questions:

- i. What determines panethnicity?
- ii. How does panethnicity affect voting behavior among Asian Americans and Latinos?
- iii. How does panethnicity affect various nonvoting activities such as demonstrating, donating campaign money, and contacting government officials?

Answering these questions is of significant importance for three reasons. First, it will contribute to our broader conceptual understanding of panethnicity specifically and of group consciousness generally. A few scholars have recently noted group consciousness as a key determinant for Asian American and Latino political participation (Masuoka 2006; Okamoto 2003; Sanchez 2006; Stokes 2003; Wong et al. 2005). However, vaguely defining group consciousness, they implicitly, but mistakenly, treat group consciousness and panethnicity as identical or interchangeable. Group

² A single nation can consist of several ethnic groups. That is, nationality may not correspond with a single ethnic line. That is why I specifically state "national or ethnic" boundaries here. However, in this dissertation I will use (sub)ethnicity and nationality as interchangeable, although for most Asian Americans and Latinos, panethnicity mainly means transcending diverse "national" origins.

consciousness is a multidimensional concept (Miller et al. 1981) and panethnicity defined as panethnic solidarity is only one dimension of group consciousness.

In addition, they uncritically adopt measures suggested by previous group consciousness research. The research has focused primarily on African Americans among whom group consciousness differs in key aspects from that of Asian Americans and Latinos. Indeed, we do not even know of what Asian American and Latino group consciousness consists as fully developed group awareness. In order to map group consciousness among Asian Americans and Latinos, we need to know how it is constructed. Investigating panethnicity as one possible construct is the first step for our better understanding of Asian American and Latino group consciousness.

Secondly, answering the questions of this dissertation will illuminate our understanding of the political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. As Ramakrishnan et al. (2001) rightly point out, scholars of these two minority groups mainly study voting behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. In other words, only a few scholars examine their diverse political participation (e.g. Rocha et al. 2009; Sanchez 2006) so that we know little about the patterns and causes of various forms of participation among Asian Americans and Latinos beyond voting.

In addition, when scholars study the voting behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos, they focus on socioeconomic status and institutional barriers such as citizenship status as key factors. They find that low level of socioeconomic status and non-citizenship status are significant reasons why a large portion of two panethnic communities do not vote. These studies are limited, however, in that they do not fully explain what leads Asian Americans and Latinos to vote after reaching high levels of socioeconomic status and obtaining citizenship.

As a response, some other scholars note the importance of political mobilization by parties, political organizations, or interest groups in directing political participation

among Asian Americans and Latinos (Leighley 2001; Lien et al.2004; Saito 1998). They find that political mobilization is a significant contributor for the political participation of members of two minority groups. Furthermore, observing that various mobilization agents for Asian Americans and Latinos frequently evoke panethnic causes, other scholars qualitatively study the importance of panethnicity or group consciousness in Asian American and Latino political participation (Espiritu 1992; Padilla 1985; Saito 1998). Most recently, a new set of scholars have attempted to empirically test the effect of those psychological aspects, adopting the concept and measures of group consciousness research or other economic theories (Masuoka 2006; Okamoto 2003; Stokes 2003; Sanchez 2006; Wong et al. 2005). However, these studies suffer from conceptual ambiguity. Through conceptual clarification and examination of diverse political participation, this dissertation will improve our understanding of the political world of Asian Americans and Latinos.

Third, answering the suggested questions will contribute to the cross-racial study between Asian Americans and Latinos. Most cross-racial studies have compared whites with African Americans or Latinos with African Americans. Also, many scholars of minority politics have examined these two groups in separate studies. Consequently, we barely know whether Asian Americans and Latinos politically behave in a similar way or not. Therefore, the comparative component of this dissertation will be a significant contribution to the field of minority politics.

The main thesis of this dissertation is threefold. First, panethnicity is formed as a product of social processes. It exists and forms through individuals' social interactions with others in society, responding to given social and political conditions. In other words, I argue that Asian Americans and Latinos mold panethnicity through their personal socializing experiences and their responses to contextual settings. Second, I argue that panethnicity as a group resource is a significant factor in influencing Asian American and

Latino participation. However, how panethnicity affects political participation varies, depending on panethnic groups and their modes of political participation. Lastly, I argue that along with panethnicity, group features such as discrimination experience and contextual factors are important ingredients for political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. My findings suggest that discrimination experience, the number of Asian American elected officials and the size of Asians American population are important group-based factors for Asian American participation, while discrimination experience, the level of segregation and the size of Latino population are significant predictors of Latino participation.

Definition of Panethnicity

I define panethnicity as psychological solidarity among diverse ethnic or national groups. Put differently, I view it as a sense of unity among individuals from diverse national origins. In defining panethnicity in this manner, I assume that panethnicity is produced out of social experiences and situations, not from inherited property. Panethnicity is produced in the course of individuals' responding to external stimuli or conditions. It is a product of social interactions and transactions.

In the U.S. context, panethnicity is formed when Asian Americans and Latinos from diverse ethnic or national groups are aware, through social interactions with the outer world, that cooperation among ethnic or national groups is to their mutual advantage. The mutual advantage includes not only actual political and economic gains but also psychological support, such as a sense of empowerment. Thus, at its core, the nature of panethnicity defined in this dissertation is both a sense of linked fate and the perceived importance of social and political cooperation.

The study of the formation of Asian American and Latino panethnicity has been largely neglected for two reasons. First, the multiplicity of cultural and national backgrounds among various ethnic or national groups discourages scholars from studying

panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. Even though society has lumped individuals from various Asian American groups and Latino groups into Asian Americans and Latinos respectively, individual groups still maintain their own language and culture. As a result, scholars seem to assume that the concept of panethnicity does not properly describe such diversities. However, this view is erroneous because the concept panethnicity is not a manifestation of actual commonality based on shared cultural values or norms. Rather, it is a manifestation of solidarity binding different ethnic or national groups into a single enlarged group despite their diverse backgrounds. In other words, panethnicity should be understood as a collective solidarity beyond diverse national boundaries and cultural heritages.

Second, scholars are hesitant to study this comparatively new phenomenon due to the absence of appropriate theories and models. Directly applying the studies of ethnicity, many studies on interethnic relationships in the U.S. focus on how different ethnic groups compete with each other to maintain their ethnic boundaries (e.g. Yancey et al. 1976). In other words, they study the persistence of ethnicity, but not the formation of panethnicity.

However, Asian Americans' and Latinos' political involvement as a single group has become visible, with the growing number of new immigrants from Asia and Latin America. Also, the concept of panethnicity, whether as solidarity or identification, has been emerging as important in understanding Asian American and Latino social and political behavior. Noting these changes, some scholars expand on the theories of ethnicity to explain the formation of panethnicity (e.g. Padilla 1985; Espiritu 1992). Similarly, in this dissertation, I build on pre-existing theories of ethnicity in order to explain the nature of panethnicity.

Panethnicity versus Panethnic Self-Identification

As shown in table 1.1, the percentage of Asian American and Latino identifiers has been increasing with the growth of Asian and Latino immigration. Specifically,

Table 1.1 Population of Asian Americans and Latinos (1990 and 2000)

	Asian Americans ^a		Latinos	
	1990	2000	1990	2000
Total Population	199.7 million	281.4 million	119.7 million	281.4 million
Panethnic Population	6.9 million (2.8 %)	11.9 Million (4.2 %)	22. 4 million (9%)	35 .3million (12.5%)

Note: a Includes those who report Asian alone or in combination.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 1990 and 2000

4.2% of the total population reported they were Asian in 2000 while only 2.9 % reported they were Asians in 1990. The percentage of Latino identifiers also increased from 9% to 12.5 % over the last 10 years. When Asian Americans and Latinos reported they were Asians and Latinos respectively in these censuses, did they express their actual panethnic solidarity with the members of their panethnic group? If this is the case, the increasing percentage of Asian American and Latino identifiers accompanied by the recent growth of Asian and Latino population should indicate the growing levels of panethnic solidarity among them. This seems unlikely, however.

Indeed, it is important to note that the term panethnicity in this dissertation does not indicate panethnic self-identification by Asian Americans and Latinos. For a large number of Asian Americans and Latinos, the notion of panethnic self-identification is an identity initially imposed by the society. Society lumps individuals from diverse ethnic and national groups together based on regional proximity of their national origins or skin color. Over time, the socially imposed identity is internalized as self-identification.

Research on the effect of social categorization in forming identity as self-identification is not new in social psychology. For instance, Jenkins (1994) theoretically explores how categorization contributes to group identification in various ways.³ He claims that “the categorized group is exposed to the terms in which another group defines it and assimilates that categorization, in whole or in part, into its own identity” (Jenkins 1994:216). That is, individuals’ experience of categorization in practical day-to-day life, for example, routine public interactions and communal relationships, strengthens their self-identification with a group.

Woldemikael (1989) and Waters (1999) also present examples of the influence of categorization on self-identification. They find that second generation immigrants from

³ Even if Jenkins does not specifically define ethnicity in his article, he sees it as a term to name a group.

Haiti and West India identify themselves with the imposed category of being “black” while their parents maintain their national identity to defy the stigma “black”. Their studies suggest that the category, imposed by the society, is internalized as self-identification over time through a process of resistance and reaction. This implication is applicable to Asian Americans and Latinos. A large number of Asian Americans and Latinos who identify as such, choose or accept the imposed categories because the society classifies them as such, based on regional proximity of their national origins.

Therefore, panethnic self-identification reported by many Asian Americans and Latinos may not indicate their real sense of solidarity with other members of their group. An individual who identifies himself as, for instance, Asian American may not feel any solidarity with other Asian Americans. To summarize then, self-identification is an imposed identity while panethnicity is a voluntary one. Of course, self-identification can contribute to the development of the panethnic bond. However, they are not identical. Put differently, the two concepts are not interchangeable even though many scholars mistakenly use the two terms in a mixed way.

In this dissertation, panethnic self-identification is a manifestation of accepting a socially imposed category while panethnicity is a manifestation of solidarity among individuals transcending different national origins. Differentiating panethnicity from panethnic self-identification is important for several reasons. First, it helps to clarify the conceptual confusion in the study of group consciousness, in general, and of panethnicity specifically. Group consciousness is a complex psychological and cognitive construct (Miller et al. 1981). Along with a sense of belonging manifested by self-identification, it consists of a set of ideological and psychological beliefs about the group’s status and power. It is also constituted by a set of shared beliefs about the means to improve their status and power. That is, group consciousness encompasses group- identification and group-solidarity as its two separate elements.

Brubaker (2004) makes the above point clear by using the concept of “a stable ethnic boundary”. According to him, ethnic self-identification and ethnic solidarity are two separate parts of a complete ethnic consciousness. He argues that “when members of an ethnic category self-identify and are identified by others as belonging to a group with little ambiguity, when they share easy-to-identify cultural repertoires of thinking and acting, and when they are tied together by strong alliances in day-to-day politics, we expect the emergence of a stable ethnic boundary”(Wimmer 2008:1003). Brubaker’s argument implies that full-bodied group consciousness consists of the two distinct parts, self-identification, and solidarity, and more.

However, many scholars of Asian Americans and Latinos vaguely define panethnicity as the same as group consciousness, measuring it with group identification (e.g. de la Garza 1992; Jones-Correa et al. 1996; Masuoka 2006; Lien 2001; Lien et al. 2001). Put differently, they view panethnic solidarity as identical to group consciousness, and self-identification as a manifestation of panethnic solidarity. However, a self-report of belonging to a racial/ ethnic category differs from a sense of solidarity, even though they may be related to a certain degree. Also, panethnicity is one dimension of full-bodied group consciousness.

Second, differentiating panethnicity from panethnic self-identification helps us to make a generalizable argument on those three related but distinctive concepts. When we continue to mistakenly use panethnicity, panethnic self-identification, and group consciousness in interchangeable ways, we overlook the distinctiveness among them and thus, fail to suggest a generalizable argument. In fact, the conceptual ambiguity followed by inaccurate measures of these three concepts is one of the reasons why scholars put forth inconsistent arguments on the impact of Asian American and Latino group consciousness.

In practice, panethnic solidarity can be grasped in various ways. Dawson (1994) defines African Americans both as a socially deprived racial group and as an economically deprived class. He argues that many African Americans believe that their place and interests in the social structure are closely related to their race's place and interests. He labels their ties to the African American community as linked fate. According to him, African Americans act against their individual interests, but for the benefits for their race interests because they perceive their individual interests in the interests of African Americans as a group.

In a similar vein, I assume panethnicity as Asian Americans' and Latinos' linking their fate to the panethnic fate. That is, when Asian Americans and Latinos feel that both their individual interests and their ethnic or national group's success (or failure) depend on the fate of other groups of Asian Americans and Latinos, it is an expression of a sense of solidarity. This binding feeling can come out of individuals' objective and rational calculation to pursue material interests. Alternatively, it can grow simply out of a sense of powerlessness as minorities in this race-conscious society. In other words, Asian Americans and Latinos can develop panethnicity without identifying explicit interests shared among them, while adapting to this new country.

Also, I assume that this sense of linked fate is manifested by individual Asian American's and Latino's awareness of the necessity of actual cooperation at the panethnic level, regardless of whether such awareness leads to actual political or social involvement. Put differently, panethnicity is manifested by an awareness of the importance of panethnic cooperation based on group-consideration. Based on these two assumptions, I operationalize panethnicity with measures which capture a sense of linked fate and an awareness of the importance of panethnic political cooperation.

Defining panethnicity as psychological solidarity which is constituted as responding to external conditions, I view panethnicity as a group-based resource which

affects Asian American and Latino political participation. Scholars of African Americans find that African Americans, who perceive their own fate as closely related to that of the race, tend to support policies and candidates that are expected to help to achieve the African American community's interests (Chong 2005; Dawson 1994; Tate 1993). Put differently, African Americans' political preferences and behaviors are shaped by their tie to the African American community. Similarly, panethnicity is assumed to work as a group-based feature to guide Asian Americans and Latinos to make political decisions. It provides a cue for Asian Americans and Latinos to make political decisions. My findings support this; panethnicity is a significant resource for the two panethnic groups' political participation.

Data

For empirical tests, I combine several relevant data-sets. Specifically, I utilize five data sources listed below:

i. Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS , 2000-2001): The survey sampled the telephone households of Asian American families in the five major Metropolitan Statistical Areas(MSA)- Los Angeles, New York, Honolulu, San Francisco and Chicago- where 40% of Asian Americans live. It interviewed 1,218 Asian Americans. Among them, 308 were Chinese, 266 Filipino 168 Japanese, 198 Korean, 137 Vietnamese, and 141 South Asians. The demographic features of this sample- the distribution of ethnic group makeup in each MSA and the rank order of ethnic groups in education, income and citizenship- are similar to the 1990 and 2000 Census findings.

ii. Harvard / Kaiser / Washington Post Latino Survey, 1999: This survey sampled the telephone households. It took a nationally representative sample of 4,614 adults who resided in Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Among them, 2,417 were Latinos-818 Mexicans, 318 Puerto Ricans, 312 Cubans and 423 Central and South Americans, 98

Dominicans, 170 Salvadoran and 242 Latinos from other Latino origins. The demographic features of this sample are similar to the Census findings

iii. *Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research at SUNY-Albany*: This data source provides the degree of residential segregation and the percentage of Asian Americans and Latinos throughout a metropolitan area.

iv. *National Directory of Latino Elected Officials, 1999, Los Angeles, The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Fund*: This directory contains lists of all the Latino elected officials at county, city, state and national levels.

v. *National Asian Pacific American Political Almanac, 2000-2001*: This almanac collected all the Asian American elected officials and organizations at city, state and national levels. The data on the subject matter was collected before the election of 2000.

Organization of Chapters

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Following this introductory chapter, in chapter II, I discuss the theory on the formation of panethnicity by expanding on theories of ethnicity. First, I review literature on the emergence and formation of ethnicity. Scholars have debated the nature of ethnicity, using a variety of theories. Two groups of scholars dominate this debate. One set of scholars focus on a cultural heritage to explain the emergence and nature of ethnicity. The other group views ethnicity as a social product and strategic instrument for achieving individuals' common needs. I refer to the first perspective as culturalism and the second as instrumentalism. I adopt instrumentalism as an underlying theory to explain the nature and formation of panethnicity.

In chapter III, I examine what determines panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. To map the instrumental nature of panethnicity, I focus on the effect of two groups of factors: contextual and individual socializing factors. As for the socializing factors, I investigate the impact of self-identification, discrimination experience, birth

place and English proficiency. The underlying mechanism of these socializing factors is that they provide necessary psychological and practical sources for leading individuals to experience solidarity with other members of their panethnic group. As for the contextual factors, I examine the size of panethnic population, the level of segregation, the number of panethnic elected officials and the number of panethnic organizations. The underlying mechanism of these contextual factors is that they provide the distinctive settings and opportunities for Asian Americans and Latinos in developing panethnicity. I measure all these four contextual factors in each individual's Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).

Past research on the effect of contextual factors on Asian American and Latino political behavior is very limited for three reasons. First, scholars primarily examine the effect of contextual factors on African American and white policy preferences and political behavior. Second, even when scholars study these two minority groups, they examine primarily the effect of population size or the effect of a particular state such as California among many possible contextual factors. Third, few have studied the impact of contextual factors beyond their impact on policy preference and voting participation. That is, little has been done on the impact of contextual factors on the formation of panethnicity. Tackling all these limitations, I examine how various contextual factors mold panethnicity. Through this examination, I also seek to explore whether or not Asian Americans and Latinos behave in a generalizable pattern, or whether these groups behave in distinct ways.

In chapter IV, I examine how panethnicity affects Asian American and Latino voting behavior. Scholars of these groups have focused on socioeconomic factors and citizenship status to explain their voting behavior. They discuss very little, however, panethnicity's political consequences. As a result, we know little about the impact of panethnicity. Assuming panethnicity as a group-based resource that the new minority members use for political participation, I investigate whether panethnicity increases

Asian American and Latino voting participation. Along with the effect of panethnicity, I explore independent effects of contextual factors as well as individual socializing factors. As for the socializing factors, I focus on the impact of discrimination, English proficiency and nativity. As for the contextual factors, I look into the effect of the size of panethnic population, the level of segregation, and the number of panethnic elected officials and organizations.

In chapter V, I analyze the impact of panethnicity, focusing on nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Because a large number of Asian Americans and Latinos are not U.S. citizens, it is necessary to examine the political consequences of panethnicity in relation to their nonvoting participation. The core question of this chapter is whether panethnicity affects nonelectoral participation of Asian Americans and Latinos in a similar way as their electoral behavior. Also, I investigate how various individual socializing factors and contextual factors influence Asian American and Latino nonvoting activities in relation to panethnicity. Evidence suggests that panethnicity significantly increases Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. Also, my statistical results show that when panethnicity is taken into account, the significance of contextual factors becomes weak or negligible.

Finally, in chapter VI, I summarize my findings and their major implications, returning to my central questions: what determines panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos, and how does it influence their political behavior? I also discuss an important future research question on panethnicity. Will Asian Americans and Latinos expand their panethnic solidarity to the bi-panethnic level? In other words, I consider the possibility of Asian American and Latino coalition against other racial groups such as African Americans and whites to pursue their political and social needs.

Conclusion

I define panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos as solidarity beyond diverse ethnic or national boundaries. It is a binding tie overcoming the differences in nationalities and cultural heritages. Panethnicity is manifested by a sense of linked fate and an awareness of the importance of panethnic cooperation. Asian American and Latinos newly develop panethnicity while adapting to the new society.

Panethnicity as panethnic solidarity should be distinguished from panethnic self-identification. Panethnic self-identification reported by many Asian Americans and Latinos is not synonymous with their real sense of solidarity with other members in their panethnic groups. In the next chapter, I will discuss the nature of panethnicity in greater detail, building on two theories on ethnicity, culturalism and instrumentalism.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES ON PANETHNICITY

What is the nature of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos? Put differently, how and why do they develop panethnicity beyond their national boundaries? In this chapter, I discuss the nature of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos to set the stage for the empirical examination conducted in later chapters. In exploring the nature of panethnicity, I expand on instrumentalism, a theory of ethnicity as an underlying theoretical model⁴. Instrumentalism posits the formation of ethnicity as a response to external circumstances. That is, it assumes that ethnicity is socially constructed to pursue groups' interests ranging from economic benefits to political gains. It also assumes ethnicity as a strategic tool to accomplish interests. Instrumentalism, like other theories on ethnicity, attempts to explain the tenacity of an ethnic group and ethnic differences within a nation. As a result, it overlooks the formation of smaller kin-type ethnicities or larger ethnicities beyond national boundaries. In addition, it narrowly focuses on material gains as a main driving force in individuals' creating and recreating ethnicity.

In order to explain the nature of panethnicity, I broaden the scope of the instrumental perspective of ethnicity. I assume panethnicity as being formed to gain both

⁴ Scholars greatly vary in defining the term ethnicity. Some scholars defines ethnicity as a form of identification distinguished by real or assumed bonds of kinship (e.g. Cornell 1996). They view ethnicity as formed when individuals descend from the common kinship lineage. Some others define ethnicity as an ethnic group. Other scholars define ethnicity as ethnic allegiance. According to them, ethnicity means ethnic solidarity. Another group of scholars defines ethnicity with regards to ethnic mobilization. However, most scholars of ethnicity use the term ethnicity in a mixed way. In other words, they use ethnicity in order to indicate ethnic identification, ethnic group and ethnic allegiance without distinction, which is one of the theoretical weaknesses of the discussion of ethnicity. However, whatever definition they adopt, it is commonly acknowledged that culturalism (or primordialism/ nonrationalism/ subjective perspective) and instrumentalism (circumstantialism /rationalist / objective perspective) are two leading approaches to defining the concept of ethnicity. For further discussion on the definition of ethnicity, see Bentley 1978, Connor 1993, Horowitz 1985, Shibutani et al. 1965, Thernstrom et al. 1981, Weber 1968 and Yelvington 1991.

material and non-material gains such as sentimental empowerment beyond national boundaries. Panethnicity is formed when Asian Americans and Latinos realize their shared material interests and needs, respectively. Also, it is formed when they realize their shared status in society despite their differences in some specific political and economic concerns. Particularly, considering such cultural and national diversities among Asian Americans and Latinos, the latter is a primary drive for Asian Americans and Latinos to form panethnicity. That is, even not being aware of specifically shared interests, Asian Americans and Latinos can develop respective panethnicity when they believe that the panethnic cooperation improves their status in general.

This chapter consists of five parts. In the first part, I discuss culturalism and instrumentalism in detail as two important competing theories on ethnicity. In the second part, building on instrumentalism, I elucidate panethnicity as a social product. In the third part, I explain the important role of social categorization in Asian Americans' and Latinos' developing panethnicity. Then, I conclude this chapter, summarizing my arguments.

Theories on Ethnicity: Culturalism versus Instrumentalism

Broadly speaking, scholars suggest two theories on ethnicity. One group of scholars views ethnicity as a cultural heritage which shapes other characteristics of ethnic groups. The other group of scholars views ethnicity as a form of an instrumental resource socially created by external conditions. I refer to the first perspective as culturalism and the second as instrumentalism. I adopt instrumentalism as a theory for panethnicity. In the following, I discuss these two theories in great detail.

Culturalism

Culturalism views ethnicity as determined by culture and origin. Therefore, it emphasizes the inherited nature of ethnicity in forming and maintaining ethnicity. Scholars taking this perspective assume that individuals form ethnic groups or develop ethnic ties since they believe that they are bound from birth by shared culture, practice, and tradition (Bernard 1972; Connor 1978; Isaacs 1972, 1975). Thus, in explaining the nature of ethnicity, they emphasize primitive differences such as language, and cultural peculiarities, based on geographic proximity.

For instance, in *Idols of the Tribe* (1975), Isaacs argues that primordial affinities and attachments, such as birthplace, language, religion, value system and history, compose ethnicity. He claims that “group identity consists of endowments and identification which every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place”(Isaacs1975:32). Isaacs’s argument suggests that individuals belong to ethnic groups and develop their peculiar ethnicity involuntarily from birth.

Cohen (1984) also makes a similar argument. Treating ethnicity as dynamic phenomenon with respect to both the cultural content and to which individuals bear them, he argues that shared cultural characteristics and history, language, religion and geographical origin decide ethnic descriptiveness. Bernard (1972) follows a similar line, seeing ethnic groups as a unit of people “who have been brought up together under a cultural roof”. According to Bernard (1972), ethnicity is derived from the same ways of doing things, the same institutions, the same language and the same historical background.

At the extreme of the culturalism spectrum, some scholars emphasize blood as the nature of ethnicity. For example, Connor (1978) views the blood lineage as an essence of ethnicity or ethnic group. Particularly, he emphasizes the importance of the “belief” in the same ancestry. According to him, when individuals believe that they come from a

common blood lineage, they form an ethnic group. Therefore, individuals mold ethnicity as long as they believe that they share the same ancestry, regardless of whether they are actually evolved from a single genetic strain. Defining a nation as a self-aware ethnic group, he further argues that an ethnic group becomes a nation when members self-define their uniqueness as a group based on a blood lineage.

Similarly, Cornell (1996) defines ethnicity as a claimed bond of blood, emphasizing culture as a definitional element in ethnicity. He deems ethnic groups, in at least a minimal sense, as a cultural group based on real or assumed bonds of kinship. To articulate the nature of ethnicity, he analyzes the content of ethnicity with three dimensions; interests, institutions and culture. These three dimensions, according to him, classify ethnic groups into four types - communities of interest, institutional communities, communities of culture and symbolic communities. For example, communities of interest are characterized by strong interests, but weak institutions and culture, while symbolic communities are characterized as weak in all three dimensions.

Describing each type of ethnic community, Cornell (1996) argues that a single ethnic group may contain a mixture of very different communities. He also argues that the bases of ethnicity may change over time with one or another dimension of ethnic ties becoming more or less salient. Thus, for example, communities of interest can become institutional communities. Put simply, Cornell notes the dynamic nature of ethnicity. However, Cornell asserts that whatever compositional characteristics and change an ethnic group has, ethnicity fundamentally depends on culture. This is because culture affects the perception of interests and the construction of institutions. In short, the content of ethnicity is constrained by culture established around bonds of kinship.

To summarize then, culturalism views ethnicity as a sense of belonging based on shared culture, the same history and common ancestry. Ethnicity is largely determined by the transcontextual stability based on cultural traits. Although some culturalists, such

as Cornell, recognize that the content of ethnicity can change over time, they consider common culture and common ancestry as essential features of ethnicity. In short, this perspective accentuates commonality of culture or blood.

Patterson (1975) critiques culturalism as less useful analytically since the concept of culture is too descriptive and inclusive. Other than this analytic limitation, culturalism has four additional weaknesses. First, an ethnicity, ranging from an ethnic boundary to an ethnic allegiance, can be formed to unite individuals who remain faithful to quite heterogeneous cultural traditions (e.g. Swiss).⁵ On the contrary, members of an ethnic group sharing the same ancestry may not develop ethnic solidarity among themselves. Woon (1985) finds that Vietnamese-born Chinese in Canada are ostracized from Vietnamese communities and associations established by Canadian-born Chinese. As a result, they do not form shared ethnicity.

Second, some ethnic groups are created recently despite cultural differences while other ethnic groups have disappeared despite distinctive cultural traits. For example, Israeli, Palestinian, and Jordanian identities are historically recent creations, arising since World War I (see Gamson 1982; Gerner 1991; Nagel 1994). The concept of Asian American in the U.S. as an ethnic group did not exist previously. These examples illustrate that without primordial commonality driven by shared history and ancestors, ethnicity can occur.

Third, culturalism does not explain the variation of intensity in the intuitive bond (Light 1981; Espiritu 1992; Wimmer 2008). If ethnicity is inheritably given to members of an ethnic group before they are aware of it, its strength should be uniform across individuals. However, the intensity of ethnic identity varies across individuals. Finally, by emphasizing the primordial nature of ethnicity, culturalism overlooks the recreating

⁵ For further discussion, see Wimmer (2008).

nature of culture and identity. Members of ethnic groups reshape and redefine culture over time and space by reacting to external conditions which they may encounter.

The Chinese communities in Guyana provide an excellent example for how they recreate their ethnicity responding to given external settings.

The Chinese, who were first brought to Guyana in the mid-nineteenth century, were ethnically visible until the end of the nineteenth century. However, the economic difficulties in British Guyana at the time led the Chinese to abandon the traditional culture and adopt the evolving Guyanese Creole culture. During the mid- nineteenth century, the British Creole planters, who controlled a sizable portion of the sugar cultivation on the island, went through a prolonged crisis due to the falling price of sugar. Therefore, they recruited Portuguese retail traders to revitalize their economy. They preferentially treated Portuguese over African and Chinese competitors. In response, the Chinese had to find other occupations to survive. In order to maximize occupational opportunities in other areas such as a career in the colonial civil service, the Chinese had to creolize themselves. In other words, the Chinese consciously creolized, responding to changing economic conditions. As a result, they gave up existing as an ethnic group in Guyana (Patterson 1978). This case illustrates how ethnicity is continuously transformed as individual, regional and national conditions are changed (Lipset 1988).

Overcoming these limitations of culturalism, another set of scholars turns their attention to different factors beyond common cultural traits. They seek to explain the formation and persistence of ethnicity as a result of social transactions. Specifically, this group of scholars is puzzled by the persistence of distinctive ethnic groups or ties despite the emerging importance of state and common economic, political and educational systems in modern society. For, these apparatuses are expected to minimize the primordial differences among ethnic groups and thereby dilute ethnicity. However, observing the tenacity of ethnicity despite the common systems of modern states,

scholars consider a wide array of factors from man's physical appearances to labor division in order to explain the formation and persistence of ethnicity (see Blalock 1967; Bonacich 1972; Gordon 1978; Hannan 1979; van den Berghe 1967, 1981). For example, van den Berghe(1967, 1981) argues that different traits in physical appearances are key cues in directing ethnicity because they are easy to recognize and thus cognitively efficient. His argument seems valid, to some extent, as it explains the current racial division in the United States where racial classifications are based on an objective appearance- skin color.

However, the objective assessment of physical appearances is not always clear. Irish who are now considered "whites" were considered as blacks when they first came to the United States (Ignatiev 1995). Particularly, in elucidating panethnicity as solidarity among Asian Americans, the perspective emphasizing physical markers loses its value. Rather, van den Berghe's argument better explains how distinctive members of Asian American and Latino groups come to identify themselves with the broader imposed categories, Asian Americans and Latinos respectively. The powerful outsiders such as the government have categorized various sub-Asian American and Latino groups based on physical appearances. Over time, a vast majority of Asian Americans and Latinos have adopted the imposed categories as self-identification. However, the nature of panethnicity as psychological solidarity is not a simple sense of ethnic belonging based on physical appearances such as skin color. Instead, it is a voluntary and bounded feeling.

Among the alternative views responding to culturalism, propositions with instrumental perspective dominate the debate of ethnicity. Overcoming notions of the fixed and unchanging nature of ethnicity, instrumentalism moves the center of debates of ethnicity to the logic and process of ethnic boundary or tie constructions. This perspective posits ethnicity as socially constructed.

Instrumentalism

Instrumentalism views ethnicity as being socially and politically constructed. Scholars of instrumentalism shift the emphasis from primordial attributes of a group to social process in explaining ethnicity (Barth 1956, 1969; Hannan 1979; Patterson 1978, Jenkins 1994). They assume that individuals develop and keep ethnicity as a conscious sense of belonging, reflecting diverse and changing circumstances. Therefore, they emphasize the logic of the situation in individuals' forming and keeping a certain ethnic group or ethnic allegiance. The external and situational factors such as a set of economic, social and political circumstances, opportunities or relationships lead to the formation and persistence of ethnicity. Therefore, they view ethnicity, ranging from ethnic group boundaries to allegiance, as changeable, depending on how the given situational factors, which individuals face, change. Put differently, instrumentalists recognize the fluidity of ethnicity, focusing on situational conditions.

Instrumentalists acknowledge that one or two ethnic indicators such as geographical origin, race or language, can be emphasized in explaining the formation of ethnicity. However, they argue that the situational context of interactions among both the in- and –out groups and group members decides which indicator will be emphasized. That is, scholars taking this position view the circumstantial context of a given ethnic experience as one of the most critical factors in shaping ethnicity.

Instrumentalists also assume that ethnicity provides the basis for collective action and resource mobilization to achieve its members' common interests. According to them, when individuals realize that they share common interests, including economic benefits or political power, in relation with other members of greater society, they develop or sustain ethnicity. Therefore, when ethnicity is formed, it can serve as a tool for realizing its members' common goals. In the following, I will discuss these points of instrumentalism in greater detail.

First, instrumentalism assumes ethnicity as a product of social circumstances and a socialized awareness. Barth (1955, 1956, 1969) pioneered the instrumentalist perspective of ethnicity. He critiques the culturalist perspective as a misunderstanding of the relationship between culture and ethnicity. According to him, the sharing of a common culture is a result of one's perception of ethnicity. In other words, the perception of ethnicity leads to the perception of common culture, not vice versa. He acknowledges that the expression of ethnicity can reflect a stock of culture-specific practices. However, overt objective cultural forms can vary and change, reflecting external circumstances, despite being identical in their cultural orientation. Therefore, overt cultural forms are not always an indicator of ethnicity. In addition, ethnicity encourages the proliferation of cultural differences. Above all, culture becomes important to its members when they declare their allegiance to it. Thus, he argues, it is incorrect to include cultural elements as defining properties of ethnicity.

Instead, Barth views ethnic group formation as the process of boundary construction. Observing that ethnic groups maintain separate boundaries despite their identical culture, he argues that one's perception of ethnicity or ethnic boundary is the product of social process. That is, one's choice of ethnicity depends on social circumstances. Thus, according to given external circumstances and one's choice one's perception of ethnicity can be narrowed and expanded. He also argues that ethnicity is a creation of social ascription; ethnic boundary is constructed through the process of definition by himself and others. Put differently, ethnicity is created through a two-way social process, self and other, internal and external. As a result, the nature of ethnicity is situational and mutable. From this perspective, Barth(1969) refers to the validity of instrumentalism in the following way;

When defined as an ascriptive group, the nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group

may change-yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content (Barth 1969:14).

This statement implies that investigating the nature of ethnicity with emphasis on cultural traits is simply to analyze the effects of external circumstances on overt cultural features. Instead, it suggests that to map the continuing or discontinuing nature of ethnicity, despite the change in overt cultural forms, we should view ethnicity as an internal- and external- defining process by its members and by others, responding to situational conditions.

Since Barth, instrumentalists have attempted to specify what situational condition is crucial for developing ethnicity. Some note social and political institutions and productive systems as important situational factors for shaping and reshaping ethnicity. For instance, Hannan (1979) suggests that economic and political modernization accompanying simplified institutional constraints is a key factor for shaping or reshaping ethnicity. Contending that ethnicity (or ethnic boundary) coincides with niche boundaries in the society, he considers ethnic boundaries as constructed in the course of different ethnic groups competing with each other within a given political and productive system.⁶ In detail, Hannan (1979) argues that modernization in the advanced nations simplifies economic and political constraints by replacing some local constraints with a uniform set of constraints enforced by national economic and political systems. These uniform national systems benefit some large ethnic groups (or the largest ethnic group) in competition for resource and mobilization. As a result, small ethnic groups disappear. That is, simplified economic and political restrictions increase the intensity of ethnic competition and thereby decrease diversity of ethnic groups.

⁶ Building on Barth's argument, Hannan (1979) sees the formation of ethnicity as the construction of boundary. Then, he describes ethnicity as a criterion of membership and of shared interest. He also differentiates ethnicity from ethnic group. According to him, an ethnicity is an attributed and imperative social identity that partitions a population while ethnic group is a population that is organized with reference to an ethnic identity.

Hannan's argument suggests that circumstantial factors affect the emergence and disappearance of ethnic groups. Ethnic groups tend to form and persist when they cope well with social constraints imposed by circumstantial settings which uniformly affect many or all of the individuals they incorporate. That is, the existing ethnicity can persist when it successfully deals with given external social conditions coinciding with the ethnic group boundary. Also, a new ethnicity can arise when individuals sharing similar social and political conditions compete with each other.

In line with Hannan's argument, some other instrumentalists claim that ethnic groups are interests groups in the social or urban opportunity structure. For example, defining ethnicity as an ethnic group, Cohen (1969, 1974) claims that ethnic groups, as interest groups, are engaged in struggles with other groups for resources in the public arena. According to him, if, in the new society, new social, economic and political interests shared by individuals cut across ethnic lines, ethnic identity and exclusiveness will be inhibited by the emerging new alignment. In short, an ethnic group arises as a coalition of interests in a certain niche of the social or urban opportunity structure, when it is helpful in the conflict with other groups for resources. Similarly, Patterson (1975) argues that economic and general interests of individuals determine the strength and scope of ethnicity.

This perspective of ethnicity as an interest group implies that the viability of ethnicity depends on how well ethnicity serves individuals' interest, responding to given external factors. It also suggests that individuals can shape and reshape ethnicity or ethnic groups based on tangible benefits (see also Glazer et al. 1963). Furthermore, it signifies that ethnicity may not be employed strategically by members of the group when they share no interest in another niche in the social structure.

Differentiating ethnicity as a social identity from an ethnic group, a few instrumentalists argue that individuals can shift membership from one ethnic group to

another without modifying the existing ethnicity to pursue the most appropriate resource for each. Haaland (1969) provides an excellent example of ethnicity change. In Darfur, Western Sudan, two ethnic groups keep distinct cultural practices ranging from language to value standards. They differ in means of living as well. The Fur are engaged in agriculture while the Baggara are pastoral nomads. Even though both groups trade goods and services with each other, they are economically independent.

However, despite their clear ethnic distinction, some Fur choose to become Arabic-speaking Baggara due to the lack of investment opportunities in their sedentary village economy. When a Fur family has sufficient number of cattle to nomadize, they migrate to Baggara areas. As a result, their children speak Arabic and learn the Baggara culture. Also, they are treated as Baggaras by the farming Fur. In short, some Fur become the Baggara with no change in their existing ethnic structure. This clearly illustrates individuals' identity change due to specific economic circumstances with distinctive identities remaining intact between groups.

To summarize, defining ethnicity as a social product, instrumentalism notes the emerging and waning nature of ethnicity in the process of responding to external demands. Therefore, instrumentalism emphasizes the logic of situation; the importance and expression of an ethnicity are situationally defined in the process of adapting to external circumstances. This perspective also assumes that individuals choose an ethnic identity as a strategic tool to promote self-interests, particularly material interests. In other words, it defines ethnicity as a strategic resource; individuals shape and utilize identity as an instrument for politicizing their common needs and achieving them. In short, in this perspective, ethnicity is primarily reactive.

Instrumentalism is critiqued for several reasons. First, the perspective cannot explain the persistent ethnicity even though it does not serve their objective interests. For example, Tibetans insist on their distinctive ethnicity from Hans. They may gain more

objective interests such as economic support from the Chinese government if they are incorporated. Also, instrumentalism downplays the importance of cultural contents in shaping individuals' circumstantial interests. As Cornell (1996) argues, our-self concepts influence our perceptions of the world and our interest. In other words, ethnicity, as one type of identity, can shape our situational interests.

Despite these weaknesses, instrumentalism accurately explains the emergence of an ethnic identity or boundary in terms of circumstantial variables. By explaining ethnicity as a situational phenomenon, it provides a valuable tool for explaining the origin of new ethnicity, such as Asian Americans and Latinos in the U.S. In addition, by modifying the scope of objective interests into subjective or non-tangible interests, this perspective can explain the formation of ethnicity in a wider range. Therefore, in this dissertation, I build on the instrumentalist perspective to explain the nature of panethnicity.

Panethnicity as a Social Product

I adopt the instrumental perspective as an underlying theory to explain the formation and nature of panethnicity. I assume that panethnicity is created in the process of reacting to external circumstances. In other words, I assume that Asian Americans and Latinos from diverse national origins develop panethnicity as a response to collective interracial experiences, relations, and actions in the greater society. Asian Americans and Latinos cultivate panethnicity in the course of reacting to or, sometimes, resisting given external conditions such as official ethnic and racial categories, political policies and residential patterns. Thus, the panethnicity forming process involves everyday experiences of Asian Americans and Latinos in their new country. The experiences encourage the expression of a multiethnic solidarity in order to achieve both tangible political and economical interests and non-tangible benefits such as resisting the stigma which comes with being minorities in both numbers and power.

As mentioned, the strength of the instrumental perspective lies in explaining the emergence and maintenance of new ethnicity ranging from ethnic boundary to solidarity. That is, the instrumental perspective explains how new ethnicity occurs despite little or no common cultures or under the changing circumstances and contexts. As a matter of fact, the culturalist perspective rightly emphasizes the cultural values, norms and practices as important contents of ethnic groups. In explaining the nature and formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos, however, this perspective is very limited.

First of all, Asian Americans share no readily identifiable cultural symbols. Even though Asian Americans share geographic commonality in that they come from Asian countries, they significantly differ in their languages and traditions. Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Koreans account for over 40% of Asian Americans but speak different languages. Also, they have intra-competition and conflict throughout their national history. That is, panethnicity among them is not based on primordial origin or cultural commonality. Even Latinos who are considered to share commonality originating from their common language maintain their unique and distinctive features, interests and concerns along each nationality. Put differently, panethnic solidarity among them does not naturally come out of their usage of common language.

Instead, for the newcomers, panethnicity is a newly created solidarity. It occurs in the process of responding to new settings (Espiritu 1992; Saito 1998; Padilla 1985). Realizing that their shared experience of discrimination and given social and political conditions cut across national/ethnic lines, individuals from diverse national origins come together under one panethnic umbrella. In this process, they may emphasize a certain common cultural trait (e.g. in case of Latinos, the Spanish language) while they may downplay or deny a radical cultural difference (e.g. in case of Asian Americans, diverse

languages). However, cultural features are not a major engine of driving solidarity across national origins.

The case of Asian Americans and Latinos living in California's San Gabriel Valley well illustrates how external conditions facilitate the development of panethnic awareness and solidarity (Saito 1998). During the 1990s when the Chinese population rapidly increased in the San Gabriel Valley and Los Angeles County, whites in these areas saw the increasing Chinese immigrants as a threat. Many hate crimes targeting immigrant Chinese occurred. In response to those hate crimes, some non-Chinese Asian Americans identified themselves as a specific ethnic identity or even as an American, refusing to be seen as a Chinese.

However, as anti-Chinese sentiments peaked and several city councils adopted discriminating policies against the Chinese, both native-born and immigrant Asian Americans of San Gabriel Valley realized that the sentiments and discriminations against the Chinese could possibly become the ones against Asian Americans as a whole. As for a specific example, the Monterey Park City Council decided to ban all foreign commercial signs. Initially, the banning targeted Chinese businesses booming in the city. Soon, however, Asian Americans understood the anti-Asian message implicit in "English Only" signs whether or not they could read the Chinese signs. That is, they realized that common interests were at stake. More fundamentally, they recognized that they were discriminated against as a whole. Such realizations promoted panethnic awareness among the entire Asian American communities. As a collective response, a large number of Asian Americans actively participated in public hearings on the Monterey Park City Council's decision so that their voice could be heard. In addition, Asian Americans, not just Chinese Americans, in liaison with local ethnic organizations worked together to stop the city from establishing the official English language policy. Their effort was successful. This experience reinforced panethnicity among Asian Americans of San

Gabriel Valley. Also, it led them to realize the importance of panethnicity in order to become an effective political presence.

This example clearly illustrates the instrumental nature of panethnicity; shared interests and experiences among Asian Americans from diverse national origins reinforce their panethnicity. Their awareness of shared interests and experiences were invoked by both the city's policy and their residential closeness. Furthermore, this case shows that panethnicity is a result of social transaction; acting together can produce greater returns than in acting as individuals or as a single national/ethnic unit.

Native Americans are another good illustration for the instrumental nature of ethnicity (Cornell 1988; Nagel 1995; Weibel-Orlando 1991). The Native American population consists of many linguistic, cultural and religious groups. Each group has its own economical political and legal system as well as own land base. Before the 1960s, most of Native Americans mainly kept their tribal identities - e.g. Navajo or Sioux - based on cultural diversities. However, the changing social conditions of the 1960s promoted the development of a self-conscious pan-Indian identity among the Native Americans. In the 1960s and the early 1970s, Indians migrated to cities to take advantage of the economic opportunities accompanied by World War II and postwar prosperity. In addition, beginning in the nineteenth century, the federal Indian policy, which was to promote American Indians to be assimilated into the mainstream society, helped urbanize the Indian population.

Soon, however, Indians found themselves in urban settings of common political and economic disadvantages. Realizing their distinctive conditions imposed by urban settings, they began to see themselves as one supratribal group in the larger American ethnic/racial structure. In addition, between 1960s and 1970s, Indian activism, symbolized as Alcatraz occupation, created many urban Indian organizations to help

Indians in cities.⁷ These organizations were intertribal in their characteristic, emphasizing “Indianess” beyond subtribal heritages and cultures. As a result, Indians in cities began actively accepting the enlarged identity. This case of Indian ethnic renewal illustrates that ethnicity is a social product not a cultural product. The formation of a supratribal ethnicity, “Native American”, is driven by an external condition, urbanization.

Similarly, urbanization has reinforced African American solidarity (Lemann 1991; Massey 1995, Massey et al. 1993; Morris 1984; Wilson 1987). Particularly, after World War II, African Americans migrated from rural to urban areas and from the South to the North. As a result, African Americans clustered together in urban areas and the North. Such demographic shift promoted urban racial segregations and intensified interracial tensions between whites and African Americans, and thereby promoted black movements and solidarity. These examples reveal the dynamic nature of ethnic/racial solidarity in U.S. society. Also, they suggest that common culture is not sufficient to newly construct an enlarged solidarity. Instead, external conditions and reactions to them lead individuals to develop ethnic/ racial solidarity.

Indeed, “actual” cultural similarity is not the fundamental nature of panethnicity. A large number of Asian Americans and Latinos believe that they have not much cultural similarity with other Asians and Latinos (de la Garza et al.1994; Marger 2000). The evidence of this study supports this low level of perceived cultural similarities among Asian Americans and Latinos. Less than 10% of Latino respondents reported the higher level of cultural similarities with other sub-Latino groups (see also Sanchez 2006). Only 9% of Asian American respondents believe that Asian Americans have strong cultural similarities. Contrastingly, 50% of respondents believe that Asian Americans do not

⁷ Indian activism during these periods was also affected by the federal Indian policy. The federal Indian programs funded the creation and operation of Indian organizations in relocation target cities. Many of these organizations were established to provide services for growing urban Indian populations (Nagle 1995; Rosenthal 2000).

have any cultural similarity at all. In short, cultural similarities are not high in the eyes of diverse Asian American and Latino groups. If the cultural feature exists in the nature of panethnicity, it is more symbolic. Even when Padilla (1985) emphasizes the cultural commonality among Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in Chicago, he argues that the cultural feature of panethnicity is symbolical, not actual. He writes:

The Spanish Language can be made to represent the primordialized dimension of Latino ethnic identity. That is to say, the Spanish language would serve as the characteristic symbolizing the cultural similarities of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and others. In addition to establishing the Spanish language as the “cultural feature” that can be taken as the essential element of the cultural heritage of the Latino or Hispanic ethnic group, it is just as important to recognize that Latino ethnic identity is related more to the symbol of the Spanish language than to its actual use by all members of the various groups” (Padilla 1985:151).

The same argument is reflected in Jones-Correa et al.(1996)’s discussion of Hispanic identification;

People talk about the Latino community (*la comunidad Latina*) or about being Hispanic(*hispano*) or *Latinoamericano* to refer to themselves and others with origins in Latin America. But, it is not clear what commonalities really exist beyond this language” Jones-Correa et al.:215).

That is, the cultural similarity represented by Spanish language symbolically ties Latinos together. In other words, shared cultural practices like language are not essential to forming new panethnic identification and further solidarity (see also De Vos 1975; Espiritu 1992). Rather, the recognition of shared status, experiences, and interests at the panethnic level in the larger society yields a lively panethnicity as a sense of solidarity.

In emphasizing the instrumental nature of panethnicity, I do not dismiss the possibility that these panethnic groups can create and develop their unique panethnic cultures based on their common experiences in this country. In fact, Asians and Latinos from diverse nationalities have been creating a common Asian American and Latino heritage respectively, based on their common experiences such as economic and political discrimination. Particularly, the second and third generation of Asian and Latino

immigrants may adopt and accept panethnic culture formed in the U.S. as if ethnic group members adopted their ethnic culture from birth.

However, the nature of panethnicity neither originates from nor is further sustained by primordial origins. If individuals from diverse nationalities find no benefits from developing panethnicity in this new country, they should resist accepting or reinforcing the larger ethnic solidarity. To summarize then, panethnicity held by Asian Americans and Latinos is not based primarily on shared primordial cultures or preconscious ties. Panethnicity among them is a new construct which they did not hold before entering the U.S. It cuts across their diverse national lines. They develop this psychological attachment in the process of responding to the external conditions.

In this process, some Asian Americans and Latinos realize their specifically shared political and social interests under the panethnic label. Some others may not readily identify what specific common interests they share with each other. Instead, they may be vaguely aware of the importance of expanding social and political opportunities as members of the enlarged minority groups. Alternatively, some may simply sympathize with members from subethnic/ national groups because of their shared minority status in society. For all these reasons, they feel that they are linked. Also, they realize that cooperation among them is a mutual advantage to improve their status in society. In short, they form panethnicity.

This panethnic solidarity does not completely replace Asian Americans' and Latinos' individual attachment to the origins of nations. A large number of Asian Americans and Latinos still hold close their individual national and cultural heritages, and interests. Along with the national attachment, they have developed panethnicity in the process of both experiencing political and social circumstances and internalizing these experiences.

Panethnicity and Categorization

Among circumstantial factors, which facilitate the formation of panethnicity, racialized identity categorization constructed by American society plays an important role in developing panethnic solidarity.⁸ In the study of ethnicity, scholars widely acknowledge the important role of social categorization for developing ethnic identity (Alba 1985; Barth 1969; Bourdieu 1991; Cornell 1988; Hannerz 1974; Itzigsohn 2000; Jenkins 1994; Schildkrout 1974; Weibel-Orlando 1991; Yancey et al. 1976). For instance, Barth (1969) points out that ethnic boundary formation reflects labeling processes engaged in by others as well as by themselves. That is, outsiders' categorization contributes to forming ethnic boundaries. Similarly, in the discussion of how urban immigrants in Ghana mold their ethnicity, Schildkrout (1974) notes outsiders' categorization as a defining factor for how individuals identify themselves. He contends that it is more important how outsiders define an ethnic community than whether members in the ethnic community believe that they share certain cultural features.

In the U.S, panethnic identity as a way of identification is a social categorization imposed by the dominant group. For example, German Jews and Eastern European Jews coming to the U.S. in the 1930s and 40s were not able to keep their separate group identifications. For, others of the wider society categorized them under the large ethnic labels "Jews". This example illustrates that different ethnic groups form a single group in the U.S partly because the dominant groups in the society decide "what people should share, willingly and unwillingly, under one ethnic label" (Hannerz 1974: 66).

⁸ Some scholars subsume race under ethnicity (see eg. Banton 2003; Gordon 1964; Jenkins 1997; Nagel 2003; Patterson 1997; Sollors 1991). Others associate race with African-Americans while ethnicity refers to the sub-distinctions among a race (see eg. Cornell et al. 1998, Omi et al. 1994, van den Berghe 1991) The discussion of which approach is better is out of the scope of this dissertation. In this dissertation, however, I use the term races and panethnic categories- Asian Americans and Latinos- as interchangeable. That is, when the terms, Asian Americans and Latinos are used against other races such as African Americans or whites, they represent races.

Specifically, state agents, formal institutions and official policies play a key role in facilitating the categorization process. Italians came to the U.S. with regional or village identities. However, soon, the immigrants from different regions of Italy found that censuses, city officials and local publics encouraged them to use and adopt a more comprehensive identity category such as Italians or Italian Americans (Alba 1985). Similarly, Native Americans who kept their particular tribal names renewed their identity into the expanded identity, Indian American, as a response to policies such as land dispossession and relocation programs. These policies put together the heterogeneous Indian tribes under one group name, Indian American (Cornell 1988). In both cases, the apparatus of the state, such as censuses and policies, and public discourses encourage individuals to have a particular identity as a way of describing themselves in a racially conscious society.

In a similar way, panethnic identification as Asian American and Latino is initially forged by social categorization before it is accepted by members of diverse national groups (Espiritu 1992; Saito 1998). Society lumps diverse Asian and Latino groups in the U.S. together to control “unfamiliar people without dealing with their individual diversity” (Blauner 1972). In imposing the panethnic label, the government, the media and the public are primary categorization agents (Cain et al. 1991; Espiritu 1989; Kitano et al. 1988; Nagel 1996; Padilla 1985; Ross 1982).

Itzigsohn et al.’s study (2000) attests to this. Interviewing Dominican immigrants in Washington Heights, upper Manhattan, they find that most respondents identify themselves as Latinos even though most of them consider themselves blacks or Indio in the Dominican Republic. They explain this discrepancy as a reaction to racial labeling process in American society. They argue that Dominicans’ self-identification as Latinos is a form of accommodation to the American racial classification. That is, Dominicans accept the label to find a place within the American racial classification system which

associates individuals' identity with skin color. In their study, one Dominican respondent offered the following statement:

I think my children will be Dominican-Americans, my grandchildren, I don't know. But you know, we will always be *Latinos*. You Argentineans look like Italians, you can merge in this country, but look how we look, our skin is different, our color is different, and also our culture is different and you know much we value very much our ways. We can never merge, we are going to be like other communities, different, powerful but different. We are going always to be *Latinos* (Itzigsohn et al. 2000:237).

That is, based on their skin color, society imposes the panethnic identification, *Latinos*, to individuals from diverse national backgrounds, ignoring their distinctive national features. To address themselves in society, individuals from diverse nationalities use the panethnic category provided by society.

This process of accepting imposed panethnic identification, I argue, contributes to the development of panethnic solidarity among Asian Americans and *Latinos*. Some scholars note the acceptance of the imposed ethnic categorization as a key factor in promoting ethnic unity. For example, according to Hannerz (1974), this acceptance leads the members of ethnic minority groups to seriously consider their imposed ethnic category when they attempt to advance their interest in society. As a result, individuals of ethnic minority groups develop a real bond.

Then, more specifically, how do Asian Americans and *Latinos* internalize the respective imposed panethnic categories? Furthermore, how does the acceptance of the imposed category lead to the development of panethnic solidarity? Jenkins (1994) provides answers to these two questions. Explaining ethnicity as a practical product of the ongoing interactions between internal and external definition processes, he argues that the experience of being categorized by power and authority has a great influence on the formation of ethnicity. He notes routine public interactions, communal memberships and official classifications as the specific processes of categorization, which come in various social contexts.

Then, Jenkins (1994) proposes five possible scenarios to explain the internalization process of categorization. First, external categorization can be internalized when it coincides with the existing group identity, even without a perfect match. Second, categorization can be internalized when it matches with the incremental culture change. That is, when cultural changes happen, corresponding to the external definition by social categorization, internalization can occur. Third, threat by a physical force can result in the internalization of categorization. Fourth, categorization can be internalized in the process of rejecting imposed identity. Lastly, categorization can be internalized by education or policies of the legitimate authorities.

The last two scenarios fit well into explaining how ethnic minorities such as Asian Americans and Latinos in the U.S. internalize group categories initially imposed by the society, and further develop panethnic solidarity. In the 1970s and 1980s, Asian Americans demanded to be counted separately in censuses. They argued that the collapsing of various Asian American groups into one category “Asian Americans” would lead to incorrect stereotyping and other misinformation regarding them (Espiritu 1992; Chow 1988). Asian American activists at the panethnic level lobbied legislators to pass the bill to agree to tabulate Asian Americans into nine-categories. They succeeded. The House and the Senate unanimously passed the bill. Paradoxically, this panethnic-level effort for separate counts led Asian Americans to be exposed to the panethnic labeling and further reinforced panethnic solidarity. That is, while resisting the given social category, Asian Americans experienced both their related fate and the necessity of coordinated actions under the panethnic labeling.

The panethnic categories are also internalized among Asian Americans and Latinos by the state policies, as Jenkins’ fifth scenario describes. For example, the funding practice illustrates the case of adapting to the categorization of the outside authorities. Many social service funding agencies require a proposal to finance

multiethnic projects. For them, this request by funding administrators might be a politically safe decision. Irrespective of their reasoning, the members of subordinate Asian and Latino groups have to officially use the pan-Asian or pan-Latino labeling to receive funding. As a result, this leads to the adjustment in individual Asians' and Latinos' self-identification. In short, the persistent use of the ethnic/racial categories by other social actors can "give rise in reality, by the specific effectiveness of evocation, to the very thing they represent" (Bourdieu 1991:224).

More generally speaking, when the government policies related to economic resources and political representation are constructed by a panethnic label, individuals of the panethnic group find it efficacious and practical to set aside their national/ethnic origins, accepting the larger institutionalized unit. It is effective since the panethnic boundary, as an organizational construct, is already there. They do not have to redefine and reclaim their status. It is practical since they can act en bloc. To have a competitive political and economic power in relation with other ethnic/racial groups in the larger society, it is necessary to secure a certain number of members. Rather than acting in numerous ethnic names, individuals find it more practical to accept the given enlarged racial name to pursue their interests against other racial groups.

In turn, accepting the given identification categories contribute to Asian Americans' and Latinos' developing solidarity with other members of their respective groups. While using the effective and practical panethnic labels for their economic and political purposes, Asian Americans and Latinos experience a real sense of panethnicity. In other words, the acceptance of the given identifications evokes panethnic sentiment among the members of the panethnic groups by leading them to realize the importance of cooperation under the panethnic labels in relation to other racial groups in society

Then, this panethnic solidarity can operate as an important instrument for Asian Americans and Latinos to achieve their political goals in the society. In *Asian American Panethnicity* (1992), Espiritu writes;

Within the limits of their situations, Asian Americans have transformed not only themselves but also the conditions under which they act. Adopting the dominant group's categorization of them, Asian Americans have institutionalized pan-Asians as their primary political entity, thereby enlarging their own capacities to make claims on the resources of the dominant group (Espiritu 1992:161).

That is, Asian Americans actively transform the initially imposed identity classification into larger instrumental solidarity - a tool for demanding their shares.

Taken together, panethnic categorization imposed by society is an important external factor for Asian Americans' and Latinos' internalizing their respective panethnic identifications. Then, the internalization promotes Asian Americans and Latinos to develop their respective panethnicity by leading them to realize their circumstances and status as related.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argue that the nature of panethnicity is instrumental; panethnicity is a social product. Asian Americans and Latinos mold panethnicity in the process of responding to external situational settings. Reacting to external settings such as political institutions and residential contexts, the members of the respective panethnic groups realize their common fate and develop their shared belief in the potential to accomplish their needs in the larger society. In short, panethnicity is a reflection of what Asian Americans and Latinos experience under the given circumstantial settings.

The instrumental nature of panethnicity implies that panethnicity is a resource to encourage individuals of diverse Asian American and Latinos groups to coordinate in order to pursue their interests and demands in the society. Based on panethnic solidarity, Asian Americans and Latinos seek for material or non-material values such as the

protection of their distinctive differences from the majority of society and the feeling of empowerment.

I also argue that social categorization as one of circumstantial settings plays an important role in both forming panethnic identity as a form of social identification, and developing panethnic solidarity. Society imposes the panethnic labels -Asian Americans and Latinos- to newcomers from Asia and Latin America. Then, the new immigrants internalize the labels as primary identifications. The internalization, in turn, leads to the development of panethnicity. To summarize, the imposed racial classification by the larger society encourages Asian American and Latinos to develop panethnic solidarity among them, in the course of pursuing interests in society.

In the following chapter, I will empirically investigate how and what external circumstantial settings affect the formation of panethnicity. To do this, I focus on the impact of residential contexts as key external factors for developing panethnicity. I also look into the impact of the imposed panethnic categorization. That is, I will investigate whether Asian Americans' and Latinos' acceptance of the socially given labels as their primary identification facilitates the formation of their panethnicity. This effect of self-identification will be scrutinized as one of individual socializing factors including discrimination experience and English proficiency. Through investigating the effects of these factors, I attempt to explain how Asian Americans and Latinos mold their panethnicity in the process of contacting similar ethnic/national members in the neighborhood, and reacting to discrimination and categorization based on the panethnic lines.

CHAPTER III

WHAT DETERMINES PANETHNICITY?

Many scholars treat group consciousness and panethnicity as an independent variable to determine political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. (see Sanchez 2006; Wong et al. 2005). As a result, we have limited knowledge on what constructs panethnicity. In this chapter, I investigate what shapes panethnicity. I assume that panethnicity is formed in the process of reacting to external conditions where Asian Americans and Latinos are placed. This assumption suggests that panethnicity is constituted by two building blocks. One is personal reactions. Individuals react differently to the same given circumstances, depending on their unique personal conditions. In other words, individual traits determine how they react to external contexts. Some traits lead Asian Americans and Latinos to react in a way favorable to panethnicity formation, while others induce reactions irrelevant for developing panethnicity. The other block is external conditions such as government policies and residential patterns. External conditions affect the development of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos by structuring their opportunities for social interactions with either their own panethnic group members or other racial members.

Among many possible individual traits and external conditions relevant for explaining the formation of panethnicity, I focus on two groups of factors; individual socializing factors and contextual factors. Individual socializing factors include panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience, birth place and English proficiency. Contextual factors include the size of panethnic population, the level of segregation, and the number of panethnic elected officials. In the case of Asian Americans, I also investigate the impact of the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations and religious

service attendance as additional contextual factors.⁹ Along with these factors, I examine conventional individual factors including citizenship status, income, education, and age.

In analyzing panethnicity as a socially constructed perception, one limitation of this dissertation is that not all individual traits and external contexts are incorporated into the following empirical models. This reflects a practical limitation caused by relying on existing data sources. Particularly, existing data sources do not allow testing the impact of actual policies on the formation of panethnicity. However, the listed socializing and contextual factors accentuate panethnicity as a response to external contexts. The individual socializing factors capture the unique features of members of immigrant communities. The selected contextual factors are external conditions, which decide the day-to-day lives of Latinos and Asian Americans. In other words, the contextual factors more directly affect Asian American and Latino panethnicity on a regular basis than social and political policies.

This chapter consists of five parts. I begin with a discussion of the previous research on panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. Then, in the second part, I explain hypotheses. In the third part, I explain how I operationalize key variables. Then, I discuss the empirical results. Lastly, I conclude this chapter, summarizing my findings.

Literature on Panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos

For many Asian Americans and Latinos, holding panethnicity does not mean discarding their particular ethnic identity and loyalty. Most individuals of these panethnic groups hold their national identity, as either a self-ethnic identification or an emotional tie, for several reasons. The first generation usually comes to a new country

⁹ In this dissertation, I will use ethnic/panethnic organizations and panethnic organizations as interchangeable.

with its own national/ethnic identity, often recharging the ethnic/national communities in the new country. Additionally, they keep their ties to their homeland. For example, because of the geographic proximity to their homeland, many Latino immigrants, particularly those who come to the United States for economic reasons, keep strong ties to their home countries and intend to return to the homes some day (Cornelius 1981; Itzigsohn et al. 2000; Panchon 1987). Together with the expanded panethnicity, national identity and attachment to it remain important for most Asian Americans and Latinos. Also, they have intra-group competitions to gain access to both material benefits and the mainstream society. That is, for a large number of Asian Americans and Latinos, broadening identity into panethnic identity does not mean discarding their ethnic/national identity. The salience between ethnic/national identity and panethnic identity largely depends on certain contexts and circumstances where Asian Americans and Latinos are situated (Itzigsohn 2000; Nagel 1994; Waters 1999).

Ignoring this dual-layer nature of panethnic identity, some scholars argue that distinctive panethnicity does not exist (de la Garza et al. 1992; DeSipio 1996b; Dias 1996; Hero et al. 1996; Wrinkle et al. 1996). According to them, Asian American and Latino national/ethnic subgroups have significant differences and therefore, should be analyzed separately. For example, de la Garza et al. (1992) discount the presence of panethnicity, finding that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans have cultural commonalities but they differ in significant ways on important issues such as housing policy and government spending.

Wrinkle et al. (1996) also make a similar argument. Examining the effect of cultural factors and mobilization on non-electoral participation among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, they argue that the three sub-Latino groups should be analyzed as differentiated, respectively, because their political behavior is determined by different variables. In detail, in *Ethnicity and Nonelectoral Political Participation*, Wrinkle et al.

(1996) examine how cultural, socioeconomic and mobilization variables affect political participation among the above three sub-Latino group members. Particularly, they attempt to capture the political effect of these Latinos' unique experiences with cultural variables. The cultural variables, which blend group consciousness measures suggested by Miller et al. (1981), tap how close they feel to coethnics and whether they pay attention to coethnics. Wrinkle et al. (1996) find that no single cultural variable has an impact on political participation across these Latino groups. Based on this finding, Wrinkle et al. (1996) conclude that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans should be treated as differentiated groups. In short, these Latinos are not tied each other.

However, these studies ignore the essential nature of identity ranging from identification and attachment; identity exists in multiple layers. One identity among many becomes salient, depending on circumstantial conditions. For example, if a female African American employee is to address herself regarding the equal wage issue, in relation to her male workmates, her gender identity becomes salient. Consequently, she is likely to emphasize her gender as a primary identifier. However, this does not indicate that she does not hold an identity as African American. Likewise, panethnicity can coexist with a particular national attachment.

Additionally, most of these studies merely examine bivariate relationships between either socioeconomic status or discrimination and panethnicity measured by policy preferences or panethnic self-identification (de la Garza et al. 1992; Itzigsohn et al. 2000; Jones-Correa et al. 1996). Also, these studies examine only one or two or, at most, three ethnic groups (de la Garza et al. 1992; Duany 1992; Itzigsohn et al. 2000; Rodriguez et al. 1992). For example, Itzigsohn et al. (2000) only investigate Dominicans while Duany (1992) and Rodriguez et al. (1992) examine only Puerto Ricans.

Most importantly, scholars ambiguously define panethnicity, overlooking the nature of panethnicity as a socially constructed instrument. Even when they define

panethnicity as solidarity, they employ panethnic self-identification, political participation and preferences, or group consciousness as an indicator of panethnicity, despite the different attributes of these concepts. As a result, they fail to find a generalizable pattern to explain the formation of panethnicity. This, in turn, leads scholars to conclude that panethnicity does not exist among Asian Americans and Latinos; if it does exist, panethnicity is of no importance.

As for a specific example, Jones-Correa et al. (1996) view political participation in ethnic issues as an indicator of panethnic solidarity. Recognizing the multi-layer nature of identity, they attempt to challenge the claim that panethnic consciousness is irrelevant in explaining the Latino community. They exhaustively examine the frequency and role of panethnic self-identification among Latinos as primary, secondary and multiple identities. They find that most Latinos give a national label as their first identifier. They also find that the secondary choice of the panethnic identifier is not picked up immediately. Latinos give a panethnic label as a secondary identifier only when they want to explain themselves against other racial group members. Based on these findings, they argue that panethnicity defined as panethnic self-identification is an American creation that operates in a different way, depending on whether it is a primary or secondary identity i.e. panethnicity is elastic.

Jones-Correa et al. (1996) also argue that panethnicity is not an instrumental resource. They find that those who choose Latinos as a sole identity do not participate in political activities more than those who chose it as a primary or secondary. They also find that those with strongest panethnicity, measured by a choice of panethnic identifier, support Latino group issues less than those with weaker panethnic identity. Based on these findings, they conclude that choosing a panethnic identification may not indicate a real attachment to the constructed identity “Latinos”.

Jones-Correa et al. (1996) correctly note that panethnic-self identification is an American creation and is not identical to panethnic solidarity. However, they incorrectly capture the role and feature of panethnic solidarity by equating it with panethnic political participation. Panethnic solidarity may promote panethnic political participation. Yet, they are not identical.

In a similar way, Okamoto (2003) measures panethnicity with political involvement in panethnic issues. To operationalize panethnicity defined as panethnic solidarity, she collects data from three decades of census results and summary tape files, and several years of State and Metropolitan Area Data Book. With the compiled longitudinal datasets, she attempts to model the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans. Specifically, she tests which theory, between competition theory and cultural division of labor theory, better explains the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans.

Competition theory predicts that the economic structures of labor markets decide the ethnic boundary and perception. This theory implies that increasing labor market competition among Asian Americans, resulting from their occupational segregation from other racial groups, decreases panethnicity. The cultural division of labor theory, on the contrary, posits that labor market segregation encourages higher level of ethnicity. According to this theory, then, the increase in the Asian American occupational segregation, as a group, promotes panethnicity because it increases intragroup interactions, common economic interests and memberships in a community life. Measuring panethnicity with two types of pan-Asian events, what Okamoto calls, a protest event and a solidarity event, she finds that the cultural division of labor theory is supported. That is, the occupational segregation of Asian Americans, as a group, fosters panethnicity among them. Okamoto's study is consistent with many recent studies that

find that economic structures of labor markets are poor predictors to explain the formation of the ethnic boundary.

Despite her extensive use of various data sources, however, what Okamoto really examines is the likelihood of pan-Asian mobilization, not panethnic solidarity. That is, she investigates conditions under which Asian Americans undertake collective actions. Panethnic solidarity can increase panethnic collective actions. In other words, those who feel a strong sense of panethnicity are more likely to participate in collective actions at the panethnic level. However, panethnic actions in themselves are not panethnic solidarity. To summarize, ethnic solidarity and ethnic mobilization are two separate concepts, empirically as well as theoretically. Ethnic mobilization as collective actions results from the activation of ethnic boundary or /and solidarity (see Furniss 1979; Mughan et al. 1981; Olzak 1983; Sinnott et al. 1981).

Even when scholars are aware of the distinctive nature between panethnic solidarity and panethnic political involvement, their conceptual ambiguity often remains. For instance, while they observe that panethnic self-identification and panethnic group consciousness are linked, they note their theoretically distinct nature. However, they use the term panethnic group consciousness and panethnic solidarity interchangeably.

As for a specific example, Wong et al. (2005) define group consciousness as “an awareness of shared status as an unjustly deprived and oppressed group and a strong sense of ethnic or panethnic community”. Then, they measure Asian American group consciousness with the question “Do you think what happens to other Asians will affect you?”. As they note, however, group consciousness is a multidimensional psychological construct which cannot be measured with one element. The fully developed group consciousness as Asian Americans should consist of diverse constructs such as consented panethnic identification, feeling and assessment toward different ethnic or racial groups, and opinion on measures and policies to deal with their problems along with a sense of

solidarity. In short, Asian American group consciousness includes common experiences, attitudes and beliefs among Asian Americans. However, Wong et al. (2005) measure Asian American group consciousness only with a sense of tie with other Asian Americans. Thereby, they capture only one possible element of group consciousness, “panethnic solidarity”(see also Masuoka 2006).

Padilla’s (1985) and Espiritu’s (1992) study, which are two of the most extensive research on panethnicity, contain a similar conceptual ambiguity. Both scholars rightly note the instrumental nature of panethnicity. In *Latino Ethnic Consciousness* (1985), Padilla explores the emergence of a sense of Latino group consciousness in an American urban setting, interviewing Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in Chicago. According to him, Latino group consciousness, what he calls *Latinismo*, is a political construction which consists of two dimensions: Latino ethnic identification and collective Latino political behavior. He argues that Latino identification is expressed when Latinos from diverse national origins agree that they can advance their interests or be protected via concerted efforts. That is, Latinos politicize their group consciousness into a specific form of mobilization and participation when a situation calls for it.

In *Asian American Panethnicity* (1992), Espiritu investigates the formation of panethnicity, defined as generalization of solidarity among Asian Americans, by focusing on the impact of political process. Particularly, she highlights the significant role of categorization. According to her, official categorization by state agencies and mobilization of ethnic organizations has greatly contributed to the formation of panethnicity. Also, she identifies which specific institutions facilitate the development of panethnicity among Asian Americans. Her findings indicate that structural conditions such as electoral politics, social service funding and census classification promote panethnicity among Asian Americans.

However, both Padilla (1985) and Espiritu (1992) do not empirically test their argument that panethnicity forms as a result of responding to institutional and external conditions. Other than this lack of empirical support for their claims, Padilla and Espiritu use group consciousness, panethnic self-identification and panethnic solidarity in a mixed way although they define these terms as different. Espiritu (1992) emphasizes the multidimensional characteristics of pan-Asian group consciousness defined as “the development of bridging organizations and solidarity among several ethnic and immigrant groups of Asian ancestry”(Espiritu 1992:14). That is, she sees panethnic solidarity as one dimension of Asian group consciousness.¹⁰ However, throughout her study, she uses pan-Asian group consciousness and panethnicity as solidarity in a confusing way. Similarly, Padilla (1985) uses the term Latino ethnic consciousness interchangeably with Latino self- identification, even though he defines Latino self-identification as one dimension of Latino group consciousness. In addition, he uses the term Latino self-identification and Latino solidarity in a mixed way. For example, to illustrate the typical feeling of panethnic solidarity expressed by Latinos, he cites the following statement given by one of his interviewees.

Here [in Chicago] we have a combination of different Latino populations; however, in each community the majority takes care of its own first..... I try to use [Latino] as much as I can. When I talk to people in my community, I use Mexican, but I use Latino when the situation calls for issues that have city-wide implication (Padilla 185:62).

In this remark, the respondent describes a situation in which he uses the Latino label. However, Padilla views this statement as the respondent’s expressing a real sense of panethnic solidarity, not explaining the case when he uses panethnic self-identification. That is, he sees these two concepts as identical.

¹⁰ Espiritu (1992) suggests self-identification, pan-Asian residential, friendship and marriage patterns, and memberships in panethnic organizations as the possible indicators of this multidimensional pan-Asian consciousness.

Besides, Padilla regards group consciousness as a result of transient material needs. He argues that Latino group consciousness or solidarity is a momentary awareness which can disappear when a political situation to model it is resolved. However, panethnic solidarity like other psychological states can persist although the saliency of solidarity varies, depending on specific issues or needs. For example, when a female worker is discriminated against her gender, her identity as women should become salient. When the situation is resolved, however, the salience may decrease. Her decreasing awareness of her gender does not mean that her gender awareness disappears.

To summarize, the research on panethnicity is underdeveloped in that most studies on panethnicity examine only one or two ethnic/national groups with a few variables. In addition, many studies on panethnicity suffer from conceptual ambiguity and misunderstanding. Panethnicity is a binding belief that Asian Americans and Latinos can attain greater gains when they work together beyond diverse national origins. It is a persistent awareness with varying salience. This solidarity may be promoted by shared panethnic identification. However, panethnic self-identification does not represent panethnicity as solidarity. Also, although panethnicity may increase panethnic collective actions, panethnicity in itself is not making shared political choices. Further, panethnic solidarity is not a complete construct of group consciousness. It is one element constructing multi-layered group consciousness. In the following, I explain hypotheses on the formation of panethnicity as a sense of solidarity which is constructed through social interactions and processes.

Hypotheses: Predicting Panethnicity

Panethnicity is a product of social interactions and processes. Individual Asian Americans and Latinos develop panethnicity, depending on what circumstances they live in and what they experience as members of this multiethnic/racial society. This definition of panethnicity suggests that contextual settings and individuals' reactions to

them shape panethnicity. Thus, I focus on the effect of individual socializing and contextual factors to map the instrumental nature of panethnicity. The socializing factors include self-identification, discrimination experience, birth place and English proficiency. The contextual factors include the percentage of panethnic population, the level of segregation, and the number of ethnic/panethnic elected officials and ethnic/ panethnic organizations.

Socializing Factors: Self-identification, Discrimination Experience, Birth Place English Proficiency

I argue that individuals develop panethnicity, experiencing and reacting to external circumstances. Given the same external circumstances, individual develop panethnicity differently, depending on their own unique experience and/or attitude. Among possible factors that decide unique individual experience related to the formation of panethnicity, I investigate four factors: self-identification, discrimination experience, birth place and English proficiency.

I label these features as individual socializing factors in that they socialize individuals differently in terms of developing panethnicity. These factors affect Asian Americans' and Latinos' perception to closeness to or remoteness from their respective panethnic group. The underlying mechanism of these socializing factors is that they provide necessary psychological and practical sources for facilitating Asian Americans and Latinos in experiencing solidarity with other members of their panethnic group. That is, these factors determine the content and scope of social experience that Asian Americans and Latinos have when they interact with others in society. In the following, I explain the hypothesis of each factor, in detail, with respect to promoting panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Panethnic Self-identification

I predict that when Asian Americans and Latinos identify themselves as Asian American and Latino, respectively, they are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity. As I argued, how Latinos and Asian Americans identify themselves is, initially, a matter of whether they accept the given identification categories in this racially conscious society. Therefore, for many Asian Americans and Latinos, the use of panethnic self-identification may not represent their actual panethnic solidarity.

However, whether Asian Americans and Latinos accept the categorization imposed by the dominant society can affect whether they broaden their national attachment into panethnic solidarity. Through the process of accepting the imposed labels, they are likely to develop a sense of connected fate with other members from diverse national backgrounds. Put differently, accepting the panethnic categories, Asian Americans and Latinos are socialized to hold stronger panethnicity. Cohen's study lends support to this argument. In the study of the Hausa community of Ibadan, Cohen (1969) finds that ethnicity, defined as a category of social identity, strengthens solidarity as a moral duty. According to him, ethnic category limits its members' social contacts with outsiders. By doing that, it promotes a strong bond of solidarity to arise.

Another example is found in the American society. Before 1920, Japanese Americans feared to be lumped together with Chinese Americans since they thought Chinese were inferior. During the World War II, Koreans and Filipinos tried to differentiate themselves from Japanese American as an effort to protect them from anti-Japanese activities. They found, however, themselves called in the common label "oriental" or "yellow". The imposed panethnic labels led diverse Asian American groups to understand their circumstances as related, despite their claim that they were different from each other. Similarly, in the 1970s, regardless of their internal competition and antagonism, both Puerto Rican and Mexican Americans in Chicago found they were

occupationally discriminated under the common label “Latino group”. Then, they worked together to resist racial discrimination under this name and experienced their related fate.

These cases illustrate that by realizing what ethnic/ racial labels called by other members of the society mean to their lives in the American society, Asian Americans and Latinos build pan-Asian and Latino solidarity respectively (de la Garza et al 1992; Espiritu 1992; Jenkins 1994; Jones-Correa et al.2001; Lien et al. 2001; Tate 1991, 1993, Verba et al. 1995). That is, accepting the socially imposed labels promotes Asian Americans and Latinos to socialize themselves to feel linked or connected with others from different national backgrounds.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who identify themselves as Asian Americans and Latinos, respectively, they are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity.

Discrimination Experience

The examination of the effect of discrimination experience is important for two reasons. First, discrimination experience captures one of the individual traits which determine how Asian Americans and Latinos react to external contexts. Secondly, it indirectly investigates the influence of political, economical and social policies which I do not incorporate as measures of external settings. A large number of Asian Americans and Latinos are likely to perceive discrimination when education and employment policies seem to exclude them. In short, this variable encapsulates the two building blocks of the instrumental nature of panethnicity.

I predict that discrimination experience produces and strengthens panethnicity. Asian Americans and Latinos with discrimination experience are more likely to transfer their individual experience into widespread discrimination against their respective panethnic groups. Thereby, they develop panethnic solidarity. The underlying mechanism is that discrimination experience socializes Asian Americans and Latinos in a distinctive way so that it encourages them to develop a distinctive sense of common fate.

Scholars find that individual African Americans' discrimination experience fortifies solidarity among them (Bledsoe et al.1995; Dawson et al 1990; Dawson 1994; Houston 2007). A large number of African Americans with personal discrimination experience perceive widespread discrimination against them as discrimination against their group as a whole. Consequently, they believe that their individual success is strongly linked to their group's success. Thus, they tend to resist to the reduction of African American political homogeneity. Similarly, most Asian Americans and Latinos have been discriminated against their panethnic lines. Such experiences have prompted Asian Americans and Latinos to develop panethnicity.

As for a specific example, in the 1970s, along with stratification of the labor market, racial discrimination in hiring practices, housing, education and politics led Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago to form "one Latino collectivity". To cope with these discriminatory conditions, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago developed Latinismo or Hispanismo based on the premises that they could gain or secure more as one group than as individual Spanish-Speaking ethnics (Padilla 1985). Likewise, throughout the history, hate crimes against Asian Americans and anti-Asian legislations limiting Asian Americans from citizenship, land ownership, employment, promotion and other forms of participation in American life encourage Asian Americans to realize their collective fate at the panethnic level (Espiritu 1992).

As an extreme case, in 1982, a Chinese American named Vincent Chin was murdered in Detroit, blamed for Japan's economic advantage. Witnessing this incident, Asian Americans feared that they could be killed because they shared a racial commonality with Chin. In addition, they keenly realized that to outsiders, anyone with black hair and slanted eyes were seen as Asians regardless of their unique ethnic differences. That is, this hate crime led Asian Americans to recognize their linked fate.

Then, this recognition encouraged Asian Americans across the country to come together to demand the prosecution of Chin's killers(Espiritu 1992; Saito 1998).

These examples demonstrate that shared discrimination experience, due to panethnic categorization based on skin color, motivates Asian Americans and Latinos to feel closer to their panethnic members. In other words, when Asian Americans and Latinos experience discrimination embedded in social relations to members of other groups in the society, their panethnicity is reinforced. Therefore, I hypothesize the positive effect of discrimination on panethnicity.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who experienced discrimination are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity.

Birth Place and English Proficiency

Scholars of assimilation argue that being born as a native and speaking the mainstream language are important conditions to bring immigrants and their decedents into the mainstream society. According to them, both the conditions facilitate members of immigrant communities sharing the memories, sentiments and attitudes of the mainstream. Consequently, these conditions facilitate immigrants' incorporation into the mainstream society (Alba 1997; Berry 1951; Park et al. 1921). This argument suggests that nativity and English proficiency facilitate Asian Americans' and Latinos' exposure to and learning of American practices and culture, and thereby socialize them as Americans. More generally, Asian Americans' and Latinos' nativity in the U.S. and English proficiency affect how they interact with others under given external conditions such as discriminating practice and residential segregation.

Asian Americans and Latinos who are born outside of the U.S. and speak in poor English are less likely to be exposed to the social processes and interactions to develop a real sense of being Americans. When they immigrate to the U.S., they are more likely to rely on their same or similar ethnic communities to settle. In addition, unfamiliarity with

English reduces their opportunities to interact with other unhyphenated Americans. As a result, those who were born outside of the U.S. and speak English with less proficiency are more likely to develop panethnicity, sharing their difficulties in living in the new country than those who were born in the U.S and speak English fluently.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who were born outside of the U.S. and speak English with less proficiency are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity.

Contextual Factors: Size of Panethnic Population, Level of
Segregation, Number of Panethnic Elected Officials and
Number of Panethnic Organizations

Besides individual socializing factors, which determine individuals' responses to external conditions, contextual factors also affect the development of panethnicity.

Asian Americans and Latinos, both native-born and immigrants, may develop panethnic sentiment differently, depending on the contexts where individual Asian Americans and Latinos live their everyday lives. In other words, to bring into play a wide variety of individual experiences, particular regional contexts are important. A third generation of Japanese Americans may have strong panethnic sentiment by learning from other Japanese or Asian friends the history of Japanese Americans such as Japanese American concentration camps during the World War II. This is more likely to happen when they live closer to other Asians as well as Japanese. Alternatively, Korean immigrants may develop strong panethnicity while they fight for dollars in business with whites in the neighborhood.

Saito (1998) argues that in constructing pan-Asian consciousness, the geographical context matters where different forms of economic, social and political relations are embedded. He finds in his case study that individual experiences such as discrimination experience may not always mold panethnicity. In the 1990s, some non-Chinese Asian Americans in Monterey Park insisted on differentiating themselves from

Chinese when white neighbors' anti-Asian sentiment was high. They believed that they became the victims of hate crimes since they were misunderstood as Chinese. Observing this, Saito argues that discrimination experience may not always promote Asian Americans to develop pan-Asian consciousness because varying forms of discrimination experience occurs in disparate individual economic, political and social relationships with other racial members. Therefore, he argues, individuals' pan-Asian conception should be investigated in relation to varying geographic settings. His argument suggests that for Asian Americans and Latinos to transfer discrimination experience into panethnic solidarity, contextual factors should come into play.

As a matter of fact, the study of contextual factors and racial attitudes is not new. (Bledsoe et al.1995; Cain et al. 2000; Dawson 1994; Espiritu 1992; Huckfeldt 1979; Key 1949; Lau 1989; Leighley 2001; Nagel 1994; Saito 1998; Waters 1999; Welch et al. 2001; Wong 2005). Since V.O Key's (1949) seminal study on racial contexts in the southern U.S., scholars have noted the importance of varying contextual conditions on racial attitudes and preferences. However, past research on the effect of contextual factors, is very limited for three reasons.

First, scholars primarily examine the effect of contextual factors on African American and white policy preference and political behavior (Bledsoe et al.1995; Dawson 1994; Welch et al.2001).¹¹ Only a few have studied the impact of contextual factors on social and political behavior among Asian Americans and Latinos. (e.g. Cain et al. 2000; Hero et al. 2004; Jones-Correa 2001; Leighley 2001; Pantoja et al.2003; Tolbert et al. 2001; Wong 2005). Particularly, the study on contextual factors in relation with Asian American political behavior is severely underdeveloped.

¹¹ For example, Bledsoe et al.'s (1995) and Dawson's (1994) study how African Americans' residential segregation with whites affects their racial solidarity. In *Race and Place* (2001), one of the most important studies on the effect of racial integration on racial attitudes, Welch et al. examine how the different levels of residential segregation between whites and African Americans in Detroit affect their views of each other and of local public services.

Second, even when scholars study Asian Americans and Latinos, they examine primarily the effect of population size or the effect of a particular state such as California among many possible contextual factors (e.g. Jones-Correa 2001; Hero et al. 2004; Pantoja et al. 2003). Jones Correa (2001), for example, examines how variances in contextual factors combined with institutional rules across states in the U.S. influence Latinos' political behavior. In this study, he includes California and state-level turnouts as contextual factors which determine Latinos' turnout at the national level. Pantoja et al. (2003) also employ California as a contextual variable in order to investigate the effect of a contextual factor on Latinos' perceptions toward racial issues and levels of political information. All these studies are limited in that they investigate one state- California- as a particular context. This not only downplays the possible contextual variations within the state but also overlooks the importance of the other various contexts where individuals live their lives.

In response to this limitation, recent scholars have turned their attention to the impact of levels of economic and residential segregation on Asian American and Latino political behavior (Okamoto 2003; Rocha et al. 2009). For example, Okamoto (2003) studies how occupational segregation among Asian Americans fosters pan-national interests and networks. Rocha et al. (2009) examine the effect of the level of segregation between whites and Latinos on Latinos' political participation. Still, a handful of scholars examine the impact of contextual factors on Asian American and Latino political behavior, particularly with a comparative perspective.

Third, few scholars empirically study the impact of contextual settings beyond their impact on policy preference and voting. Most scholars study the effect of the size of African American or Latino population, and residential segregation on their and whites' policy preference (Giles et al. 1993; Glaser 1994; Tolbert et al. 1996, 2001, 2003). In other words, empirical study on the impact of contextual factors on panethnicity

formation is rare. For example, Saito (1998) qualitatively demonstrates how the increasing number of Chinese population in Monterey Park affected pan-Asian consciousness and their political participation. Employing extensive interviews and historical events, Espiritu (1992) discusses how ethnic organizations contribute to constructing pan-Asian consciousness. However, both the scholars do not empirically test their findings. In fact, the quantitative studies on ethnic organizations and elected officials are almost non-existent.

Tackling all the limitations of these previous studies, I examine how various contextual factors mold panethnicity. I predict that contextual factors matter in shaping and reinforcing panethnicity. Specifically, I predict that the size of panethnic population, the level of segregation, the number of panethnic elected officials and the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations positively affect the formation of panethnicity. The mechanism underlining my prediction is that those external conditions provide the distinctive settings and opportunities for Asian Americans' and Latinos' socialization whereby they develop panethnicity (Padilla 1985; Hero 1992; Weinberg et al. 2002). In the following, I discuss hypotheses related to each of the four key contextual factors in greater detail.

Size of Panethnic Population

Scholars argue that when individuals live close to other members of their group, they are more likely to feel a greater sense of connectedness (Lieberson 1963; Yancey et al. 1976). For example, Yancey et al. (1976) emphasize residential conditions such as occupational and residential concentration as facilitators for preserving ethnicity. Focusing on the impact of industrialization on the development of ethnicity among immigrants in urban areas, they claim that structural conditions, such as residential structure, reinforce ethnicity in immigrant communities. According to Yancey et al. (1976), ethnic immigrants tend to have more interpersonal interactions based on ethnic

local networks and institutions where they cluster residentially and occupationally. Consequently, they thereby develop a strong sense of ethnicity. The underlying rationale of this argument is that spatial concentration increases the likelihood of personal contacts with other members of their groups and of development of formal organizations which strengthen their racial/ethnic identities.

In this line of argument, I predict that Asian Americans and Latinos hold stronger panethnicity when they live close together in large numbers to other similar ethnic group members. The underlying mechanism of this prediction is that when similar Asian Americans and Latinos live in large numbers, respectively, they are more likely to have diverse personal, social and political networks and organizations which provide plenty of opportunities to develop panethnicity. As discussed, panethnicity is a sense of solidarity beyond unique ethnic/national identity. To develop such solidarity, individuals from diverse national backgrounds need personal contacts with other similar national/ethnic members. Such personal contacts are more likely to occur when the size of similar national/ethnic members is larger.

Strength in numbers can also provide settings where ethnic/panethnic organizations proliferate. In addition, when the size of Asian American and Latino populations is large, panethnic political candidates and elites are more likely to mobilize them by evoking panethnic sentiment, since members of the panethnic population can be swing voters. To summarize, Asian Americans and Latinos who live in an area with a high percentage of their respective panethnic populations are more likely to develop panethnicity because they are more frequently exposed to panethnic settings such as panethnic communities, media and political organizations.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in areas where the presence (percentage) of their panethnic population is higher are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity.

Level of Segregation

Scholars have put forth two very different explanations on the effect of the level of segregation on racial and political attitudes. One group of scholars argues that when individuals live in less mixed-race communities, they are more likely to develop antiracial attitudes or animosity toward other racial groups (Bledsoe et al. 1995; Kinder et al. 1995; Carsey 1995). Using the 1990 General Social Survey (GSS), Kinder et al. (1995) find that when whites live in a less mixed-race environment, they are more likely to hold racial stereotypes against African Americans. Similarly, Carsey (1995) finds that racial desegregation at the local level increases the probability that white voters vote for African American candidates. These studies suggest that the high level of segregation tends to lead to negative attitudes toward other races, distinguishing themselves from other members of different racial groups.

In this line of argument, Bledsoe et al. (1995) argue that residential concentration of African Americans intensifies their group consciousness. According to him, residential concentration makes the group a regular feature of the individual's perceptual universe so that the group can become significant within an individual's perceptual horizon. Welch et al. (2001) empirically prove the relevance of Bledsoe et al.'s (1995) argument. Using the 1992 Detroit Survey, they find that African Americans who live in mixed-race neighborhoods express less solidarity than those who live in more heavily African American neighborhoods. According to them, when African Americans live in racially integrated areas, they are more likely to have white friends, acquaintances, neighbors and service providers. Thus, they are less likely to see themselves as part of the African American community. This, in turn, leads African Americans to feel less solidarity with other African Americans. To summarize, this group of scholars claims that when similar ethnic/ racial members live close to each other, apart from other dissimilar ethnic or

racial groups, they tend to hold more negative attitudes towards other racial groups and a stronger sense of groupness.

The other group of scholars argues that when individuals live in mixed-race neighborhoods, they are more likely to feel a greater sense of solidarity. Scholars of this group take group conflict theory as an underlying assumption. The theory suggests that the intergroup competition over limited resources and different cultural values makes intergroup relationships conflictual. In other words, intergroup interactions increase the perception of racial competition and power threat. As a result, those living in racially integrated areas are more likely to develop a sense of racial solidarity with the same racial members.

Key (1949) empirically confirms this theory. He finds that when southern whites live in counties with high African American population density, they are more likely to hold racial resentment against African Americans. Similarly, Lau (1989) finds that African Americans who live in mixed-race neighborhoods are more likely to have salient racial perception. According to him, individuals are more likely to experience conflict with and threat from other racial groups when they live close with other racial groups so that they develop a greater sense of inner-group solidarity.

In line with the former group of scholars' argument, I predict that residential segregation positively affects the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. Personal contacts among similar ethnic groups are more likely to occur as they live closer to each other while living apart from other racial groups. The underlying mechanism of this prediction is that residential segregation provides fewer opportunities for "hindering" the formation of panethnicity.

As newcomers, Asian Americans and Latinos search for their places and identities in this country. During this process, they are more likely to become familiar with the commonalities of fellow Asian Americans and Latinos when they live close together,

apart from whites. Furthermore, they are more likely to develop inner solidarity through everyday interactions with their respective panethnic group members. Also, when Asian Americans and Latino live in less racial mixed areas, they are less likely to have a chance to change their stereotypes or prejudice on the image of the racialized society. Okamoto's study (2003) supports this prediction on the positive impact of the level of segregation. According to her, Asian Americans' labor segregation from other races increases intragroup interactions and common economic interests among them. Her study implies that fewer interactions with other racial groups increase a sense of groupness. For whites, a sense of racial threat and racial solidarity might become salient when they live with members of other racial groups. However, for Asian Americans and Latinos who have less to claim as their vested shares in the society than whites, racial mixed areas can dilute their motivation to develop panethnic solidarity.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in highly segregated areas are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity.

Number of Elected Panethnic Officials

Asian American and Latino elected officials can fortify their respective groups' panethnicity during their stay in office and through election campaigns. By helping their panethnic members deal with government agencies and solve their community problems, they can lead Asian Americans and Latinos to feel a sense of political empowerment. In addition, panethnic elected officials mobilize members of similar national/ethnic groups by evoking panethnic sentiments during campaigns (Espiritu 1992; Leighley 2001). Therefore, they can strengthen panethnic sentiments and causes, regardless of their unique nationality (Dawson 1994; Espiritu 1992; McAdam 1982).

Some might argue that the number of elected panethnic officials is a result, not a cause, of panethnicity; panethnic candidates appeal to the existing sentiment of panethnicity to win votes from their panethnic members. However, it should be noted that

panethnic politicians can also make existing panethnicity thrive by evoking it. Through their election campaigns, panethnic elected officials can also lead members of the two minority groups, who do not hold panethnicity, to realize their linked fate with others from different national origins. Anecdotal evidence attests to this (see De Genova et al. 2003; Espiritu 1992; Padilla 1985; Saito 1998). Thus, I hypothesize a positive impact of panethnic elected officials on the formation of panethnicity.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos, living in areas where the number of panethnic elected officials is larger, are more likely to develop stronger panethnicity.

Number of Panethnic Organizations

Ethnic and panethnic organizations can provide incentives for Asian Americans and Latinos to evoke panethnicity, using various strategies. The organizations can make salient panethnic classifications among possible other categories, such as classes or genders. They also can aggregate different opinions among panethnic members to make their voice heard. German Jews' organizations guided Eastern European and German Jews to form a single group in the United States despite their cultural dissimilarities (Hannerz 1974). Latino organizations in Chicago in the 1970s tied Mexican and Puerto Rican Latinos under the pan-Latino umbrella in order to advance their demands. All Asian Americans in Monterey Park came together when they found that the city's Only-English policy, initially intended to dampen the successful Chinese businesses, would also affect their lives (Saito 1998). Many non-Chinese Asians walked along streets lined with Chinese restaurants and signs, and met friends in Chinese business districts. Therefore, the non-Chinese Asians realized that banning Chinese signs would also be harmful to their lifestyles. This perceived linked fate was further strengthened by many local Chinese organizations which mobilized Asians as a whole. These examples illustrate the importance of having formal institutions present to evoke panethnicity (see also Nagel 1995).

Therefore, I predict that ethnic/panethnic organizations reinforce panethnicity. Many Asian American and Latino organizations are binational or multinational in their orientation (Espiritu 1992; Lai, et al 2001; Saito 1998; Wong 2000). They shape the panethnic agendas, provide information on panethnic issues, and educate panethnic members (Espiritu1992; Lai, et al 2001; Saito1998). In addition, Asian American and Latino organizations play an important role in mobilizing Asian Americans and Latinos in elections (Wong 2000; Lai et al. 2001; Lien 2001; Lai 2000). They often support their panethnic candidates outside of their districts, as well as in their own districts, by emphasizing panethnic solidarity. Through these diverse panethnic activities, ethnic/panethnic organizations are expected to promote and reinforce panethnicity.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in areas having a larger number of ethnic/panethnic organizations are more likely to develop stronger panethnicity.

I measure all of these four contextual factors in each respondent's Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).¹²

Also, I test whether Asian Americans' religious service attendance affects their formation of panethnicity. Scholars of African Americans find that churches are important places to strengthen group solidarity among African Americans (Tate 1991; Welch et al.2001; Jeung et al. 2005). I investigate whether this relationship holds for Asian Americans. Asian American religiousness, so far, has mainly been organized by nationality. Therefore, it is arguable that attending religious services may hinder the formation of panethnicity. However, Asian American churches, for example, have

¹² The number of panethnic elected officials includes elected members at the federal, state, county, and city levels at Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) levels. The number of panethnic organizations is also measured at MSA levels. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Metropolitan Statistical Area is defined as "a Core Based Statistical Area (CBSA) associated with at least one urbanized area that has a population of at least 50,000". The Metropolitan Statistical Area comprises the central county or counties containing the core, plus adjacent outlying counties having a high degree of social and economic integration with the central county as measured through commuting." For more detailed information, see <http://www.census.gov/population/www/metroareas/files/00-32997.pdf>.

recently developed a more inclusive and panethnic focus (Jeung et al.2005). In addition, Asian American religious organizations play an important role in mobilizing members, not only for ethnic causes but also for panethnic causes. Therefore, I predict that attendance of religious services has a positive impact on the formation of panethnicity.

*Hypothesis: Asian Americans attending religious services are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity.*¹³

The examination of the effect of religious service attendance indirectly tests the effect of residential contexts on the formation of panethnicity, because religious organizations are an important community setting for immigrants. I test the listed hypotheses, controlling for age, income, education, and citizenship status.

Measurement and Variables

To test the suggested hypotheses, I take individuals as the basic unit of analysis. For the statistical method, I use an ordered logit regression model because the dependent variable of this test is ordinal. Most of time, when a variable is ordinal, the distance between adjacent ordinal categories is unknown. In such a case, the use of the linear regression model can mislead the analysis. In detail, the linear regression model (LRM) implicitly assumes that the intervals between adjacent categories are equal. Therefore, although the thresholds among categories may not have the same distance, LRM treats the thresholds' intervals as being the same. As a result, the slope obtained by linearly regressing an observed dependent variable against independent variables may either overestimate or underestimate the latent dependent variable. Also, the errors of the categorical variables are heteroschedastic and not normal. That is, the variance of error

¹³ I do not test this hypothesis for the Latinos because the dataset that I utilize does not contain questions relevant for testing this hypothesis.

depends on the independent variables. As a result, the variance is not constant. Therefore, the coefficients obtained by LRM are not efficient although they remain unbiased and consistent.¹⁴ For these reasons, I use an ordered logit model. In the following, I explain how I operationalize the variables employed for the empirical test.

Dependent Variable: Panethnicity¹⁵

I operationalize panethnicity based on the questions to capture whether Asian Americans and Latinos recognize that they are linked and whether they believe that they should politically cooperate.¹⁶ Specifically, to operationalize Asian American panethnicity, I employ the following four questions:

- i. “Do you think what happens generally to other groups of Asians in this country will affect what happens in your life?”
- ii. “[If yes in i] Will it affect it a lot, some or not very much?”
- iii. If you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is Asian American. Would you be more likely to vote for the Asian American candidate, if two are equally qualified?
- iv. [If yes in iii] Would you still vote for the Asian American, even if he or

¹⁴ For the detailed discussion on the difference between logit and probit models, see Long(1997).

¹⁵ For the detail question wording and coding scheme of the variables employed in this chapter, see appendix A.

¹⁶ Olzak(1983) suggests marital endogamy rates and retention of various cultural practices as measures of ethnic solidarity. However, I do not measure panethnicity in these aspects for several reasons. First, the surveys employed for this study do not contain relevant questions for measuring these aspects. Specifically, the Latino survey does not have any questions related to these aspects. Second, the question of the Asian American survey asks whether respondents approve of their family member’ marrying a person from different ethnic/ racial groups whatever the groups are. Therefore, when a respondent answers “approve”, it means that he or she approves of his or her family member marrying an Asian from a different national/ethnic background as well as someone from other racial groups such as an African American, white or Latino. Above all, panethnic solidarity in this dissertation is not based on inherited features such as blood.

she is less qualified?¹⁷

I combine these four questions to construct an index variable. The scale of this variable ranges from zero (no panethnicity) to five (strongest panethnicity).

The first and the second items measure how much respondents feel a sense of linked fate with other Asian Americans beyond their individual national origins. These two items tap the instrumental nature of panethnicity. Through social interactions with other groups of Asian Americans, Asian Americans come to realize what happens to other Asian Americans affects their own lives, and thereby, feel panethnic groupness and solidarity. The third and fourth items capture panethnic solidarity by the awareness of the importance of actual cooperation based on panethnic label. Specifically, they tap panethnic solidarity by the willingness of whether respondents support Asian American candidates based on panethnic label. That is, it measures an awareness of the importance of panethnic political cooperation.

I assume that panethnicity is socially constructed, as a result of experiencing and reacting to external conditions, such as governmental policies, discriminations, and residential contexts. These external conditions provide opportunities for individual Asian Americans to interact with other members of their panethnic group and to realize the political and economic interests shared among them. Also, these conditions can facilitate a shared sense of powerlessness among Asian Americans even when they are unable to specify explicit shared interests with other members of their panethnic group. This sense of powerlessness can lead Asian Americans to cultivate a sense of connectedness to their panethnic group. When they feel this sense, they are willing to support and cooperate for panethnic causes based on group-consideration. The third and fourth items capture this

¹⁷ When Wong et al.(2005) measure panethnic group consciousness, they include the question “ Do you think what happens generally to [respondent’s ethnic group] Americans will affect what happens in your life”. However, this item measures respondents’ perception of linked fate with their coethnic group not pan-Asian group. Therefore, I do not include the question item as an indicator of panethnicity.

feature of panethnicity. They encapsulate a sense of loyalty manifested as willingness for political cooperation and support based on the panethnic label.

Table 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the distribution by item. Approximately 53% of respondents report that they feel linked to other Asian Americans with varying degree (see Table 3.1). Almost 72% of respondents report their support for Asian American candidates (see Table 3.2). Table 3.3 presents the distribution of respondents in the dependent variable, panethnicity. About 70% of respondents report weak to moderate strength of panethnicity (that is, between 1 and 3). The number of respondents with no panethnicity is approximately six times as great as those who report the strongest panethnicity. To summarize, most Asian Americans hold weak to moderate strength of panethnicity.

To operationalize Latino panethnicity, I utilize the following question: “Do you think that if various Latinos worked together politically Latinos would be better off, worse off or wouldn’t it make much difference?” The choices for respondents are ‘worse off’, ‘wouldn’t make much difference’ or ‘better off’. This question captures the nature of panethnicity by the perception of how important Latinos cooperate politically. Perceiving the importance of political cooperation and expecting its positive effect is a recognition of their linked fate. Also, it is an awareness that cooperation based on the panethnic category is to their mutual advantage, whether the advantage is materialistic or not. Table 3.4 shows the distribution of Latino panethnicity. Greatly larger percentage of Latinos report strong panethnicity. As shown, over 80% of Latinos report strong panethnicity.

Independent Variables

Socializing Factors

To operationalize panethnic self-identification, for Asian Americans, I employ the following question; “People think of themselves in different ways. In general, do you

Table 3.1 Asian American Panethnicity by Linked Fate to Other Asian Americans

Linked to Other Asian Americans	Frequency (%)
Very Much	132 (12)
Some	334 (31)
Not very much	107 (10)
Not at all	516 (47)
Total	1.089 (100)

Table 3.2 Asian American Panethnicity by Willingness to Vote for Asian American Candidates

Willingness to Vote for Asian Candidates	Frequency (%)
Vote for Asian American Candidate even if Less Qualified	174 (19)
Vote for Asian American Candidate if Equally Qualified	495 (53)
Do not Vote for Asian American Candidates based on Panethnic Label.	263 (28)
Total	932(100)

Table 3.3 Asian American Panethnicity

Degree	Frequency (%)
0(No Panethnicity)	118(14.)
1	225(27)
2	186(22)
3	186(22)
4	115(14)
5(Strongest Panethnicity)	16(2)
Total	846(100)

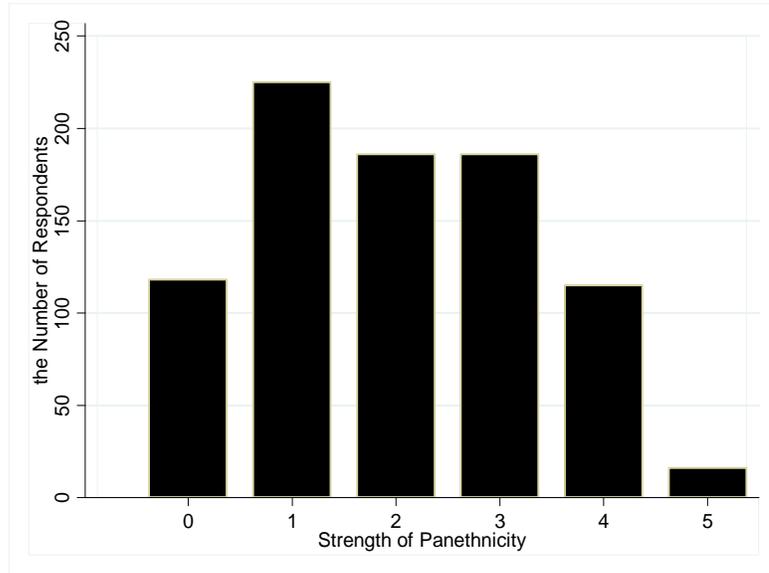


Figure 3.1 Asian American Panethnicity

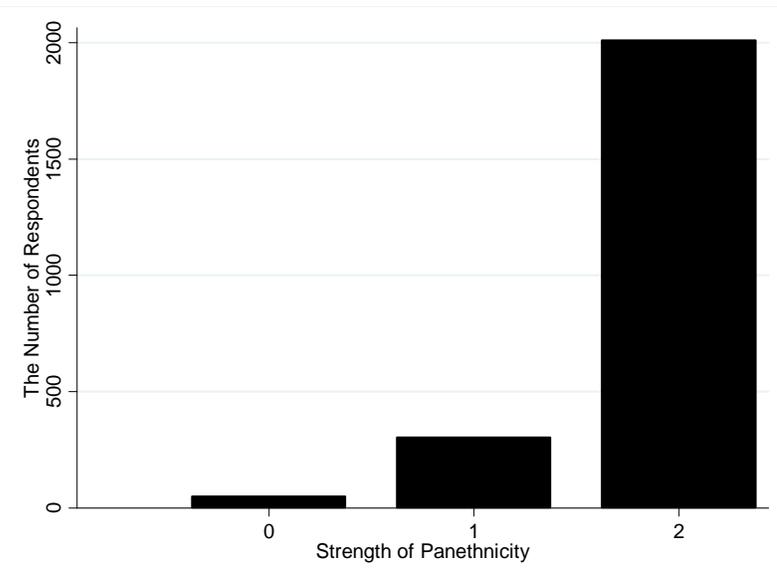


Figure 3.2 Latino Panethnicity.

Table 3.4 Latino Panethnicity

Degree	Frequency (%)
0((Wore off)	50 (2)
1(No Difference)	303(13)
2(Better off)	2,009(85)
Total	2,361(100)

think of yourself as an American, an Asian American, an Asian, a [Respondent's ethnic group] American, or a [Respondent's ethnic group]?" I take a value of one when respondents identify themselves as Asian Americans, while I take a value of zero for non-panethnic identifiers (Americans, ethnic-specific Americans (e.g. Korean Americans), Asians, and ethnic group(e.g. Korean)). Table 3.5 illustrates the distribution of panethnic self-identification for Asian Americans. Only 13% of respondents identify themselves with Asian Americans. Most respondents prefer identifying themselves with ethnic-specific categories to classifying themselves with a broader panethnic label.

For Latinos, I use the following question: "Do you consider yourself to be white, black or African-American, Asian-American or some other race?" Table 3.6 illustrates the distribution by responses. A significantly larger number of Latino respondents use Latino identification as their primary identity. Approximately, 45% of Latino respondents identify themselves with their panethnic label.

The discrimination experience variable is operationalized by measuring whether respondents ever experienced discrimination. I code one when respondents report that they experienced discrimination and otherwise zero. The English proficiency variable measures how fluently Asian Americans and Latinos communicate in English. For Asian Americans, the scale of this variable ranges from zero (least proficiency) to four (best proficiency). For Latinos, the scale ranges from zero (least proficiency) to six (most proficiency). A greater percentage of Latinos report the best English proficiency level

Table3.5 Distribution of Identification: Asian Americans

	Frequency (%)
Panethnic Identification	
Asian American	187(16)
Non-panethnic identification	
American	148(13)
Asian	49(4)
Respondent's Ethnic Group –American	414(36)
Respondent's Ethnic Group	360(31)
Total	1,158(100)

Table3.6 Distribution of Identification: Latinos

	Frequency (%)
Latinos	1,010(45)
Blacks or African Americans	264(11)
Whites	725(30)
Asian Americans	26(1)
Other Race	373(16)
Total	2,398(100)

Table 3.7 Discrimination Experience

Responses	Frequency (%)	
	Asian Americans	Latinos
Yes	406(34)	1,033(43)
No	746(66)	1,365(57)
Total	1, 189(100)	2,398 (100)

Table3.8 English Proficiency: Asian Americans

Responses	Frequency (%)	
	Asian Americans	Latinos
0(Least Proficiency)	141(12)	
1	126(11)	
2	339(29)	
3	258(22)	
4(Most Proficiency)	306(26)	
Total	1,170(100)	

Table3.9 English Proficiency: Latinos

Responses	Frequency (%)	
	Asian Americans	Latinos
0(Least Proficiency)	151(6)	
1	75(3)	
2	458(19)	
3	88 (4)	
4	165(7)	
5	271(11)	
6(Best Proficiency)	1,202(50)	
Total	2,410(100)	

Table 3.10 Birth Place

Responses	Frequency (%)	
	Asian Americans	Latinos
Born Outside of U.S.	913(75)	1478(61)
Born in U.S.	301(25)	939(39)
Total	1,214(100)	2,417(100)

than that of Asian Americans.

The birth place variable indicates whether respondents are born in the U.S. I code one when respondents report that they are born outside of the U.S. and otherwise zero. A larger percentage of Asian American respondents report that they are born outside of U.S. than that of their counterparts (see table 3.10). Citizenship status, education, income and age are included as controlling variables.

Table 3.11 Citizenship

Responses	Frequency (%)	
	Asian Americans	Latinos
Citizenship Non-Holders	388(33)	810 (34)
Citizenship-Holders	782 (67)	1,607 (66)
Total	1,170(100)	2,417(100)

Contextual Factors

I measure the size of Asian American and Latino population as the percentage of Asian Americans and Latinos in each respondent's Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), obtained from the 2000 census. The percentage of Asian population ranges from 5.2 % (Chicago, Illinois) to 70.7% (Honolulu, Hawaii). In comparison, the percentage of Latinos in an MSA ranges from less than 1 % (Abilene, Texas) to 94.3% (Laredo, Texas).To measure the level of segregation, I use the 2000 Dissimilarity Index provided by the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research at SUNY-Albany. The index indicates whether one ethnic/racial group is distributed across census tracts the same way as another ethnic/racial group throughout a metropolitan area (MSA).The index ranges from 0 to 100. Latinos' level of segregation is stretched from

11.6% to 71.8% while Asian Americans' level of segregation varies from 40.5% to 50.5%.

To measure the number of Asian American and Latino elected officials, I include all the Asian American and Latino elected officials at federal, state and MSA levels. That is, this variable includes Senators, the Representatives, State Senators, State Representatives, mayors and city council members who are elected in areas where respondents live.¹⁸ The number of Senators is equally added to all the MSAs belonging to a certain state where they are elected. Representatives are counted based on their districts. That is, first, I identify in what district each Representative is elected. Then, I investigate what county a certain congressional district includes. Then, I investigate to which MSA the identified counties belong. Then, I add the number of elected representatives to the MSA including a certain congressional district where they are elected. Since MSA consists of several counties and cities, all the county and city council members belonging to a certain MSA are added as elected members of the MSA.

For example, as of 1999, San Antonio MSA consisted of four counties. These four counties included several cities. Therefore, I count all the city- and county – level elected officials within San Antonio MSA as elected officials of San Antonio MSA. The number of Asian American elected officials ranges from 0 (New York, New York) to 70 (Honolulu, Hawaii). In comparison, the number of Latino elected officials ranges from 1 to 129, depending on MSAs. I measure the number of ethnic and panethnic organizations with all the national and local ethnic and panethnic social and political organizations in

¹⁸ Normally, metropolitan statistical areas (MSA) consist of several counties. The component counties for each MSA have been changed by the U.S Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Between censuses, the U.S Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has updated the geographical delineation, called “definition”, of metropolitan statistical areas based on the most recent census and a set of standards set by it. The latest change was November 2007. The dissimilarity index for this study is based on 2000 census. Also, the surveys used for this study were conducted in 1999 (Latino sample) and 2000 (Asian American Sample). Therefore, I use the 1999 definition of metropolitan statistical area because the definition was updated in 1999 (the following update was 2003). For more detailed information, see <http://www.census.gov/population/www/metroareas/files/00-32997.pdf>.

areas where respondents live. Lastly, for Asian Americans, I operationalize the religious service attendance variable by utilizing the question asking how often an Asian American attends religious services.

Findings and Discussion

Tables 3.12 and 3.13 present statistical results.¹⁹ As shown in Table 3.13, I lose nothing in predictive ability by adding the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations and religious service attendance into the model of Asian American panethnicity. Rather, the model is improved with respect to significant variables. Therefore, the latter model is my final model of Asian American panethnicity. For Asian Americans, three individual socializing factors, panethnic self-identification, discrimination and English proficiency are crucial for developing panethnicity, while four contextual factors are insignificant for predicting Asian American panethnicity. For Latinos, panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience, English proficiency and the level of segregation are significant in predicting the formation of panethnicity.

¹⁹ I report McKelvey and Zavonia's R-squared which is most commonly employed pseudo-R-squared for logit analysis, along with McFadden's R-squared. In general, values of 0.2 to 0.4 of these pseudo R-squareds are considered to indicate highly good model performance. As shown in the presented tables, the pseudo R-squareds of the tested models are low. In Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, the interpretation of R squared is very straightforward; it indicates the proportion of the total sample variations in the dependent variable which the independent variables account for. Due to the lack of an analog to the OLS statistics, the pseudo R squared of the logit analysis needs a caution in its interpretation. However, generally speaking, the low pseudo R-squareds of my models suggest that the models do not explain a good amount of the formation of panethnicity (Lewis-Beck et al. 1990a, 1990b. Kruger et al.2007). However, the low pseudo R-squareds do not necessarily mean that my models are flawed. Although the pseudo-R squared is a useful statistic for the purpose of model evaluation, my focus here is to empirically test whether and how each factor in which I have interest is significant. In addition, the low R-squared results not only from the poor predictability of the key variables in interest but also that of the controlled variables. Besides, the low R-squareds of my models suggest that panethnicity is hard to be explained because of randomness or unknown variables. Then, my finding of the significant variables is a great contribution to identify the structure of panethnicity. Therefore, admitting that my models have a room to be enhanced in terms of overall model performance, I analyze my models, focusing on the factors that I emphasized in my arguments and theories.

First, as predicted, discrimination experience turns out very significant for both minority groups. Particularly, discrimination experience has a stronger impact on Asian American panethnicity, though a smaller percentage of Asian Americans report discrimination experience than Latinos. This finding indicates that once Asian Americans experience discrimination, they are more likely to feel panethnicity than Latinos. The significant effect of discrimination experience suggests that discrimination experience based on panethnic categories serves as a shared important common experience to tie individual Asian Americans and Latinos together under their panethnic umbrella. That is, discrimination experience builds a bridge linking people of different nationalities. Furthermore, the significant effect of discrimination experience implies that as long as the society is race-conscious and discrimination takes place along racial lines, discrimination experience will remain a significant factor for promoting panethnic solidarity among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Accepting the categorized panethnic identification turns out as another significant predictor for both minority groups' panethnicity. However, panethnic self-identification is less significant for Latinos. Then, why does self-identification influence Latinos less? One possible answer may be diverse racial choices given to Latinos. In the U.S., skin color decides racial labels. When socially acceptable racial classification is based on skin color, the members of the society should associate their self-identification with their skin color. That is, they use skin color as reference to their identification. Latinos can have several choices to their identity other than "Latinos" because their skin color is more diverse than Asian Americans'. Some look white while others look black. Therefore, Latinos can choose white or black other than their panethnic category, Latinos. To summarize, in case of Latinos, saying white does not necessarily mean that they do not accept extended Latino category. Instead, they may report as their skin color appears or as observers expect.

For Asian Americans, however, white or black self-identification is rarely available. That is, the available racial choices are fewer to Asian Americans. The system of classification established by the mainstream society allows Asian Americans only one choice, “Asian Americans,” based on skin color. When Asian Americans do not choose this identification category, normally they identify themselves simply with non-hyphenated Americans or with specific ethnic-group Americans. That is, their choice of “Asian Americans’ as primary identification is very likely to be an actual manifestation of accepting the broader category. In turn, accepting the expanded category, initially imposed by the society, has a great impact on Asian Americans in molding panethnic solidarity.

English proficiency, as hypothesized, also registers a statistically significant impact on the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. This finding leads to a different expectation on the future of Latino and Asian American panethnicity in relation to the effect of age. As shown in Table 3.12, age positively affects the strength of Latino panethnicity. In other words, as Latinos are older, they are more likely to hold stronger panethnicity. This result can be obtained from two very different reasons. First, older Latinos are more likely to be the first generation of immigrants. Therefore, they may have stronger ties with other Latinos than with whites. Second, as Latinos spend more time in the U.S. regardless of whether they are born in the U.S. or not, they may become more aware of their distinctiveness in this racially divided country. That is, as they spend more time in interacting with other racial groups in the society, they are more likely to realize the importance and the necessity of panethnic solidarity, despite their linguistic assimilation.

If the first conjecture is correct, in the future, Latinos are less likely to develop or sustain panethnicity. For, in the future, the younger, who are more likely to speak English fluently, will lead Latino immigrant society. If the second is correct, the current

Table 3.12 Panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos

Independent Variables	Asian Americans (N=599)	Latinos (N=1991)
Self-Identification	.47** (2.35)	.26* (1.90)
Discrimination	.70*** (4.46)	.45*** (3.30)
English Proficiency	-.12 (-1.62)	-.13*** (-2.68)
Birth Place	0.15 (0.74)	.13 (0.73)
Segregation	.05 (1.22)	.02** (2.18)
Panethnic Population	-.01 (-0.44)	-.01 (-1.15)
Panethnic Elected Officials	.00 (0.07)	.00 (0.91)
Citizenship	0.14 (0.77)	.23 (1.22)
Income	.04 (0.82)	.01 (0.19)
Education	-0.01 (-0.22)	.07* (1.63)
Age	-0.00 (-0.73)	.01*** (2.73)
Log likelihood	-959.84	-916.77
McKelvey & Zavoina's R2	0.07	0.05
McFadden's R2	0.02	0.02

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests. Coefficients are estimated in two separate ordered logistic regression models.

Table 3.13 Asian Americans' Panethnicity with Number of Panethnic Organizations and Religious Service Attendance

Independent Variables	Asian Americans (N=588)
Self-Identification	.51*** (2.52)
Discrimination	.74*** (4.64)
English Proficiency	-.14* (-1.79)
Birth Place	.13 (0.63)
Segregation	.10 (1.04)
Panethnic Population	.00 (0.22)
Panethnic Elected Officials	-.00 (-0.26)
Panethnic Organization	-.03 (-0.66)
Religious Service Attendance	0.31 (0.64)
Citizenship	.13 (0.74)
Income	.03 (0.74)
Education	-.01 (-0.12)
Age	-.00 (-0.63)
Log likelihood	-940.71
McKelvey & Zavoina's R2	0.08
McFadden's R2	0.03

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests.

younger generation will go through what their previous generation has experienced. Then, despite their linguistic assimilation, they might sustain strong panethnicity.

In comparison, for Asian Americans, age has negligible impact on the development of panethnicity. In relation to the significant effect of English proficiency, this result indicates that, in the future, Asian Americans are less likely to hold persistent panethnicity than Latinos. Even those who are the first generation of immigrants are less likely to develop panethnicity as long as they speak English frequently, regardless of the amount of time that they spend in the U.S. In addition, over time, the proportion of second- and third- generation Asian Americans who speak English better than their parents' generations will grow. Thus, as younger Asian Americans, who can speak English fluently, take charge of the Asian American immigrant community, they are less expected to develop panethnicity. In sum, only when considering English proficiency and age, Asian Americans are less likely to develop panethnic solidarity in the future, compared to their counterparts.

Masuoka(2006) finds that foreign-born status is a significant factor for Latino group consciousness while it does not affect Asian American group consciousness. However, I find no impact of birth place for both minority groups. In other words, panethnicity is not related to nativity. In relation with the significant effects of self-identification and discrimination experience, this finding indicates that in developing panethnicity, what Asian Americans and Latinos actually experience is more important than where they are born.

Among the contextual factors, the size of panethnic population does not acquire statistical significance for both Asian Americans and Latinos. In other words, how densely Asian Americans and Latino live in an area does not decide the strength of panethnicity. Along with the significant impact of discrimination experience, this finding

suggests that even individuals who live apart from their panethnic group members can develop strong panethnicity when they experience discrimination.

Among the other contextual factors, only the level of segregation turns out significant for Latinos. Why is the level of segregation important for Latinos in forming panethnicity, but not for Asian Americans'? One possible answer is the comparatively low level of segregation between Asian Americans and whites. Research on suburban segregation indicates that overall, the level of segregation between Asian Americans and whites is much less than between whites and other non-whites (Espiritu 1992). The data for this study also attests to the previous research. The mean dissimilarity index of residential areas where Asian Americans live for this study is 46.8 while the mean of Latinos is 52.0.²⁰ This low level of segregation in Asian American residential areas may lead Asian Americans to be unaware of their distinctiveness from whites. As a result, it fails to drive Asian Americans to feel panethnic solidarity.

Alternatively, the effect of the residential segregation might be imbedded in Asian Americans' perception of discrimination experience which has a strong impact on Asian American panethnicity. With respect to the relation between the segregation level and discrimination experience, there are two possible scenarios. The lower degree of Asian Americans' segregation increases their interracial contacts with whites. Then, greater contacts with whites may increase the opportunities for discrimination to occur. In other words, when Asian Americans live in less segregated areas, they may experience discrimination with greater frequency. In contrast, more contacts may increase the opportunities for pleasant contacts with whites. If this is the case, Asian Americans are

²⁰ The comparatively lower level of segregation in Asian American residential areas becomes more obvious when taking into account all the residential areas where the Latino sample is collected. The mean dissimilarity index of Asian Americans in areas where the Latino sample is collected is 40.

less likely to feel discrimination when they live in less segregated areas. In either case, the degree of perceived discrimination depends on the level of segregation.

I test this conjecture to see which scenario applies to Asian Americans. However, the survey data for this study does not contain questions to measure the varying degree of strength in the perception of discrimination experience. Instead, it contains a question of whether respondents experience discrimination. Therefore, the test may not reveal accurately how discrimination experience varies according to the level of segregation. It gives, however, a snap shot of the relationship between the level of segregation and discrimination experience. I test the model of perceived discrimination against two residential context variables, the level of segregation and the size of population which have long been studied as key predictors for discrimination experience.²¹ Table 3.14 indicates that the level of segregation positively increase discrimination experience among Asian Americans. Asian Americans who live in more segregated areas are more likely to feel discriminated. This finding implies that the level of segregation may affect Asian American panethnicity indirectly through discrimination experience.

The number of both panethnic elected officials and ethnic and panethnic organizations fails to acquire statistical significance for both minority groups. I suggest two possible reasons for no effect of panethnic elected officials. First, even though many Asian American officials appeal to panethnic sentiment to be elected, in general, they tend to appeal to broader constituencies. Lai et al. (2001) find that in the 107th Congress among the top-ten districts where Asian Americans live the most, only one district had an Asian American elected official as its voting member in Congress. That is, a large number of Asian American officials are elected in the districts where Asian Americans

²¹ I do not include the panethnic self identification variable because non-identifiers include those who identify themselves with ethnic-specific Asians or simply Asians. These non-identifiers are also those who are very likely to experience discrimination even though they do not identify themselves with the panethnic label.

Table 3.14 Predictors for Asian Americans' Discrimination Experience

Independent Variables	Asian Americans (804)
English Proficiency	-.07 (-.95)
Birth Place	1.60*** (-2.70)
Segregation	.07** (1.95)
Panethnic Population	-.002 (-.37)
Religious Service Attendance	.06 (1.13)
Citizenship	.33* (1.82)
Income	.08* (1.64)
Education	.11** (2.39)
Age	.003 (.64)
Log likelihood	-512.58
McKelvey & Zavoina's R2	0.06
McFadden's R2	0.03

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests.

are not a majority or where the ratio of Asian American population is not higher than that of other ethnic or racial populations. Lai et al.'s (2001) finding implies that Asian American candidates need to appeal to broader constituencies to be elected, rather than appealing to panethnic group members by evoking panethnicity.

Second, panethnic elected officials provide less consistent context for interpersonal contacts among members of the panethnic groups than the neighborhood racial composition. The neighborhood racial composition such as the level of segregation affects individuals' everyday and regular lives such as friendships and business transactions. Compared to the racial makeup, panethnic elected officials do not provide opportunities for interpersonal interactions on a regular basis. As a result, a larger number of panethnic elected officials may not be translated to stronger panethnicity.

Previous case studies suggest that panethnic organizations play a decisive role in forming panethnic solidarity and mobilizing immigrants (Espiritu 1992; Lien 2001; Padilla 1985; Saito 1998; Wei 1993; Wong et al. 2005). For example, Wong et al. (2005) argue that ethnic organizations, which initially targeted a single ethnic group, tend to outreach strategies to manifest a more panethnic identity (Wong et al. 2005). My finding, however, suggests that the strength of panethnicity is not related to the number of panethnic organizations. Why is the empirical result remote from the previous case studies? The nature of ethnic and panethnic organizations may be one reason. When an issue, which demands panethnic cooperation, arises, ethnic and panethnic organizations can evoke and emphasize panethnic solidarity. However, ethnic and panethnic organizations also help immigrants to adjust to the new society. Portes et al.'s (2008) finding lends an insight to my finding. Through face-to-face surveys of leaders of Colombian, Dominican, and Mexican ethnic organizations, and phone and internet surveys, Portes et al. (2008) find that most Latino organizations endorse a pro-U.S. integrative stance. That is, Latino ethnic organizations basically serve as vehicles for their

incorporation into the mainstream. Their finding implies that Latino ethnic organizations prompt Latino immigrants' integration into the American society.

In a similar vein, the increasing number of Asian American organizations may not correspondingly elevate Asian American panethnicity because they encourage Asian Americans' integration into the American society. Then, is the important role of ethnic organizations in molding panethnicity simply a rhetorical description? Although ethnic and panethnic organizations are mainly engaged in U.S-focused civic and political activities, I argue, they play an important role when an issue occurs at the panethnic level in relation to other racial groups. They shape the panethnic agenda and inform panethnic issues when a situation calls (Espiritu 1992; Lai et al. 2001; Saito 1998).

Among the remaining predictors, education turns out significant only for Latino panethnicity. Some scholars argue that because inter-Asian contacts and communications are greatest on college campuses, pan-Asianism is strongest there (Espiritu 1992; Weiss 1974; Wong 1972). According to them, students keenly realize that they are fundamentally different from whites in the course of closely interacting with white students and preparing to enter the job market. They also argue that college education alienates Asian Americans from their ethnic-oriented communities so that they can develop stronger panethnicity on college campuses (Espiritu 1992; Weiss 1974). However, in this study, education is found a statistically insignificant predictor for Asian American panethnicity. This finding implies that panethnicity is not a manifestation of intelligent awareness of panethnic issues among highly sophisticated Asian Americans.

Conclusion

Studies on panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos are still underdeveloped. They often examine only one or two subethnic groups. They also do not comprehensively and empirically investigate the determinants for panethnicity. More fundamentally, they often contain conceptual ambiguity. Responding to the limitations of

previous studies, in this chapter, I empirically examined how various factors shape panethnic solidarity among Asian Americans and Latinos from diverse nations with conceptual clarity.

My findings suggest that not all suggested individual socializing factors and contextual factors affect Asian American and Latino panethnicity. I also find that some of these factors affect the formation of Asian American and Latino panethnicity in different ways. However, panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience and English proficiency are revealed as common denominators in the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. This finding indicates that a general, though not comprehensive, model to explain the formation of panethnicity for Asian Americans and Latinos should contain panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience and English proficiency as key ingredients.

My findings also suggest that panethnicity is less predictable for Asian Americans in terms of the contextual factors. Among the contextual factors, the level of segregation significantly affects only Latinos' development of panethnicity. Taken together, for Asian Americans, panethnic solidarity is conceived as the result of individual day-to-day experiences. For Latinos, panethnicity is the result of contextual settings as well as individual experiences. These findings along with the lack of impact of nativity and socioeconomic status suggest a possible future for growing panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. That is, even if Asian Americans and Latinos achieve socioeconomic success and are born in the U.S., they will develop and hold panethnicity as long as they perceive discrimination, and residential segregation persists.

Lastly, does the insignificant impact of the four contextual factors on Asian American panethnicity suggest that Asian Americans are immune to residential settings? As I discussed, panethnicity is one dimension of group consciousness. Thus, contextual settings may affect other dimensions of group consciousness among Asian Americans. As

I found, the level of segregation affects discrimination experience among Asian Americans. Further, they may affect Asian Americans' different political behavior such as voting or nonvoting activities. Further research should be conducted in order to answer whether contextual settings direct the political world of Asian Americans.

Padilla (1985) and Jones-Correa et al. (1996) view panethnicity as transient, something which arises momentarily under certain conditions. In this chapter, I did not test the momentary effect of certain conditions on the formation of panethnicity. However, as long as discrimination and segregation are two features of the current society, and new immigrants continue to arrive who are unfamiliar with speaking English, panethnicity will continue to be held among many Asian Americans and Latinos.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECT OF PANETHNICITY ON VOTING PARTICIPATION

In chapter IV and V, I examine the practical role of panethnicity as an instrumental resource. Expressing solidarity is one thing whereas conducting political actions out of the psychological state is another. Therefore, I examine whether and how panethnicity motivates political participation for Asian Americans and Latinos.

Panethnicity operates like other attitudinal constraints such as political ideology and party identification. Political ideology and party identification are known to guide individuals' political participation. They function as an organizing tool for individuals' judgment of numerous political facts, events and individuals in a structured way under a broader context. In addition, they are a political resource that individuals utilize to make political choices and take political actions. In short, political ideology and party identification help people simplify a complex political world, and thereby lower the cost of political behavior.

Panethnicity, as a political resource, performs a similar function. In a society consisting of multiple ethnicities and races, panethnic solidarity comprehensively, sometimes absolutely, influences Asian Americans' and Latinos' political behavior because it acts as a constraint to their criteria for judging political values, evaluating events, and making political choices. In brief, panethnicity functions as a cue to guide Asian Americans' and Latinos' political behavior.

However, panethnicity works in different ways for different people. For some Asian Americans and Latinos, it may encourage all types of political participation, while for others, it can constrain their political participation, or at least only bolster limited types of political activities. In addition to affecting individuals differently, panethnicity, as a political resource, is co-dependent upon other participation-inducing factors.

Therefore, how panethnicity affects political participation relative to other participation-inducing factors is an empirical question.

In chapter IV and V, I conduct these empirical tests. In chapter IV, under the assumption that panethnicity is a political resource that determines Asian American and Latino participation in political process, I investigate how panethnicity, along with the other contextual and socializing factors from chapter III, affects Asian American and Latino voting participation including voter registration. In this investigation, I seek to determine whether or not Asian Americans and Latinos behave in a generalizable pattern, or whether these groups behave in distinct ways.

This chapter consists of five parts. In the first part, I review previous research on voting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Then, I present hypotheses on the effect of panethnicity, contextual, and socializing factors on Asian American and Latino voting participation. In the third part, I discuss the variables employed in empirical tests. In the fourth part, I discuss the empirical results. Finally, I conclude this chapter, addressing the broader implications of the results.

Literature on Voting Participation among Asian Americans and Latinos

Many scholars find that Asian Americans and Latinos are less active in their political participation than non-Hispanic whites (Arvizu et al. 1996; Cain 1986; Calvo et al. 1989; Hero et al. 1996; Lien 1997b; Nakanishi 1991; Uhlaner et al. 1989). Using the Current Population Survey (CPS) data, for example, Lien (1997b) finds that despite high levels of education and income, Asian Americans voted less than any other racial/ethnic group in the 1992 general election. Observing the lower rate of participation among Asian Americans and Latinos, scholars have sought to explain the causes of this with

unique immigrant-specific factors. In the following, I review the literature on voting participation of these two minority groups.

Downsian Factors versus Michigan- Model Factors

Scholars of the two minority groups have explained Asian American and Latino political participation, ranging from voting to nonvoting activities, largely with two groups of factors: Downsian factors and Michigan Model factors. In this chapter, I focus on the Asian American and Latino voting studies literature of these two groups of factors.

Downsian Factors

Downsian scholars view political participation as a function of political resources. According to them, the amount of political resources determines the level of political participation. That is, political resources lower costs for voting while they increase interest in politics and the skills necessary to participate. As a result, they bolster political participation such as voting. From this Downsian perspective, Asian Americans and Latinos participate at a lower rate because they have fewer resources for political participation. (Cain et al. 1986; Cho 1999a; Cho 1999b; Desipio 1987; Hill et al. 1996; Jones-Correa 2001; Junn 1999; Ong et al. 1996; Moore et al. 1985; Pachon et al. 1986; Pachon 1987; Ramakrishnan et al. 2001; Uhlaner et al. 1989). Put differently, voting is too costly an activity for Asian Americans and Latinos. Downsian scholars note education, income, length of stay in the U.S., English proficiency, and citizenship status as key factors explaining political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Since Verba et al. (1972) found socioeconomic status as a dominant factor influencing political participation, a number of other scholars have supported their finding (Campbell et al. 1960; Conway 1991; Wolfinger et al. 1980; Rosenstone et al. 1993). However, scholars of Asian Americans and Latinos find that the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation is much weaker within these

two groups (Cain et al. 1986; Moore et al.1985; Lien 1994; Ong et al. 1996; Ramakrishnan et al.2001) For example, Lien (1994) finds that Asian Americans with higher incomes increase the rate of voting only when sociodemographic variables are considered. However, according to Lien, with the inclusion of other ethnic specific variables, the influence of income disappears.

As a response, other Downsian scholars attempt to find more relevant factors uniquely explaining political participation of the members of these two minority groups. They note institutional barriers as alternative factors. According to them, institutional barriers impose a significant cost to discourage the members of these two minority groups from voting. For Asian Americans and Latinos, most of whom are immigrants, voting process requires the additional step of naturalization. This step requires knowledge of English and U.S. government history. For the newcomers who are of limited English proficiency, these requirements are challenging to meet (Pachon 1987; Pachon et al. 1986; Desipio 1987). Then, they have to register to vote. Lastly, they can vote.

Of these three voting steps, some scholars consider non-citizenship as the most inhibitive factor for discouraging Latinos to participate (Calvo et al. 1989; DeSipio 1996b; Uhlaner 1996). For example, analyzing a 1984 California-wide survey of Latinos, Asian Americans, whites and African Americans, Ulhaner et al. (1996) find that registration and voting rates for Asian Americans and Latinos who are citizens come closer to those for white and African American citizens. They also find that these citizens are as active as whites in non-voting activities. Asian American and Latino non-citizens, however, are less active compared to whites and African Americans even in political activities which are legally allowed for non-citizens. Based on these findings, they argue that non-citizenship status is an important bar to prevent Asian Americans and Latinos from participating. However, non-citizenship- barrier explanations becomes less

convincing when we observe that those with citizenship do not vote after they obtain citizenship. Also, participation in non-voting activities does not require citizenship.

Alternatively, some scholars argue that the difficult voting process discourages Asian Americans and Latinos, who are not familiar with the U.S. political system, from participating. They focus particularly on the lack of bilingual voter registration forms and ballots (Cho 1999b; Lien 2004; Mitchell et al. 1995; Ong et al. 1996; Panchon 1987). Ong et al. (1996)'s finding lends support to this claim. They find that easier registration increases the voting rate among Asian Americans.

However, others find no effect of bilingual ballots on turnout (Ramakrishnan 2001). They view the impediment of English voter registration forms and ballots as a language barrier, rather than an institutional barrier. According to them, a language barrier is a key impediment as an after-naturalization factor (Cho 1999b; DeSipio 1996b; Junn 1999; Hill et al. 1996; Uhlaner et al. 1989). That is, they argue that lower level of English proficiency hinders Asian Americans and Latinos from acquiring necessary information for political participation.

Other scholars find that, along with English proficiency, the length of residency and amount of education in the U.S. are important predictors for voting among Asian Americans and Latinos. Particularly, they observe that the length of residency is a key determinant for participation of the foreign-born first generation. They explain these findings with the socialization process of living in the U.S. According to them, longer stays in the U.S. increases the likelihood of voting (Hill et al. 1996; Ong et al. 1996; Ramakrishnan et al. 2001; Uhlaner et al. 1989). Longer residency leads Asian and Latino immigrants to have greater contact with the mainstream political system. As a result, they learn stronger commitment to civic duty and democracy, which in turn, leads to increased participation in political activities. For example, examining the patterns of naturalization and electoral participation of Asian Americans between 1970s and 1980s, Ong et al.

(1996) find that the year of entry, education attainment, and English proficiency are significant factors for determining the rate of naturalization and electoral participation among Asian Americans. Based on this finding, they argue that social adoption and acculturation into the American society determines the level of political involvement of Asian Americans.

Cho (1999b) makes a similar argument. Using the 1984 survey of California residents, she finds that the rise of socioeconomic status has a clear effect on Asian Americans' and Latinos' turnout. For both groups, income is a significant factor for turnout. By contrast, education in the U.S. has a significant effect only for Latinos. According to Cho (1999b), this different effect of education on two ethnic groups occurs because education is itself a socializing process. Pointing out that almost 60% of college educated Asian Americans are foreign born in comparison with 26% for Latinos, she maintains that education has greater effect on Latino voting because they are more socialized as American citizens. In other words, education, which provides the necessary skills for voting, concurrently socializes people into viewing voting as a civic duty. In other words, when Asian Americans and Latinos are educated in the U.S, they are more likely to vote because they are sufficiently socialized as U.S. citizens.

Cho (1999b) supports this socialization argument by introducing two additional socialization variables, foreign-born status and English proficiency. She finds that both socialization variables are significant predictors of Asian Americans and Latino turnout. She also discovers that inclusion of both socialization variables negates the effect of ethnicity. This, she argues, indicates that socialization increases voting rates because it teaches civic duty and instills greater efficacy. Her argument suggests that native-born status and English skill provide an important mechanism through which political skills are transformed into political participation.

Uhlaner et al.'s finding (1989) partly supports Cho's (1999b) finding on the positive effect of English proficiency. To explain the lower level of participation among Asian Americans and Latinos, they examine the effect of "immigration-linked indicators" on Asian Americans' and Latinos' voting rates. In addition to English proficiency and foreign-born status, they also investigate the effect of gender, percent of life not lived in U.S. and perceived ethnic problems. They find that English proficiency increases Latinos' voting rates, although it is not a significant predictor for Asian Americans.

As the Downsian scholars note, a lack of income, education and language skill and registration barriers can discourage Asian Americans and Latinos from voting. Indeed, it is harder for Asian Americans and Latinos, who have comparatively insufficient participation resources, to expect positive benefits through political participation. However, the Downsian perspective is limited in that it does not explain why Asian Americans and Latinos vote despite their lack of resources. In other words, the Downsian perspective focuses on exogenous factors to the obstacle of voting among Asian Americans and Latinos, and thereby fails to explain why they do vote. Political behavior is decided by their attitudes as well as by their resources. Additionally, the Downsian perspective downplays the legacy of exclusion and isolation that minorities experienced in the past which may discourage minority voters. As a response, other scholars shift their attention to political attitudes.

Michigan Model Factors

Scholars of the Michigan Model consider factors that emphasize political attitudes as key determinants in shaping Asian American and Latino political behavior. Instead of individuals calculating utility, they focus on the psychological aspects which motivate Asian Americans and Latinos to participate. Assuming that political attitudes and psychological states determine individual political behavior, traditional Michigan Model scholars note party identification, political efficacy, trust, interest in politics and civic

engagement as directing political participation. Particularly, they emphasize party identification as a key factor for determining other political attitudes such as candidate evaluation as well as voting itself (e.g. Campbell et al. 1960). In short, scholars of this perspective highlight endogenous factors of voters. They also observe that external stimuli like elite and party mobilization is also important in that the stimuli develop and foster political attitudes.

However, Michigan Model scholars of the two minority groups find party identification underdeveloped among Asian Americans and Latinos. They also find that even among partisanship holders, partisanship is not a significant factor to cause the two minorities to participate (Lien 1997b, 2001; Lien et al. 2004; McClain et al. 2006). My findings also support this. Among the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS) respondents, less than 50% identify themselves with either of the major parties with varying degrees (603 out of 1,218 respondents). Similarly, 58% of the total Latino respondents for this study are party identifiers (1,368 out of 2,395 respondents).

Finding that most Asian Americans and Latinos have weak or no partisanship, scholars of the Michigan Model factors note minority consciousness, discrimination experience, issue position and policy preference as key determinants that influence political behavior of the members of the two panethnic groups (Lien 1997b, 2001; Lien et al. 2004; Segura et al. 2006; Wong 2005). For example, Segura et al. (2006) argue that the issue positioning of Latino voters plays a crucial role in shaping their voting preferences. Wong et al. (2005) find that Asian Americans tend to participate more when they feel a linked fate with their 'coethnic' groups. Wong et al. (2005) also find that identifying as 'Americans' increases Asian Americans' voting rates.

Above all, scholars of this perspective have long studied discrimination experience as an important psychological predictor for voting. According to them, discrimination experience affects a large number of Asian Americans' and Latinos'

voting and nonvoting political participation (Leighley 2001; Lien 1997b). For example, Leighley (2001) finds that when Latinos experience discrimination, they are more likely to vote. Lien (1997b) also finds a positive impact of discrimination impact but to a lesser degree. According to Lien, evidence from Asian Americans in Southern California indicates that discrimination experience increases participation only in non-voting activities. In contrast, other scholars have found a negative effect of discrimination experience (Henig et al. 1987). According to them, those who have discrimination experiences do not participate in voting because they feel alienated from the political process. Whether the studies find positive or negative effects of discrimination experience, the message is that discrimination experience is a factor affecting the political participation of Asian Americans and Latinos which is unique to minority groups.

Beyond the Conventional Downsian and Michigan Model

Scholars from both Downsian and Michigan Models correctly note the unique status of the two minority groups and highlight various immigrant-related factors that are significant in shaping political behavior among Asian Americans and Latinos. Their analyses, however, focus on individual resources and attitudes. Even when scholars argue that the issue positioning of minority groups is closely related to their special group status or common interests, they overlook the important role of group-based features in political participation of Asian Americans and Latinos.

Put differently, most studies from both perspectives overlook the impact of group characteristics. Group characteristics such as panethnicity, and the previously suggested contextual factors, can influence Asian Americans' and Latinos' participation by providing them with cues and opportunities for their political decisions. They can fill the lack of conventional attitudinal drives, such as party identification or a sense of civic duty, for political participation by providing psychological benefits. Also, they can compensate for the lack of objective resources such as education and language skill by providing

political information. On the contrary, those features can discourage Asian Americans' and Latinos' participation by accentuating the feeling of powerlessness. Whichever effect group features have, they serve as important determinants for participation among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Minority group members act politically, realizing their unique group position in society (Miller et al. 1981; Downs 1994; Leighley 2001; Welch 2001). What leads minority group members to realize their unique group position is their group characteristics such as panethnicity, discrimination experience and/or the level of segregation. More specifically, group features can encourage or discourage minority group members to participate in political activities through two mechanisms. First, group characteristics provide opportunities and places for members of minority groups to realize their shared status and goals. Such a realization can lead them to view political activities as opportunities for improving their status and accomplishing their goals. Alternatively, this realization can discourage them by evoking their sense of powerlessness in society.

Second, group-based features affect minority group members' expectation of group influence on political outcomes. A large number of minority group members participate when they expect that they can influence political outcomes (see Leighley 2001). They also participate when they expect to attain another instrument which helps them improve their status in society. Anecdotal evidence indicates that Asian Americans' and Latinos' decisions to participate reflect these expectations (Espiritu 1992; Padilla 1985; Saito 1998). Group characteristics either positively or negatively affect such expectations, depending on the mode of political participation and the relationship with other variables.

The remaining question is whether these group features increase political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Few scholars empirically analyze

how group-based characteristics such as panethnicity affect Asian American and Latino political participation. This partly explains why many studies fail to explain what they find in the pattern of Asian American and Latino political participation. For example, de al Garza et al. (1992) find that Latinos tend to attend school meetings despite their lower socioeconomic status as much as whites in the mainstream society. However, they do not explain why lower socioeconomic status does not matter to Latinos. Group characteristics may explain this anomaly.

To summarize, both the perspectives downplay group-based features as possible predictors for Asian American and Latino participation. Therefore, examining the effect of panethnicity, discrimination experience, and the contextual factors of group features, will help to better understand the political world of Asian Americans and Latinos. In the following section, I explain the key hypotheses with respect to voting activities among Latinos and Asian Americans.

Hypotheses: Predicting Voting Participation

Under the assumption that group-based characteristics influence political participation, I explore how panethnicity and the contextual factors affect Asian American and Latinos voting participation. I also examine the effect of individual socializing factors to see how immigration-related socializing factors affect Asian American and Latino voting in relation to group-based characteristics. I investigate 830 Asian American and 1,607 Latino citizenship holders.

Group-based Factors: Panethnicity and Contextual Factors

Panethnicity

Panethnicity is both a Downsian and the Michigan Model factor. From the Downsian perspective, panethnicity is a political resource to guide Asian Americans and Latinos. High levels of panethnicity can reduce the costs of voting in rates similar to high

levels of education or income. Conversely, panethnicity can help Asian Americans' and Latinos' voting decision in a discouraging way. That is, while leading Asian Americans and Latinos to recognize the cost of voting, it can prompt them to devalue the benefits from it. From the Michigan Model perspective, panethnicity is a psychological awareness to guide Asian Americans and Latinos to participate. Panethnicity can politically charge Asian Americans and Latinos, who have insufficient objective participation resources, such as income and education, by increasing their expectation of group influence on political outcomes. Alternatively, it can function as a psychological drive to lower the expectation by evoking their lack of practical power in society. That is, it can serve as a yardstick which Asian Americans and Latinos rely on to evaluate voting participation.

Group consciousness research lends support to this psychological role of panethnicity. Scholars of group consciousness research in the 1960s and 1970s find that group consciousness has a significant impact on the political behavior of members of minority groups. For example, Olsen (1970) and Verba et al. (1972) find that in spite of their low levels of education and income, the members of disadvantaged groups participate actively. They explain this anomaly of the higher participation of the disadvantaged groups with the concept of self-conscious awareness. According to them, the awareness of being members of disadvantaged or deprived groups drives individuals to vote.

Similarly, Miller et al. (1981) finds that how people perceive and evaluate their position in the society affects their political participation to the extent that they politicize their experience of social situations through group consciousness. According to them, group consciousness is not objective group identification. It is a multidimensional concept. Group consciousness "involves identification with a group *and* a political awareness or ideology regarding the group's relative position in society along with a

commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests" (Miller et al. 1981:495). Using multiple measures of group consciousness such as polar power and polar effect, they find that a politicized group consciousness component such as awareness of the group's relative position in society, not objective group identification, affects turnout.

A few recent scholars reexamine the impact of group consciousness on political behavior, particularly of African Americans (Leighley et al. 1999; Tate 1991, 1993; Verba et al. 1995). They find a weakening impact of African American consciousness on political participation among African Americans. For example, Tate (1993) finds that group consciousness among African Americans moderately increases their voting participation. According to her analyses, group consciousness weakly increases African American voting participation in the 1984 and 1988 presidential elections, despite high levels of African American group consciousness shared among them. Instead, church membership significantly increases participation.²² Verba et al. (1995) also find a minimal influence of African American group consciousness on their political participation. In sum, these studies suggest positive but moderate impact of group consciousness on political participation.

Recent studies of Asian Americans and Latinos support the findings of these latest studies of group consciousness. Finding that individual resources and attitudes such as socioeconomic status and partisanship do not explain the patterns of political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos, some scholars of Asian Americans and Latinos attempt to examine the impact of group consciousness on Asian American and Latino political participation (Jones-Correa et al. 1996; Leighley 1999; Lien 1994;

²² With the variable name of Race Identification, Tate (1993) measures group consciousness using an additive index of following two questions from the 1984 and 1988 National Black Election Study (NBES); to what degree the respondents felt that what happened to blacks in this country affected their lives and "to what degree the respondents thought about being black.

Stokes 2003; Sanchez 2006; Wong et al. 2005). They find weak or no influence of group consciousness on voting among Asian Americans and Latinos.

However, most of these studies do not clearly explain why group consciousness is not a key factor for encouraging Asian Americans and Latinos to vote. Besides, they neglect to dissect group consciousness. Group consciousness consists of multiple dimensions such as a sense of solidarity, a sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with group status and a sense of hostility against other groups. Despite the multidimensional nature of group consciousness, many studies of Asian Americans and Latinos measure group-consciousness only with one component of group consciousness such as group-identification. As a result, what they often find is weak or no effect of group identification on political participation.

However, “group identification connotes a perceived self-location within a particular social stratum and then there is no theoretical reason to expect a simple direct relationship between group identification and political participation” (Miller et al.1981:495).²³ Rather, political awareness and a sense of linked fate are important practical group-identities to promote political participation. Empirical evidence supports this (Chong et al.2005; Wong et al 2005; Miller et al.1981; Lien 1994). With regard to objective identification, identifying as ‘an American’ positively leads Asian Americans and Latinos to participate since it encourages a normative attitude such as civil duty (Wong et al. 2005).

Among various dimensions of group consciousness, I focus on a sense of solidarity. I predict that panethnicity increases Asian American and Latino voting participation. The underlying logic is that panethnicity is a group-based resource to fuel

²³ Based on this argument, Miller et al.(1981) measure group identification with the question “ which of these groups you feel particularly close to –people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feeling about things”

Asian American and Latino participation in voting as a way to improve group status and to gain opportunities in relation to other ethnic/racial groups. Panethnicity motivates Asian Americans and Latinos to act on behalf of their group. Also, panethnicity shared among Asian Americans and Latinos, respectively, works as an organizing tool for fitting political facts and issues on behalf of their respective groups. Therefore, Asian Americans and Latinos who hold a stronger sense of panethnicity are more likely to participate in voting activities when the society provides them with opportunities for having a say. Therefore, I hypothesize;

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos holding a stronger sense of panethnicity are more likely to participate in voting activities.

Contextual Factors: Size of Population, Level of Segregation, Number of Panethnic Elected Officials, Number of Panethnic Organizations and Religious Service Attendance

Welch et al.(2001) find that residential segregation affects policy attitudes and political behavior among whites and African Americans. In a similar vein, Pantoja et al. (2001, 2003) find that Latinos who were naturalized in a highly politicized state show a higher level of political knowledge, stronger sensitivity to racial issues, and higher rates of participation. These studies imply that contextual circumstances, where individuals live, are important for political participation. Among the contextual settings, I focus on residential and political factors. Specifically, I examine the effect of the percentage of minority population, the level of segregation, the number of panethnic elected officials and the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations. I expect all these contextual factors, except for the number of (pan)ethnic organizations, to have a positive effect on voting activities among Asian Americans and Latinos. These three group features directly provide environments which politicize the members of the new minority groups. In

addition, these factors increase positive expectations on election outcomes. To summarize, the underlying mechanism of this prediction is that these contextual factors provide Asian Americans and Latinos with more opportunities for group-relevant political information and mobilization, and thereby increase political participation.

Scholars have made two different arguments on the effect of the size of population on political participation. One set of scholars finds that those in areas of high panethnic concentration participate more (Desipio et al. 2006; Gay 2001; Jones-Correa 2001; Leighley 2001; Ramakrishnan et al. 2001). In fact, most new immigrants are limited to diverse channels for political involvement. Therefore, residential concentration may provide good networks of so-called “social capital.” For example, using Verba, Schlozman and Brady’s (1995) Citizenship Participation Study (CPS) and 1996 Survey of Texas County Party Chairs, Leighley (2001) investigates how population size measured at zip-code levels affects Latino’s political participation. She finds that Latino group size is critical to understanding Latino electoral participation. Similarly, Desipio et al. (2006) find that proportion of Asian American and Latino population in a state significantly increases their registration rates.

However, another set of scholars finds weak or no support for the positive impact of the size of minority population. For example, examining the Current Population Survey (CPS) data from 1994 to 1998, Ramakrishnan et al. (2001) find that ethnic concentration, measured by the state-level panethnic proportion of group members, positively affects voting participation only for third-plus generation Asian Americans. According to them, since those living in high panethnic concentration are more likely to have lower socioeconomic status, they are less likely to participate. Their argument implies that the significant impact of population size is possible with support of high levels of socioeconomic status. Similarly, DeSipio (1996), and de la Garza (2004) find that areas of high Latino ethnic concentration lower political participation.

I predict that the presence of a high panethnic population has a positive impact on political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. For Asian Americans and Latinos, the size of panethnic population increases voting participation through two mechanisms. First, as a group feature, it increases Asian Americans' and Latinos' positive expectation of election outcomes. Both groups are minorities in terms of number. A sense of numerical inferiority shared among Asian Americans and Latinos can be reduced when they see more panethnic members around them because they are more likely to have confidence in their influence as a group in election outcomes. Second, the large percentage of the panethnic population can induce more mobilization agents such as parties and political organizations. When a panethnic group accounts for a large portion of a constituency, political agents are more likely to spend their political resources to mobilize members of the panethnic group to vote. For these reasons, I expect that the size of panethnic population is positively related to voting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Also, I predict that the level of segregation positively bolsters political participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Welch et al. (2001) find that African American–Anglo segregation promotes a sense of African American solidarity and thereby their political participation (see also Rocha et al. 2009). Assuming that this relationship holds for Asian Americans and Latinos, I hypothesize that the level of segregation has a positive impact on political participation. Reinforcing the feeling of solidarity, residential segregation encourages Asian Americans and Latinos to feel racial-related issues salient. Also, it boosts a sense of collective achievement against other racial groups. Thereby, it promotes voting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in areas with a higher level of segregation and a larger size of panethnic population are more likely to participate in voting activities.

African Americans' political empowerment measured by the number of elected officials has proved to significantly increase African American electoral participation (Bobo et al. 1990; Leighley 2001). In contrast, some other scholars find that for Latinos, the number of elected officials is not a significant predictor of their electoral participation, particularly in relation with the size of population (Leighley 2001). According to Leighley(2001), no impact of elected officials results from lack of well-organized mobilization infrastructure which transfers the benefits of elected officials to voting. Also, she argues, when Latinos win offices, they are likely to include a higher proportion of non-Latino groups, thus reducing the benefits of having elected Latinos in both practical and symbolic terms.

However, I expect the positive impact of panethnic elected officials. They serve as election information providers and mobilization agents. Lien et al. (2001) finds that Hawaiian Asian Americans vote more than those in California. According to them, one possible reason is that the number of elected Asian American officials in Hawaii is greater than that in California. Although she does not provide empirical analysis to support this, her argument implies that when Asian Americans succeed in electing their panethnic officials, their expectations of politics increase, and therefore they vote more. In addition, the panethnic elected officials are expected to act as an indirect participation infrastructure for Asian Americans and Latinos who have fewer sources of mobilization. Thus, I predict a positive impact from the number of panethnic elected officials on Asian American and Latino voting activities.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in areas with a higher number of panethnic elected officials are more likely to participate in voting activities.

With respect to the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations, I do not make a prediction. Ethnic/panethnic organizations can increase Asian American and Latino voting participation by informing them of a panethnic agenda or issues, and by providing crucial bases for political candidates' campaigns. Alternately, (pan)ethnic organizations may have no impact because most of them are not highly organized as mobilization agents (Lien et al. 2001; Leighley 1999). In addition, the number of Asian American and Latino organization may be so small that they may not exert influence to the extent where statistical significance appears. Moreover, there is no empirical study to investigate whether the number of Asian American and Latino panethnic organizations increases or decreases turnout of the two groups. For these reasons, I reserve judgment on the effect of panethnic organizations.

Instead, I predict a positive role of religious organizations. I measure the role of religious organizations by the frequency of attending religious services. Specifically, I predict that the more Asian Americans attend religious services, the more likely they are to be involved in electoral participation. African American and Latino churches have been identified as crucial to participation among African Americans and Latinos (Choung 2005; McAdam 1982; Morris 1984; Welch et al. 2001). In a similar vein, I expect that Asian American churches or temples act as mobilization agents in the way that they take over the role of formal political organizations, based on their high level of organizational structure. The dataset for this study does not provide a specific number of Asian American religious organizations. However, the most religious organizations such as churches are constituted by ethnic and racial lines. Thus, Asian Americans and Latinos are more likely to attend religious services where there are a larger number of their ethnic/panethnic religious organizations around them. By examining the effect of the frequency of Asian Americans' attending religious services, I indirectly estimate the effect of religious organizations.

Hypothesis: As Asian Americans attend religious services with greater frequency, they are more likely to participate in voting activities.

Individual Socializing Factors: Discrimination Experience,
Birth Place and English Proficiency

Discrimination experience has long been recognized as an important determinant for minority political behavior (Dawson 1994; Leighley 2001; Lien 1994; Lien et al. 2004; Uhlaner et al. 1989, 1991; Welch et al. 2001). As a matter of fact, discrimination experience is a group-based feature as well as individual socializing factor. Generally, employment agencies and public policies discriminate against a group, not an individual member of the group. That is, discrimination in society arises on a group basis.

Two competing hypotheses explain how discrimination experience affects political participation. Discrimination experience may lead individuals to participate more because it motivates people to challenge racial inequality (Leighley 2001; Lien 1997; Uhlaner 1989, 1991). Alternatively, discrimination experience may drive people from voting participation by causing them to feel alienated from the formal political process (Salamon et al. 1973; Henig et al. 1987).

In chapter III, I found the positive impact of discrimination experience on the formation of panethnicity. Therefore, I hypothesize the positive impact of discrimination experience on voting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. That is, by reinforcing the feeling of solidarity, discrimination experience provides incentives for voting participation for Asian Americans and Latinos.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who experienced discrimination are more likely to participate in voting activities.

Regarding the effect of English proficiency, I predict that as Asian Americans and Latinos speak English more fluently, they are more likely to vote. The underlying logic is that English proficiency lowers Asian Americans' and Latinos' cost of voting and

helps them to develop a sense of civic duty as Americans. Those who are proficient in speaking and reading in English are more likely to be exposed to newspapers and T.V. which deliver candidate and election information during campaigns. Also, those with higher English proficiency are less likely to feel a burden from voting processes, ranging from initiating the registration process to casting votes, which require English skills.

Regarding the impact of birth place, I predict a positive impact from nativity. Native-born individuals are more likely than immigrants to participate in voting activities (Alba, 1985; Cho, 1996b; Desipio 1996a; Leighley 1999). Birth place can exert its impact through several mechanisms. The impact of nativity can be traced to factors such as lower English language proficiency and residential segregation. Also, birth place can affect the level of education. The education attainment level might be higher for native-born Asian Americans and Latinos. In addition, nativity can influence the degree of socialization related to the civic duty as Americans. Thus, I hypothesize;

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who were born in the U.S. and speak English with greater fluency are more likely to participate in voting activities.

I test these hypotheses while controlling for interest in politics, partisanship, political efficacy, age, income and education.

Measurement: Voting Activities²⁴

The dependent variables for Asian Americans voting activities are voter registration, voting in the 2000 presidential election, and overall voting participation. I code one when respondents report that they registered in the 2000 election and zero otherwise. Likewise, I code one when respondents report that they voted and zero otherwise. The overall voting participation variable is an additive index of the voter

²⁴ For the detailed question wording and coding scheme of the variables employed in this chapter, see appendix B.

registration and voting in the 2000 election variables. The index ranges from 0 to 2 (0=no registration and no voting, 1= registration but no voting, 2= both registration and voting). The comparable dependent variables for Latino voting participation model include voter registration as of 1999, voting in the 1996 presidential election and overall voting participation measured by adding voter registration as of 1999 and voting in the 1996. The coding scheme for Latino voting activities is the same as it is for Asian American voting activities.

The Latino dataset does not contain a question to examine whether respondents voted in the 2000 election because it was collected in 1999. This can raise a question of accuracy of predicting Latino voting participation with the suggested contextual variables. The contextual variables employed in this study are measured as of 1999 and 2000. The size of Latino population and level of segregation used in the analyses are obtained from Census 2000. The number of Latino elected officials includes those who were in office as of January 1999. Therefore, voting in the 2000 presidential election is an ideal dependent variable in terms of time consistency. However, the survey was conducted during the summer of 1999.

Therefore, as an alternative dependent variable, I use the question asking whether respondents voted in the 1996 presidential election. The choice depends on two assumptions. First, the size of Latino population, level of segregation and the number of Latino elected officials does not greatly differ between 1996 and 2000. Second, those who voted in 1996 are more likely to vote in the 2000 election. Besides, the examination of voter registration as of the summer of 1999 as one of the dependent variables helps to illuminate how the suggested contextual factors affect Latino voting participation in the 2000 election. Also, the additive overall voting participation variable, combining voter registration as of 1999 and voting in the 1996 election, mitigates the impact of the 1996 election-specific characteristics.

Table 4.1 Voting Activities: Asian American Registration and Voting

	Registration for the 2000 election (%)	Voting in the 2000 election (%)
Yes(=1)	615(79)	537(69)
No(=0)	166(21)	245(31)
Total	781(100)	782(100)

Table 4.2 Voting Activities: Latino Registration and Voting

	Registration as of 1999 (%)	Voting in the 1996 election (%)
Yes(=1)	1,192(78)	913(81)
No(=0)	342(22)	197(18)
Total	1,534(100)	1,110(100)

Table 4.3 Voting Activities: Asian American and Latino Overall Voting Participation

	Asian Americans (%)	Latinos (%)
0	166(21)	42(4)
1	78(10)	219(20)
2	537(69)	845(76)
Total	781(100)	1,106(100)

Tables 4.1 and 4.3, show that among the 782 Asian American citizens surveyed, 615 (79%) registered for the 2000 election. Among 782 Asian American citizens, who report whether they voted in the 2000 election, 537 Asian Americans (69%) voted while 245(31%) did not vote. Among the 615 registered voters, 537 (87%) actually voted in the 2000 election. Among 1,534 Latino citizens who report whether they were registered to vote for the 2000 election, 1,192 (78%) were registered. Among 1,110 Latino citizens who report whether they voted in the 1996 election, 913 Latinos (81%) voted while 197 (18%) did not vote.

Findings and Discussion

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 summarize the results of the analyses of Asian American voting activities. Table 4.4 presents results of the model which does not include the religious service attendance and the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations variables. Table 4.5 present results of the model where I include those variables. As shown, the two models produce statistically different results with respect of significant variables, but with no great difference in terms of model performance. Specifically, by adding the two variables into the 2000 voter registration analysis, the impact of discrimination experience becomes null. In the extended 2000 voting and overall voting participation model, the impact of panethnicity and discrimination experience becomes negated while religious service attendance registers a statistically significant impact. Thus, I discuss the results obtained from both the models with respect to Asian American voting participation. However, when comparing Asian Americans with Latinos, the model without the two variables is my final model of Asian American voting activities.

Although the inclusion of religious service attendance and the number of panethnic organizations into the model reduces the impact of panethnicity on Asian Americans' voting in the presidential election and overall voting participation, Table 4.4 and 4.5 demonstrate the importance of panethnicity with respect to Asian American

Table 4.4 Asian American Voting Activities

Independent Variables	Voter Registration in 2000 (N=332)	Voting in 2000 (N=332)	Overall Voting Participation (N=332)
Group Factors			
Panethnicity	-.25** (-1.97)	-.18* (-1.67)	-.20* (-1.84)
Segregation	-.05 (-0.68)	-.03 (-0.38)	.03 (-0.45)
Panethnic Population	.06* (1.91)	.04 (1.58)	.04* (1.67)
Panethnic Elected Officials	-.06** (-2.04)	-.05* (-1.73)	-.05* (-1.80)
Socializing Factors			
Discrimination	.63* (1.88)	.66* (1.66)	.50* (1.81)
Birth Place	-.87** (-2.25)	-.73** (-2.08)	-.77** (-2.31)
English Proficiency	.06 (0.34)	-.11 (-.76)	-.06 (-0.46)
Controlled Factors			
Income	.17* (1.72)	.00 (-0.00)	.05 (0.54)
Education	.05 (0.52)	.19* (1.62)	.12 (1.40)
Age	.04*** (3.88)	.04*** (3.71)	.04*** (3.95)
Interest in Politics	.49*** (2.87)	.64*** (4.32)	.59*** (4.18)
Partisan Strength	.16 (1.17)	.06 (0.52)	.39 (0.85)
Political Efficacy	-.04 (-0.34)	.06 (0.54)	-.04 (-.39)
Log likelihood	-136.23	-170.45	-231.72
McKelvey & Zavoina's R ²	0.31	0.26	0.26
McFadden's R ²	0.16	0.15	0.12

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests. Coefficients are estimated in three separate logistic regression models.

Table 4.5 Asian American Voting Activities with Number of Panethnic Organizations and Religious Service Attendance

Independent Variables	Voter Registration in 2000 (N=324)	Voting in 2000 (N=324)	Overall Voting Participation (N=324)
Group Factors			
Panethnicity	-.24* (-1.81)	-.15 (-1.29)	-.16 (-1.48)
Segregation	.14 (0.57)	.10 (0.49)	.09 (0.45)
Panethnic Population	.08** (2.14)	.05* (1.67)	.05* (1.71)
Panethnic Elected Officials	-.07** (-2.17)	-.04* (-1.76)	-.05* (-1.80)
Panethnic Organizations	-.09 (-0.77)	-.05 (-0.51)	-.05 (-0.51)
Religious Service Attendance	.31 (1.31)	.21** (2.16)	.18*** (1.88)
Socializing Factors			
Discrimination	.52 (1.52)	.37 (1.27)	.41 (1.48)
Birth Place	-1.05** (-2.43)	-.91** (-2.43)	-1.01*** (-2.57)
English Proficiency	.18 (0.11)	-.14 (-0.92)	-.08 (-0.53)
Controlled Factors			
Income	.19* (1.88)	-.16 (-0.16)	.06 (0.70)
Education	.07 (0.73)	.16* (1.83)	.14 (1.57)
Age	.04*** (3.67)	.04*** (3.67)	.04*** (3.86)
Interest in Politics	.53*** (3.05)	.67*** (4.83)	.62*** (4.27)
Partisan Strength	.12 (0.87)	.01 (0.09)	.06 (0.05)
Political Efficacy	-.56 (-0.07)	.03 (0.28)	-.01 (-0.09)
Log likelihood	-130.80	-162.30	-222.34
McKelvey & Zavoina's R2	0.32	0.29	0.28
McFadden's R2	0.17	0.17	0.13

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests. Coefficients are estimated in three separate logistic regression models.

voting activities but in an unexpected direction. Panethnicity depresses Asian Americans' voting activities. I will discuss this unexpected finding in detail later.

Among the contextual factors, the size of Asian American population is a good predictor for Asian American voting participation. That is, Asian Americans who live in areas with a larger size of panethnic population are more likely to participate in voting activities. Also, the number of elected officials obtains consistent statistical significance. However, the direction of the effect is opposite to my prediction; Asian Americans who live in areas with a large number of Asian American elected officials are less likely to register for vote and to actually vote on Election Day. This result is somewhat surprising along with the negative impact of the panethnicity on Asian American voting activities.

As hypothesized, in the full model, religious service attendance significantly bolsters Asian American voting participation except for voter registration participation. Scholars find that African Americans who attend churches more frequently tend to vote more. The reason for the positive impact of churches, according to them, is that churches provide opportunities to discuss political issues and elections, and to have local leaders speaking during service. As a result, African Americans who attend churches are more likely to receive political messages at their place of worship and to learn civic skills necessary for political activities (Brown et al. 2003; Harris 1994; Morris 1984; Tate 1991). My finding supports these previous studies on African Americans. Asian Americans who attend religious services with more frequency are more likely to participate. This finding implies that ethnic/panethnic religious organizations can function as an important group feature to boost voting participation among members of the panethnic groups.

Among the individual socializing factors, discrimination experience as one of group feature exerts a consistently significant impact on Asian American voting participation when the two additional variables are not controlled. However, the inclusion

of the two variables cancels out the impact of discrimination experience. The negated impact of discrimination experience in the full model indicates that when various contextual factors are properly controlled, Asian Americans are less likely to rely on their discrimination experiences as incentives for voting participation. However, still, discrimination experience is a good predictor for Asian American voting participation. Birth place is also a strong predictor of Asian American voting activities. As hypothesized, Asian Americans who are born outside of the U.S. are less likely to vote. However, my evidence suggests that Asian Americans' voting participation is not a matter of English proficiency.

Of the controlled variables, interest in politics and age positively improve Asian American voting activities in both models. That is, older Asian Americans who have an interest in politics are more likely to participate in voting activities. In addition, income and education occasionally acquire statistical significance. These findings imply that when group-based features such as panethnicity and residential settings are taken into account, Asian Americans vote as the conventional participation model predicts. However, partisanship has no effect in both models. This finding confirms many previous studies to suggest no partisan impact on Asian American participation.

Table 4.6 present results of analysis on Latinos. For Latinos, panethnicity has no effect on the likelihood of Latino voting activities. Of the three contextual factors, the size of population and the level of segregation are occasionally significant, offering the evidence for the patterns that I hypothesized. DeSipio (1996a) argues that the level of residential segregation is not significantly related to Latino participation (see also Ramarkrishnan et al. 2001). If any relation exists, he argues, it is negatively and indirectly related. According to Desipio(1996a), Latinos living in the areas of high Latino concentrations are less likely to vote because they are more likely to be poor, and

Table 4.6 Latino Voting Activities

Independent Variables	Voter Registration in 1999 (N=1214)	Voting in 1996 (N=900)	Overall Participation (N=897)
Group Factors			
Panethnicity	.08 (0.44)	.11 (0.49)	.09 (0.44)
Segregation	.02*** (2.67)	.00 (0.21)	.01 (1.15)
Population	.01** (2.35)	.01 (1.39)	.01* (1.89)
Panethnic Elected Officials	.00 (0.19)	.00 (-0.94)	-.00 (-0.39)
Socializing Factors			
Discrimination	.08 (0.48)	.07 (0.38)	.02 (-0.12)
Birth Place	.00 (0.01)	-.49** (-2.26)	-.19 (-0.98)
English Proficiency	.15** (2.29)	.14* (1.69)	.09 (1.12)
Controlled Factors			
Income	0.10** (2.13)	.09* (1.62)	.10** (2.00)
Education	.19*** (3.49)	.20*** (2.99)	.18*** (3.03)
Age	.03*** (5.25)	.04*** (4.89)	.04*** (5.33)
Interest in Politics	.21** (2.20)	.07 (0.56)	.18 (1.52)
Partisan Strength	.35*** (3.37)	.46*** (3.52)	.38*** (3.34)
Efficacy	-.01 (-0.08)	-.05 (0.53)	-.06 (-.04)
Log likelihood	-555.73	-374.27	-529.02
McKelvey & Zavonia's R ²	0.19	0.17	0.15
McFadden's R ²	0.10	0.09	0.07

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests. Coefficients are estimated in three separate logistic regression models.

thereby less likely to be mobilized. However, my findings suggest a direct and positive impact of the level of segregation on Latino voter registration.

The number of Latino elected officials fails to acquire statistical significance in relation to Latino voting activities. This finding corresponds with Leighley's finding (2001). Leighley (2001) finds that the number of Latino elected mayors do not increase Latino turnout in presidential and local elections. She attributes this finding to the mobilization patterns of both political parties and Latino candidates. First, according to her, parties tend to mobilize Latinos less. Even a larger number of Latino elected officials do not affect the current mobilization pattern. That is, the number of Latino elected officials does not structure mobilization patterns of the existing parties. As a result, Latino formal political leadership does not affect the level of Latino participation. In addition, Leighley (2001) argues, Latino formal leadership such as Latino elected officials tends to make less effort to mobilize Latinos because it knows that Latinos will support them, anyway. That is, the very support that elects Latino officials depresses mobilizing activities by them. I speculate that this latter explanation is particularly applicable to my finding. Latino elected officials are more likely to mobilize other racial groups in order to effectively use their electoral resources.

Of the three individual socializing factors, birth place and English proficiency occasionally obtain statistical significance as hypothesized. Latinos, who are born in the U.S. and speak English fluently, are more likely to participate in the voting process. However, unlike its effect on Asian American voting participation, discrimination experience has little effect on Latino voting activities. That is, Latinos do not transfer their discrimination experience to voting activities. Instead, conventional voting-inducing factors such as education, income, age, and the strength of partisanship register strong impacts on Latino voting activities. Later, I will explain the racially different effect of discrimination experience in detail.

In general, my findings suggest that group features are important determinants for Latino voting activities although they are not consistently good predictors. This argument becomes more persuasive with respect to voter registration in 1999 which can be seen as the most recent and time-consistent Latino voting activity, in relation to the other contextual variables. As shown in the first column of Table 4.6, the size of population and level of segregation significantly increase Latinos' voter registration.

To summarize my findings, group features such as panethnicity, discrimination experience and contextual factors are important determinants for Asian American and Latino voting activities. In particular, the size of panethnic group population significantly bolsters both panethnic groups' voting participation. However, in general, the way that a specific group-based feature affects the two groups' voting activities differ depending on the panethnic groups. Second, the conventional participation factors are good predictors for Asian American and Latino voting participation. Age consistently predicts both Asian American and Latino voting activities. Interest in politics, education and income are also good predictors for both minority groups' voting activities.

My findings raise three important but puzzling questions to be answered. First, I previously hypothesized that panethnicity has the potential to increase Asian American and Latino voting activities by encouraging them to act on behalf of their group. However, my findings indicate that panethnicity produces a negative impact on Asian American voting participation and no impact for Latino voting participation. How might I account for this negative impact of panethnicity and its racially different impact? First, the negative impact of panethnicity may be understood as follows: a strong sense of panethnicity impairs Asian Americans' perceived ability to influence U.S. government decisions through formal voting processes. Asian Americans who feel a stronger sense of panethnicity may feel more keenly that voting is not a political channel to effectively convey their political preferences. Not many Asian Americans have Asian American

candidates in their districts. As a result, those who feel a strong sense of panethnicity may suspect that candidates from different racial or ethnic groups would not work for them after being elected. In addition, despite recent rapid growth, the number of Asian Americans is too small to constitute the set of voters who determine election outcomes. Therefore, those who have a stronger sense of panethnicity are more likely to feel that their votes will be wasted with respect to selecting their groups' favored candidate and thereby improving their group status.

The significant impact of group size lends support to this interpretation. Asian Americans living in areas with a larger size of Asian American population vote more. The significant influence of Asian American group size suggests that those living in areas with higher presence of Asian Americans are more likely to have a higher expectation that the group can influence election outcomes. In addition, panethnicity may have negative influence because it depresses Asian Americans' sense of civic duty. Asian Americans with a stronger sense of panethnicity may feel more remote from the mainstream society. As a result, they are less likely to feel civic duty as Americans.

My finding on the negative impact of panethnicity is an important contribution to previous research because it explains why Asian Americans participate less than expected from their high level of socioeconomic status. Panethnicity stimulates Asian Americans to realize their limited ability in conveying their demands as a group through elections. As a result, they vote less.

The lack of impact of panethnicity on Latino participation can be explained in two aspects. First, it can be understood in relation to the significant impact of conventional socioeconomic factors. I find that socio-economic status is a less consistent predictor of Asian American voting activities. Income and education increase Asian Americans' voter registration and voting in the 2000 election, respectively. In contrast, my findings identify socioeconomic status as one of the most consistent and strongest predictors of all

three Latinos voting activities. This indicates that for Latinos, a lack of socioeconomic status is a more imminent obstacle to their participation. Compared to Asian Americans', Latinos' socioeconomic status, which directly lowers voting cost, is low. As a result, voting is comparatively more costly for a large number of Latinos. As a result, Latinos decide whether they vote or not based on individual consideration of resources rather than on a sense of solidarity.

Second, the lack of impact of Latino panethnicity can be understood with respect to elite mobilization in relation to the size of population, partisan strength and socioeconomic status. My evidence suggests that the size of Latino population increases Latino voter registration and overall voting participation. It also indicates that socioeconomic status and strength of partisanship have a consistent and positive impact on Latino voting activities. These findings hint at the important effect of mobilization. Leighley (2001) argues that Latino group size boosts Latino political participation. According to her, when Latinos live in areas where Latinos are a substantial proportion of population, they are more likely to be mobilized by political elites. Consequently, Latinos living in areas with a higher percentage of Latinos tend to participate more. In addition, strong partisanship holders are more attentive and susceptible to mobilization. Therefore, a larger number of partisans in an area are more likely to induce mobilization elites. Besides, studies have shown that mobilization tends to target those with higher socioeconomic status. In sum, larger population size, higher socioeconomic status and stronger partisanship induce mobilization agents and elites.

In contrast, Latinos' strength of panethnicity may not serve as tempting to political elites because political elites tend to mobilize those who provide a higher likelihood of winning. That is, political elites realize that they may fail to win by appealing only to those with a strong sense of panethnicity. Put simply, Latinos with a

strong sense of panethnicity are not promising targets for political mobilization agents and candidates.

The second puzzling question is why the elected officials depress Asian Americans' voting activities. Voting studies of Asian Americans find that Asian American candidates increase Asian American voting participation (Nakanishi 1991; Lai 2000). However, I find the opposite effect of elected officials. How is this finding understood? Minority group members tend to participate when they expect that they can influence political outcomes (Leighley 2001). Thus, the negative impact of elected officials indicates that the presence of panethnic elected officials depresses the expectation of political outcome. Why, then, does the presence of panethnic elected officials depress Asian Americans' expectation regarding their influence on voting outcomes? First, the severe under-representation of Asian American elected officials, particularly at national levels, may be one reason. Applying proportional representation, Asian American elected officials should account for approximately 5% of the total national and local U.S. elected officials. However, in practice, the rate of Asian elected officials does not reach 1%. Particularly, in 1999, there were only 2 senators and 5 representatives in Congress. This low share of political representation may lead a large number of Asian American voters to see formal electoral process as an ineffective way to advance their group's need and status.

As for a specific example, Asian Americans account for 25% of the total population of San Francisco which had four Asian American elected officials in 1999. In contrast, 5% of the population of Chicago is Asian Americans. However, the city had two Asian American elected officials in 1999. That is, Asian American underrepresentation in San Francisco is much more severe than in Chicago. As a result, mobilization by Asian American elected officials may reach a smaller number of Asian Americans in San Francisco than those in Chicago in a comparative sense. That is, the

political benefits, in terms of voting, from Asian American elected officials are smaller in San Francisco.

Besides, Asian Americans in San Francisco are more likely to realize underrepresentation as serious by observing their very small number of Asian American elected officials. Consequently, they are more likely to think that underrepresentation is difficult to overcome particularly at the federal level so that they may feel discouraged from voting in the presidential election. In short, despite their seemingly larger number of panethnic elected officials, Asian Americans living in San Francisco are less likely to participate in voting activities than their counterparts in Chicago if other conditions are equal. This explanation is particularly relevant for explaining the negative impact of the elected officials in the U.S. mainland.

Table 4.7 Number of Asian American Elected Officials in 1999

Districts	Los Angeles	San Francisco	New York	Honolulu	Chicago	Total
Number of Elected Officials	12 (13.5%)	4 (25%)	2 (10.3%)	70 (70.7%)	2 (5.2%)	90

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are the proportion of Asian American population in the MSA.

Honolulu needs a different explanation for the puzzle of the negative impact of Asian American elected officials. In Hawaii, only 7% of the total national Asian American population in nation lives. However, as shown in Table 4.7, Honolulu, the most populous district of the state Hawaii, had 70 Asian American elected officials in 1999. Although Asian Americans account for about 71% of the total population of Honolulu, 70 Asian American elected officials is a large number compared to those in other cities. Particularly, three of them were Members of Congress in 1999. Thus, Asian Americans in this area may think that they have enough panethnic representation at the

federal level. In addition, considering the high turnover rate, individual Asian Americans in Honolulu are likely to think that whether they vote makes no difference for Asian American candidates' winning the election. Therefore, they may not feel motivated to vote in the presidential election. In other words, a large number of Asian American elected officials do not work as an incentive to promote Asian American voting participation in Honolulu. In short, asymmetric representation in the mainland and Hawaii is a possible reason for the negative impact of elected officials.

Second, the mobilization patterns of elected officials during the presidential election campaign may be another reason for the negative impact of Asian American elected officials on voting activities. As discussed, panethnic elected officials often appeal to panethnicity during the campaign. However, Asian American candidates at the federal level tend to be elected by another racial group (Lai 2000; Lai et al. 2001; Uhlaner et al. 1989). This means that Asian American elected officials must seek the support of non-Asian American constituents to be elected while they appeal to Asian Americans by evoking panethnicity. That is, Asian American officials must mobilize different racial or ethnic groups. Such Asian American candidates' crossover appeal may lead Asian Americans to realize that elected Asian American officials may not assume the role of advocates for Asian Americans. Asian Americans who live in areas which have a larger number of Asian American elected officials may be more aware of it. Thereby, they are more likely to devalue the importance of electing Asian Americans as their representatives. In turn, this may discourage Asian Americans from voting in the presidential election. However, my finding should not be interpreted as suggesting that Asian American elected officials have no positive political impact on any Asian American voting activity. Asian American elected officials can play an important role in bringing out Asian American voters at the local and state levels (Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California Exit Poll 1996; Lai 2000).

The third puzzle is why discrimination is a significant determinant only for Asian Americans' voting activities. Many studies find that individuals experiencing discrimination are often more likely to participate than those who do not experience racial discrimination. I find that this relationship holds only for Asian Americans. Latinos, who experience discrimination, do not seem to redress grievances in their personal life through the voting processes. I speculate on two reasons for this. First, Latinos tend to use political organizations close to them in order to politicize their discrimination experiences (Marquez et al 2000; McLemore et al. 1985). That is, they tend to use readily accessible political venues to address their grievances rather than elections which are held occasionally and often unrelated to their imminent demands. Put simply, Latinos view voting as ineffective to address their grievances.

Second, Latinos are more influenced by elites' mobilization in transferring their discrimination experience into electoral participation (Leighley 2001). That is, political mobilization plays an important role in to passing Latinos' discrimination experiences on to voting activities. Thus, compared to Asian Americans who are willing to transfer their personal discrimination experiences into voting activities for themselves, Latinos are more likely to link their grievances with voting activities when they get helped by political organizations and elites. In this aspect, it is arguable that voting is more demanding for Latinos.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated how panethnicity as a group-based resource affects Asian American and Latino voting activities. It is clear that panethnicity has an impact. However, it has a negative impact on Asian American voting participation while it has no impact on Latinos. This finding is an important contribution to limited literature on group consciousness. A consistent finding in previous group consciousness research is that group consciousness has a positive or null impact on Asian Americans' and Latinos'

participation. However, my finding indicates that a sense of solidarity, as one element of group consciousness, can depress participation levels of the panethnic minorities.

In addition, the significant impact of panethnicity on Asian American voting activities offers evidence for the previous research on the role of political expectation. Previous research finds that minorities politically participate when they expect that they can affect political outcomes. The significant but negative influence of panethnicity suggests that panethnicity is a psychological drive to affect Asian Americans' (and possibly Latinos' in different settings) evaluation of their potential to determine voting results. That is, panethnic group members, who hold a strong sense of solidarity with other members of their respective groups, are more likely to recognize that they are disadvantaged in numbers and in powers so that they may believe that they cannot determine voting outcomes. Consequently, this lower expectation discourages them from voting.

More broadly, the findings presented in this chapter suggest that Asian Americans' and Latinos' decision to participate in voting activities are determined in large part by group-based features. However, how group features have an influence differs according to a specific voting activity and the panethnic groups. Specifically, along with panethnicity, discrimination experience, Asian American group size and Asian American elected officials affect Asian American voting activities. For Latinos, the level of segregation and Latino group size are significant group features to determine whether they participate in voting activities.

Lastly, conventional individual factors such as education, age, interest in politics and partisan strength turn out significant in contrast to the findings of many past studies on Asian American and Latino voting participation. My evidence suggests that much like whites, Latinos tend to participate in voting activities when they enjoy the advantages of high socioeconomic status and hold strong partisanship. Similarly, Asian American

voting participation is driven by key conventional factors such as age and interest in politics. These findings indicate that when unique group features such as panethnicity and residential settings are appropriately considered, Asian Americans and Latino behave like other citizens in the U.S.

CHAPTER V
THE EFFECT OF PANETHNICITY ON NONVOTING
PARTICIPATION

In this chapter, I expand the analysis to include the nonvoting consequences of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. I examine the impact of panethnicity on nonvoting activities for three reasons. First, a large number of Asian Americans and Latinos are non-citizens so that they cannot vote. Thus, analysis of voting behavior provides only a narrow window into the understanding of how panethnicity affects political behavior among Asian Americans and Latinos. Second, those who vote are not necessarily engaged in other forms of political participation. In other words, electoral voters may not participate in nonvoting activities while those who do not vote may participate in nonvoting activities. Lastly, different political acts require a different arrangement of political resources (Brady et al. 1995). That is, panethnicity in combination with other factors can have a different impact, depending on the modes of participation. For these reasons, I examine the effect of panethnicity on nonvoting activities such as volunteering for political candidates and contributing money to candidates or political organizations.

I predict that panethnicity is an important group-feature that significantly increases nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Panethnicity is a psychological drive that directs Asian Americans and Latinos to understand their respective groups' status and political issues based on group consideration. Therefore, it prompts Asian Americans and Latinos to use nonvoting activities as important vehicles for advancing their status and gaining opportunities in the broader society.

In the previous chapter, I found that panethnicity exerts either a negative impact or has no impact on Asian American and Latino voting participation, respectively. One interpretation of this finding is that Asian Americans and Latinos with strong

panethnicity do not see electoral participation as an effective way to address their needs and interests. If that is the case, Asian Americans and Latinos who feel a strong sense of panethnicity are likely to pursue other effective political alternatives that society allows for them, in order to transfer their needs to the political system. That is, panethnicity is expected to cause Asian Americans and Latinos to seek available substitutes for voting activities, and thereby to participate in those alternative activities to achieve their groups' goals. Nonvoting activities serve as such alternatives. In short, panethnicity drives Asian Americans and Latinos to participate in nonvoting activities as alternative political channels to pass on their political preferences to the political system. In fact, some nonvoting activities, such as volunteering for political candidates and donating money, require more political interest, time and money than voting. However, panethnicity can help Asian Americans and Latinos to overcome these challenging costs by encouraging them to see greater potential in nonvoting participation with respects to pushing their needs.

This chapter consists of five parts. In the first part, I review previous research on nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Then, I explain hypotheses on the effect of panethnicity, and contextual and individual socializing factors on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. In the third part, I discuss how I operationalize Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. In the fourth part, I discuss the empirical results. Lastly, I conclude by summarizing my findings.

Literature on Nonvoting Participation among Asian Americans and Latinos

Like the scholarly approach to Asian American and Latino voting participation, most studies on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation have been based upon the Downsian and Michigan-Model perspectives. Downsian scholars focus on socioeconomic status, English proficiency and nativity as key ingredients for Asian

American and Latino participation beyond voting. In general, scholars with this perspective find the significant impact of socioeconomic status on Latino nonvoting activities. For instance, analyzing the Latino National Political Survey 1992, Hero et al. (1996) find that socioeconomic status variables consistently affect Latinos' nonvoting activities such as attending rallies or contributing money. Wrinkle et al. (1996) support the findings of Hero et al. (1996). Using an additive scale formed from a combination of seven nonvoting activities as a dependent variable, they investigate whether education and income explain nonvoting behavior of three Latino subgroups - Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. They find that education and income positively promote nonvoting activities of the three groups, even when discrimination and mobilization variables are controlled.²⁵ More recently, Sanchez (2006) confirms this positive role of socioeconomic variables in Latino nonvoting activities.

In contrast, scholars of Asian Americans uncover mixed results regarding socioeconomic effect. Examining a 1993 Los Angeles Times Survey, Lien (1997a) finds that income and education are significant factors for Asian Americans' voting but not for their nonvoting activities. However, some other scholars find different results. Analyzing the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS), Lien and her colleagues (2004) find that only income is a significant predictor for nonvoting participation among Asian Americans. In contrast, examining the same PNAAPS, Wong et al. (2005) find that education not income is a significant factor. Their different findings result from the different measures of nonvoting activities together with different independent variables employed. Specifically, Wong et al. (2005) measure their dependent variable by a dummy variable indicating whether respondents participate in at

²⁵ Wrinkle et al. (1996) find that only for Cubans, education is not a significant predictor of voting participation.

least one nonvoting political activity²⁶ whereas Lien et al. (2004) employ an additive scale of nonvoting activities by summing up all the listed non-electoral activities on the PNAAPS. Despite these different operationalizations, these scholars' findings partly support the classical socioeconomic status model of participation.

Scholars also note Asian Americans' and Latinos' particular life experience in the U.S as key factors for deciding their nonvoting activities. They operationalize these immigrants' specific life experience with English proficiency and nativity (Leighley et al. 1999; Lien 1994; Lien et al. 2004, 2006; Stokes 2003; Sanchez 2006; Wong et al. 2005). Some find a significant impact of nativity on Asian American and Latino participation beyond voting (Lien et al. 2004; Stokes 2003). However, in general, these scholars' empirical results show weak or no effect of nativity and English proficiency on nonvoting activities among Asian Americans and Latino.

For instance, Lien (1994) finds that birth place of Asian Americans and Mexicans does not matter in deciding their political participation beyond voting. Similarly, Leighley et al. (1999) identify both birth place and English proficiency as insignificant determinants for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation although both are significant for voting participation of the two groups. Even when Stokes (2003) finds nativity as an important determinant for Latinos, the effect is confined only to Puerto Ricans' political participation, measured with a combined scale of voting and nonvoting activities. For the other sub-ethnic groups such as Mexicans and Cubans, birth place exerts a negligible effect.

²⁶ Wong et al. (2005) code the respondents as one when they participate in one of the following political activities and otherwise zero; writing or phoning a government official, contacting an editor or a newspaper, magazine or tv station, donating money to a political campaign, attending a public meeting, political rally or fundraiser, working with others in your community to solve a problem, signing a petition for a political cause, serving on any governmental board or commission, participating in a protest or demonstration.

Scholars of the Michigan-Model perspective approach immigrant-specific factors with a psychological viewpoint (Hero et al. 1996; Lien et al.2001; Lien 2001; Leighley 2001; Leighley et al. 1999; Sanchez 2006; Uhlaner et al.1989; Wrinkle et al. 1996; Wong 1995, 2005). They note that certain immigrant-specific psychological aspects guide nonvoting political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. Among many psychological aspects, discrimination experience draws utmost scholarly attention. Most studies find that discrimination experience significantly increases nonvoting activities among Asian Americans and Latinos (Lien 2001; Lien et al 2004; Sanchez 2006; Wrinkle et al. 1996).

Expanding this line of approach, scholars of the two minority groups adopt and revise the group consciousness argument to identify more complete and sophisticated psychological effects on nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos (Lien 2001; Sanchez 2005; Wong et al. 2005). For example, Wong et al. (2005) find that group consciousness increases Asian American nonvoting participation. Even though Wong et al.'s indicator of group consciousness measures Asian Americans' sense of linked fate with their coethnic groups, not with other Asian American groups, their finding suggests the importance of psychological factors in predicting minority nonvoting participation. Similarly, Lien (1997a) finds that participants in nonvoting activities are less educated and less well-off than voters but have strong group consciousness measured by the opinion on the awarding of reparations to Japanese Americans. These two studies suggest that group consciousness encourages Asian Americans to participate in political process particularly in nonvoting activities.

Among scholars of Latinos, Sanchez (2006) examines the effects of Latino group consciousness on Latino nonvoting activities, such as working for a Latino candidate. According to him, group consciousness has three dimensions; general identification with a group, an awareness of that group's relative position in society and the desire to engage

in collective activity. Emphasizing these multidimensional aspects of group consciousness, he measures group consciousness with four indicators: commonality, political commonality, perceived discrimination and the desire for collective action. His finding suggests that commonality, perceived discrimination and desire for collective action significantly increase Latinos' nonvoting activities.

Although his study suggests the importance of psychological aspects, his indicators of group consciousness invite a few criticisms. For example, to measure commonality, he utilizes the question to ask how much commonality respondents believe they have with Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans. However, the respondents come from over ten different national backgrounds. Thus, this measure is likely to overrepresent the opinion of the selected group members. In addition, for respondents from Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico, this question asks the commonality with their respective coethnic groups not with other Latino groups. For instance, if Mexicans are asked how much commonality they have with other Mexicans in the U.S., they are asked their perceived level of commonality with their own ethnic group. This question, therefore, is asking radically different questions to different people.

Some other scholars find a weak or limited group consciousness effect. For example, Leighley et al. (1999) compare African-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Asian-Americans, and whites who reside in Texas in order to explain variations in participation among these racial groups. They test the effect of the variables from five participation models: socioeconomic status, psychological resources, social connectedness, group consciousness, and group conflict. They find that socioeconomic status, psychological resources, and social connectedness receive strong support as explanations of overall participation for all groups, while group conflict and group consciousness are less consistent predictors.

Similarly, Lien (1994) finds the weak effect of group consciousness. Defining ethnicity as a sense of belonging to an involuntary group of people who share the same culture, she analyzes how ethnicity affects political participation of Asian and Mexican American in California. She operationalizes ethnicity of Asian Americans and Mexicans in three dimensions. The first dimension is acculturation which is measured by how much both ethnic groups acquire American culture. The second dimension is ethnic ties which are measured by the degree of ethnic attachment to home country culture. The third dimension is group consciousness which consists of three indicators; group identification, alienation and deprivation.²⁷ She finds that the first dimension, acculturation is a significant factor for nonvoting participation of Asian Americans and Latinos while only the alienation variable, among the three indicators of group consciousness, is significant just for Mexican nonvoting participation. In brief, her findings indicate the minimal impact of group consciousness.

The discrepancy in scholarly findings regarding the impact of psychological aspects, ranging from group identification to group consciousness, is a result of two factors. First, as I discussed in the chapter I and II, many scholars fail to distinguish group identification, panethnic solidarity and group consciousness. Consequently, they inaccurately measure these concepts. Second, even when scholars define these concepts with caution, their conceptual understanding and operationalization of the same concept differ. That is, variations in operationalization among scholars are another reason.

More recent studies on Asian Americans' and Latinos' nonvoting participation investigate the effect of contextual factors on nonvoting activities particularly among Latinos (Leighley 2001; Rocha et al.2009). Rocha et al. (2009) examine the effects of population size and segregation level. They find that both shape the likelihood of Latino

²⁷ Specifically, group identification measures the degree of the identification with American social groups. Alienation measures the sense of being racially alienated and being systemically deprived in the society.

participation beyond voting. Particularly, according to them, the effect of Latino population size in an area depends on the level of segregation in that area. All these studies indicate that residential contexts determine Latinos' nonvoting participation.

To summarize, in general, scholars of Asian Americans and Latinos find a strong effect of discrimination experience on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. In contrast, they identify English proficiency and nativity as weak determinants. Regarding socioeconomic status, scholars offer evidence suggesting a moderate to strong effect on Asian American and particularly Latino participation beyond voting. The effect of group consciousness varies, depending on how scholars conceptualize, dissect and operationalize the concept of group consciousness. In the following section, I test how the discussed factors affect Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation when panethnicity, as one dimension of group consciousness, is considered. Before the empirical examination, I explain the hypotheses on key variables regarding Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation.

Hypotheses: Predicting Nonvoting Participation

I test the models for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation with the same predictors used in the chapter IV. I propose seven testable hypotheses regarding the key predictors for nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos.

Group-based Factors: Panethnicity and Contextual Factors

Panethnicity

First, I hypothesize the positive impact of panethnicity on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. Scholars of ethnicity note that ethnicity is an efficient organizing principle for various forms of political activities, such as spontaneous collective protests against the dominant forces of society in advancing the status of an ethnic group (Cohen 1969, 1974; Hannerz 1974). In a similar vein, panethnicity can

encourage Asian Americans and Latinos to participate in various forms of nonvoting activities. The underlying assumption is that panethnicity, as a psychological group resource, causes Asian Americans and Latinos to realize the importance of nonvoting activities and encourage them to hold a high expectation on political outcomes from nonvoting participation.

Specifically, Asian Americans and Latinos often lack political resources such as education, language skills or political information. As an alternative resource, panethnicity is expected to increase their nonvoting participation by motivating them to act on behalf of their respective groups and encouraging them to see greater gains in nonvoting participation. Many nonvoting activities are more closely related to imminent political demands or interests affecting the daily lives of Asian Americans and Latinos than voting activities. Thus, Asian Americans and Latinos driven by panethnicity are more likely to be involved in nonvoting activities to address their pressing political needs and preferences.

Anecdotal evidence supports this prediction. For instance, in the 1970s, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans residing in Chicago participated in political demonstrations driven by shared Latino solidarity to fight increasing unemployment due to industrial restructuring, discriminating educational opportunities and a lack of social services designed for them (De Genova et al. 2003; Padilla 1985). To summarize, panethnicity as a group-based resource motivates Asian Americans and Latinos to participate in various nonvoting activities by promoting their desire to enhance their group status and to push their needs. Therefore, I hypothesize;

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos holding a stronger sense of panethnicity are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities.

Contextual Factors: Size of Population, Level of Segregation, Number of Panethnic Elected Officials, Number of Panethnic Organizations and Religious Service Attendance

I predict that all the contextual factors act as group resources and have a positive impact on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. The underlying mechanism is that these contextual factors provide Asian Americans and Latinos with more opportunities for political information and mobilization, and thereby increase their involvement in nonvoting activities (see Leighley 2001; Welch et al. 2001; Rocha et al. 2009). In detail, compared to voting activities, most nonvoting activities are intended to achieve more specific political demands of members of the two minority groups who, in general, are disadvantaged in achieving their political claims through formal voting processes. These group-based features provide greater opportunities for Asian Americans and Latinos to realize their specific political needs. Also, they cause Asian Americans and Latinos to have higher expectations for their nonvoting participation by making their political cooperation more visible to each other. Therefore, these contextual factors are more likely to increase the willingness of Asian Americans' and Latinos' participation in nonvoting activities.

First, I predict the positive role of the size of population and the level of segregation. Prior research provides an empirical basis for my prediction on the effect of the size of population and the level of segregation. Leighley (2001) finds that a large Latino population size fosters Latino political participation. According to her, a large Latino group size increases the likelihood that Latinos are mobilized. Rocha et al. (2009) also empirically finds a positive impact of Latino group size and segregation level on Latino nonvoting participation. In line with these scholars, I predict a positive impact of the size of population and the level of segregation.

In chapter IV, I found that the number of Asian American elected officials has a negative impact on Asian American voting participation in the presidential election while it fails to bring out Latino voters. However, I predict a positive impact of panethnic elected officials on nonvoting participation which requires more local and community-based political activities than voting participation at the national level. That is, because a large number of Asian American and Latino elected officials work in state, city, and county assemblies, they can make a difference at nonvoting participation which often takes place at the state and local level. At the local level, panethnic elected officials can have greater contacts with those who address their imminent political demands. Also, they can bridge nonvoting participants with relevant local governmental institutions or administrative officials. Besides, Asian American and Latino elected officials can serve as leaders or speakers for a particular political event that addresses their group's demands. In these ways, they encourage Asian Americans and Latinos to have greater expectations on political outcomes and thereby to be actively involved in nonvoting activities.

With respect to the effect of ethnic/panethnic organizations, I also predict their positive influence. In chapter IV, I found that ethnic/panethnic organizations do not work as significant voting mobilization agents. This result may come from their lack of organizational structure as mobilization agents. The entire presidential election process is a long and complicated campaign. Thus, to be effective mobilization agents which provide Asian Americans with necessary political information, encourage them to sustain their interests in the election during the entire process and bring out them to vote, panethnic organizations are needed to have well-established institutional settings. However, many Asian American organizations are institutionally underdeveloped (Okamoto 2006), which may result in their insignificant role in Asian American voting participation.

In contrast, nonvoting activities may not require panethnic organizations to have such highly structured organizational forms. In addition, many qualitative studies find that Asian American and Latino organizations play a more important role in nonvoting participation ranging from campaign volunteers to protests among Asian Americans and Latinos (De Genova et al. 2003; Espiritu 1992; Lai et al. 2001; Lien et al. 2001; Padilla 1985; Saito 1998). For example, in the 1970s, active mobilization of local Latino organizations in Chicago convinced Latinos that they could accomplish their political goals through consolidated effort (Padilla 1985; De Genova et al. 2003). In the 1980s, Japanese and Chinese, living clustered in Monterey Park, California, participated in demonstrations and city council meetings to protect the right to use Asian languages on business signs. At that time, active local Asian American organizations encouraged Asian Americans in that area to believe that they could yield their preferred policy by working together.

With the same assumption that I discussed in chapter IV, I predict the positive role of religious service attendance on Asian American nonvoting participation. To summarize, I hypothesize;

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in areas with a higher level of segregation and a larger size of panethnic population are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos living in areas with a larger number of panethnic elected officials are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities

Hypothesis: Asian Americans living in areas with a larger number of panethnic organizations are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities.

Hypothesis: As Asian Americans attend religious services with greater frequency, they are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities.

Individual Socializing Factors: Discrimination Experience,
Birth Place and English Proficiency

My findings in chapter IV indicate that discrimination experience greatly increases Asian American's voting activities while it has no effect on Latino voting activities. In predicting the effect of discrimination experience on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation, I hypothesize a positive impact of discrimination experience. Discrimination experiences provide Asian Americans and Latinos with opportunities for realizing their imminent needs to improve their status in the society. Thereby, discrimination experiences motivate Asian Americans and Latinos to seek more direct and effective channels to improve their status than voting. Nonvoting activities provide such channels.

As a matter of fact, some nonvoting activities are more demanding than voting activities. For example, participation in demonstrations demands more time on individuals than casting a vote in an election day. However, Asian Americans and Latinos with discrimination experiences are more likely to take the costly actions because discrimination experiences increases their aspiration for change through a direct political channel. That is, discrimination experiences encourage Asian Americans and Latinos to actively seek for more effective political venues to transfer their aspirations for change into political outcomes. Many scholars' empirical studies support this prediction (Lien 2001; Sanchez 2006; Takagi 1992; Wrinkle et al. 1996; Zia 2000).

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who experienced discrimination are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities.

Many studies on minority voting participation find limited English proficiency as an important barrier to participation. For example, the presence or absence of multilingual ballots can have a great impact on individuals with the low levels of English proficiency. My findings in chapter IV partly prove the important role of English

proficiency; it increases Latino voting activities. With respect to nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos, I expect weak or no impact of English proficiency. Asian Americans and Latinos can participate in a variety of nonvoting activities such as demonstrations or donating campaign money, even though they do not speak English fluently.

As mentioned previously, nonvoting activities often require greater English abilities. When an Asian American is of limited English proficiency, he is less likely to write a letter to government officials than to check on the ballot. However, many nonvoting activities may not necessarily require English proficiency. An Asian American can sign a petition for Asian American group interest without English fluency. Besides, in many cases these nonvoting activities are initiated and organized by their ethnic/panethnic members that can communicate to each other in their own language. Also, non-citizens or non-natives, who are less likely to be proficient in English, are not legally barred from nonvoting activities. That is, being socialized as Americans driven by English proficiency is not a necessary condition for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. For these reasons, I predict that English skill in itself is an insignificant factor.

I expect that birth place significantly affects whether Asian Americans and Latinos participate in non-voting activities. Nonvoting activities in the U.S. differ from those of other countries, and therefore, native Asian Americans and Latinos are more likely to have better knowledge as to how they can participate in nonvoting activities in the U.S.

Hypothesis: Asian Americans and Latinos who are born in the U.S. are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities.

I test these hypotheses, controlling for education, income, age, interest in politics, partisan strength, political efficacy, and citizenship status.

Measurement: Nonvoting Activities

The Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS) contains eight types of participation beyond voting.²⁸ Among them, I choose five types of nonvoting activities for two reasons. First, because I use the separate datasets for Asian Americans and Latinos, I include Asian American nonvoting political activities comparable to those of the Latino dataset. Second, among the nine nonvoting activities, some of them are closer to social community activities. For instance, the experience of working with others in community or contacting an editor of a newspaper is more of a type of social capital participation.

Specifically, for the examination of nonvoting participation among Asian Americans, I operationalize the following question:

“During the past four years, have you participated in any of the following types of political activity in your community?”

- i. Have you written or phoned a government official?
- ii. Donated money to a political campaign?
- iii. Attended a public meeting, political rally or fundraiser.
- iv. Signed a petition for a political cause
- v. Taken part in a protest or demonstration.

I construct an index, combining these five sub-questions. If respondents report “yes” for the five questions, they are coded five while they are coded zero if they report “no” for all these questions. That is, the scale of this dependent variable ranges from 0 to 5.

I derive the Latino nonvoting participation variable by operationalizing the following question with three items:

²⁸ The eight types of nonvoting activities include writing or phoning a government official, contacting an editor or a newspaper, magazine or tv station, donating money to a political campaign, attending a public meeting, political rally or fundraiser, working with others in your community to solve a problem, signing a petition for a political cause, serving on any governmental board or commission, participating in a protest or demonstration.

“Please tell me whether or not you have done each of the following activities in the past ten years.”

- i. Have you worked as a volunteer or for pay for a Latino political candidate or not?
- ii. Have you attended a public meeting or demonstration regarding Latino concerns or not?
- iii. Have you contributed money to a Latino candidate or Latino political organization or not?

I construct an index, combining the three sub-questions. If respondents report “yes” for the three questions, they are coded three while they are coded zero if they report “no” for all these questions. Thus, the scale of the Latino nonvoting participation dependent variable ranges from zero to three.

Table 5.1 Asian American Nonvoting Activities by items

Responses	Contacting officials (%)	Contribute Money (%)	Attend a public meeting, political rally or fundraiser (%)	Sign a petition for a political cause (%)	Take part in a protest or demonstration (%)
Yes	134(11)	142(12)	175(14)	193(16)	88(7)
No	1,080(89)	1,073(88)	1,037(86)	1,014(84)	1,127(93)
Total	1,214(100)	1,215(100)	1,212(100)	1,207(100)	1,215(100)

In Tables 5.1 and 5.2, I present the percentages of Asian Americans and Latinos in each nonvoting activity. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show the distribution of the dependent variable for Asian Americans and Latinos, respectively. Asian Americans’ and Latinos’

Table 5.2 Latino Nonvoting Activities by items

	Volunteer for candidates (%)	Contribute money (%)	Attend a public meeting or demonstration (%)
Yes	242(10)	346(14)	630(26)
No	2,166(90)	2,060(86)	1,779(74)
Total	2,408(100)	2,406(100)	2,409(100)

Table 5.3 Asian American Nonvoting Participation

Degree	Frequency (%)
0	782 (65.4)
1	230 (19.3)
2	97 (8.1)
3	53 (4.4)
4	28(2.3)
5	5 (0.4)
Total	1,195(100)

Table 5.4 Latino Nonvoting Participation

Degree	Frequency (%)
0	1,571 (65.4)
1	534(22.2)
2	211 (8.8)
3	86 (3.6)
Total	2,402(100)

nonvoting participation rates are much lower than their respective voting participation ones. As shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4, approximately 65% of both Asian American and Latino respondents do not participate in any of the nonvoting activities. These lower nonvoting participation rates among Asian Americans and Latinos imply that participating in nonvoting activities is more costly for a large number of Asian Americans and Latinos.

Findings and Discussion

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present statistical results on how panethnicity and the other variables of interest affect Asian American and Latino participation beyond voting. The first column of Table 5.5 presents results obtained from the statistical model which does not include the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations and religious service attendance. The second column of the table indicates results obtained from the model with the additional two variables. As shown, I lose nothing in predictive ability by adding the two variables into the model. The full model, then, is my final model of Asian American nonvoting participation. Table 5.6 summarizes the results of Latino nonvoting participation patterns.

Panethnicity, discrimination experience, education, and interest in politics are revealed as common significant predictors for both Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. Most importantly, panethnicity significantly bolsters both Asian American and Latino participation beyond voting. Many recent studies on minority participation on Latinos find a significant impact of contextual settings, such as the level of segregation and the size or population, on Latino nonvoting activities (Leighley 2001; Rocha et al. 2009; Welch et al. 2001). However, my findings indicate that when panethnicity, as a group feature shared among the panethnic group members, is taken into account, the impact of contextual factors becomes weak or negligible. That is, panethnicity is a more influential factor than residential contexts with respect to Asian

American and Latino nonvoting participation. This finding implies that panethnicity enhances Asian Americans' and Latinos' expectation of their political influence through various nonvoting activities. Also, together with the negative and null effects of panethnicity on voting participation found in chapter IV, this finding suggests that panethnicity leads Asian Americans and Latinos to prefer immediate and direct political involvement to voting.

Another common influential factor for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation is discrimination experience. In chapter IV, I found that discrimination experience bolsters voting activities only among Asian Americans. However, as shown Tables 5.5 and 5.6, discrimination experience greatly increases both Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. The different effects of discrimination experience by the modes of Latino participation may suggest that compared to Asian Americans, Latinos who experience discrimination are more likely to recognize voting activities at the national level as less effective political means adequately addressing their sense of alienation and political discontent. Put differently, Latinos, who have comparatively low levels of participation resources, may see nonvoting activities as more accessible and efficacious.

Besides, the mixed effects of discrimination experience on Latino participation may indicate that Latinos are more likely to view their perceived deprivations or grievances as "local" than Asian Americans. Most minority group members experience discrimination when they interact with local government institutions and officials in their daily personal and professional lives. Thus, the positive impact of Latinos' discrimination experience only on Latino nonvoting participation suggests that Latinos tend to perceive the causes of their discrimination experiences mainly as related to the local social and political system. In response, they prefer expressing their grievances through local channels such as attending local public meetings or demonstrations. Participation in these

Table 5.5 Asian American Nonvoting Participation

Independent Variables	Nonvoting Participation (N=470)	Nonvoting Participation (N=461)
Group Factors		
Panethnicity	.17** (2.28)	.16** (2.15)
Segregation	.05 (0.95)	.12 (0.93)
Population	-.03 (-1.52)	-.02 (-0.87)
N of Panethnic Elected Officials	.03* (1.90)	.03* (1.79)
N of Panethnic Organizations	—	-.04 (-0.61)
Religious Service Attendance	—	-.04 (-0.58)
Socializing Factors		
Discrimination	.49*** (2.45)	.47** (2.31)
English Proficiency	.31*** (2.97)	-.29*** (2.74)
Birth Place	-.54** (-2.17)	-.56** (-2.14)
Controlled Factors		
Income	.24*** (3.81)	.25*** (3.92)
Education	.13** (1.96)	.14** (2.06)
Age	-.00 (-0.15)	.00 (-0.01)
Interest in Politics	.50*** (4.41)	.51*** (4.48)
Partisan Strength	-.04 (-0.51)	.06 (-0.66)
Political Efficacy	.04 (0.59)	.06 (0.76)
Citizenship Status	.47* (1.91)	.48** (1.93)
Log likelihood	-496.23	-486.92
McKelvey & Zavoina's R2	0.31	0.31
McFadden's R2	0.12	0.12

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01, ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests. Coefficients are estimated in two separate logistic regression models.

Table 5.6 Latino Nonvoting Participation

Independent Variables	Nonvoting Participation(N=1876)
Group Factors	
Panethnicity	.38*** (3.02)
Segregation	.01 (0.88)
Population	.00 (0.89)
N of Panethnic Elected Officials	.00 (-1.62)
Socializing Factors	
Discrimination	.91*** (9.03)
English Proficiency	-.02 (-0.57)
Birth Place	-.12 (-0.94)
Controlled Factors	
Income	.05 (1.53)
Education	.10*** (2.97)
Age	.00 (0.87)
Interest in Politics	.35*** (5.57)
Partisan Strength	.18*** (2.81)
Political Efficacy	.01 (0.27)
Citizenship Status	.11 (0.74)
<hr/>	
Log likelihood	-1712.59
McKelvey & Zavoina's R2	0.16
McFadden's R2	0.07
<hr/>	

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are z values. P-values: *** <.01 ** <.05, * <.10. The hypothesis tests are based on two-tailed tests.

types of political activities allows Latinos to directly express their specific political demands with little use of their scarce political resources.

Interest in politics and education are the other significant common determinants for both Asian American and Latino participation beyond voting. Both Asian Americans and Latinos who have greater interest in politics and higher levels of education are more likely to participate in various nonvoting activities. Many conventional studies on the role of political interest and education argue that political interest and education play an important role in participation because it increases knowledge and desire to become politically active (Verba et al. 1995; Miller et al. 1996). My finding supports this conventional wisdom.

Among the contextual factors, only the presence of panethnic elected officials is statistically significant but this effect is limited to Asian Americans. Hero et al. (1996) argues that Latinos participate less in nonvoting activities, such as volunteering for a party or candidates, because of the relatively small number of Latino candidates. Their argument implies that a large number of elected officials can bolster Latino nonvoting participation in that most elected officials are very likely to be future candidates in the next election. However, I find no impact from the number of panethnic elected officials. Taken together with the finding in chapter IV, Latino elected officials play an insignificant role in Latino participation.

In contrast, Asian Americans living in areas with a higher number of panethnic elected officials are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities. Asian American elected officials make invisible Asian Americans at the presidential election visible in nonvoting activities. This finding indicates that in nonvoting activities, such as demonstrations or public meetings, where Asian Americans can be majority participants, Asian Americans are more likely to have higher expectations when they live in an area with higher numbers of Asian American elected officials. When Asian Americans

participate in a demonstration or public meeting for a specific political cause, they expect that their elected Asian American officials do not look away from their demands. This expectation is likely to be higher when they have a larger number of elected Asian Americans. In addition, this finding indicates that Asian Americans, living in areas with a higher number of panethnic elected officials, are more likely to believe in the importance of political contributions for getting one of their own elected, because Asian American elected officials, themselves, prove the effect of political contributions.

Combined with the finding in chapter IV that the presence of Asian American elected officials depresses Asian Americans' voting participation, another interpretation of this finding is that Asian American elected officials are more successful in local politics in terms of Asian American participation. Put differently, Asian American elected officials successfully help Asian Americans to transfer the symbolic victory of having Asian American elected officials into practical participation mainly occurring at the local level and not at the ballot box. Most nonvoting activities take place at local and community levels. In most cases, participating in a public meeting or demonstration is planned and carried out by local and community units. Contributions particularly to Asian American and Latino candidates for local elections are collected mainly by local or community-based political organizations or groups. Thus, Asian American elected officials, who are elected largely at the state and local levels, can play an influential role by directly contacting and mobilizing Asian Americans to encourage them to participate in nonvoting activities.

Unlike its positive effect on voting activities, religious service attendance has no critical influence on Asian American nonvoting participation. This may be because some Asian Americans are not affiliated with Christian and Catholic churches. A large number of Asian Americans who have a religion are Buddhists (see Table 5.7). For those, attending services is not a regular religious practice. That is, for them, religious

organizations do not provide a consistent mobilization basis to bolster their nonvoting participation which takes place irregularly but requires immediate and active political involvement.

Table 5.7 Asian American Religious Preferences among Religion Identifiers

Religion	Frequency (%)
Muslim	24(3)
Protestant	90(10)
Catholic	249(28)
Christian	230(26)
Buddhist	184(20)
Hindu	77(6)
Other	36(3)
Total	890(100)

Alternatively, this finding may simply indicate that the role of Asian American churches as political organizations is weak with respect to Asian American nonvoting participation. That is, Asian American churches' primary political function may focus more on helping Asian American immigrants to be incorporated into the American society. Thus, they may actively encourage Asian Americans to participate in voting as an important civic duty during their services. Instead, they may not be an active mobilization agent for nonvoting participation targeting of Asian Americans' specific demands. As a result, religious service attendance may exert an insignificant effect on Asian American Christians' nonvoting participation.

Counter to my hypothesis, Asian American organizations fail to register a statistically significant result. In chapter IV, I also found no impact of Asian American organizations on Asian American voting participation. Then, taken as a whole, Asian

American organizations are not a good predictor of Asian American participation. One possible reason for the insignificant role of Asian American organizations is their lack of organizational structure. Despite anecdotal evidence suggesting their importance, in general, they do not seem to serve as successful political information providers or mobilization agents enough to register a statistical significance.

Alternatively, Asian American organizations' diverse goals and strategies might be another reason. A small number of Asian American organizations work to fulfill diverse Asian American needs such as education, economic aid, discriminatory immigration legislation, unemployment and civil rights issues. Such variety may prevent Asian American organizations from working as effective organizations as a whole. While previous studies suggest that Asian American organizations provide a crucial context for the development of networks necessary for Asian Americans to act politically and socially, my findings suggest that, in general, Asian American organizations do not effectively fill this theorized role.

Of the individual socializing factors, discrimination experience significantly affects both Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. Also, nativity ensures higher nonvoting participation among Asian Americans although it is not a significant predictor for Latinos. That is, when Asian Americans are born outside of the U.S., they are less likely to participate in nonvoting activities. In contrast, Latino participation in nonvoting activities is not a matter of nativity. In addition, as hypothesized, English proficiency is neither a barrier to, nor a stimulant for, nonvoting participation among Latinos. However, contrary to my prediction, English proficiency significantly bolsters Asian American nonvoting participation; Asian Americans who speak English with greater fluency are more likely to participate in nonvoting activities.

Taken together, these racially different findings with respect to nativity and English proficiency indicate that whether Asian Americans are socialized as Americans is

crucial to Asian American nonvoting participation while it is not for Latino participation beyond voting. In addition, combined with the strong impact of panethnicity on Asian American nonvoting participation, the significant impact of nativity and English proficiency implies that developing panethnic solidarity with other Asian Americans, and being socialized as Americans are not two conflicting social processes in terms of Asian American nonvoting participation. Lastly, the null impact of nativity and English proficiency on Latino nonvoting participation highlights the importance of panethnicity as a political resource; Latinos participate in nonvoting activities as long as they hold a strong sense of panethnicity, regardless of whether they are born in the U.S., and how fluently they speak English.

Scholars note that the impact of ethnic or racial differences can be exaggerated if socioeconomic status is not controlled. They emphasize the importance of income and education for ethnic or racial minority participation because economic and educational advancement can increase political participation of minorities by enhancing political knowledge and interest (Cain et al. 1991; Hero 1996; Leighley 2001; Parenti 1967; Wolfinger et al. 1980). My findings support these scholars' argument. Both education and income significantly increase Asian Americans' nonvoting participation. Education considerably bolsters Latino participation beyond voting. In particular, when the level of political information is measured in terms of the level of education, the significant impact of education on both Latino voting and nonvoting participation implies that information level is a very important determinant for Latino political participation.

Analyzing the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) data, Desipio(1996b) argues that naturalization does not promote Latino participation. His finding contradicts the conventional claim that naturalization significantly affects Latino political participation more importantly than birth place. My finding supports Desipio's argument. Citizenship status has a significant impact only on Asian American nonvoting

participation. That is, citizenship status is not a significant barrier to nonvoting activities among Latinos. The null effect of citizenship may result from the fact that a large number of Latinos are naturalized as American citizens out of economic motives, rather than political motives. If this is the case, then citizenship does not always match their political enthusiasm. Also, citizenship does not always correspond with the length of stay in the U.S. which can affect the level of political knowledge and skills necessary for participation in the U.S.

Among the other control variables, for Latinos, partisan strength greatly bolsters Latino nonvoting participation. Together with the finding of the strong and positive effect of partisan strength on Latino voting participation uncovered in chapter IV, this finding indicates that partisan strength is a good predictor for the overall participation among Latinos. In addition, the significant impact of partisanship on Latino participation implies that party mobilization can make a great difference in Latino political participation.

To summarize, panethnicity and discrimination experience as group features significantly increase Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. Besides, interest in politics determines Asian American and Latino participation beyond voting. Socioeconomic status is a good predictor for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. In contrast, the suggested contextual factors have a very limited influence on Asian Americans' and Latinos' likelihood of participating in political activities beyond voting. These results imply that among group resources, psychological awareness as a group has much more potential as a political resource for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation than shared residential settings.

Conclusion

This chapter offers the most direct evidence regarding my argument, first posed in chapter I, about the importance of panethnicity to Asian American and Latinos political participation. First, it is clear that Asian Americans' and Latinos' decision to participate in nonvoting participation is structured by panethnicity. The significant impact of panethnicity suggests that panethnicity is an important group feature that compensates for Asian Americans' and Latinos' lack of other political resources for nonvoting participation. Besides, when panethnicity is properly considered, the effect of contextual factors on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation becomes weak or negligible. This result indicates that without the structural incentives offered by contextual settings, Asian Americans and Latinos can be politically active participants in nonvoting participation as long as they hold a strong sense of panethnicity.

Discrimination experience is also a good predictor for Asian American and Latino participation beyond voting. The significant impact of discrimination experience indicates that panethnic marginalization provides a powerful incentive for Asian Americans and Latino to politically work together. Combined with the strong impact of panethnicity, it also suggests the importance of group features on Asian American and Latino participation. That is, an awareness of their deprivation and a sense of panethnic solidarity with their group members promote participation in various nonvoting activities as a way to improve their group conditions.

In addition, my evidence indicates that education, income, partisan strength and interest in politics are good indicators for Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. These results suggest that when group features such as panethnicity and residential settings are taken into account, Asian Americans and Latinos participate as the conventional participation studies predict.

This chapter contributes to the existing literature on Asian American and Latino participation in several aspects. First, I empirically test the effects of a variety of contextual factors on nonvoting participation among Asian Americans and Latinos. Empirical studies on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation with respect to the suggested contextual factors are rare. Particularly, studies on Asian American nonvoting participation in relation to the contextual factors are almost nonexistent.

More importantly, finding the significant impact of panethnicity on Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation expands our limited understanding of the role of distinctive dimensions of Asian American and Latino group consciousness. Panethnicity, as a sense of solidarity, prompts Asian Americans and Latinos to act on behalf of their groups to accomplish their needs in society. It also encourages higher expectations for nonvoting participation which deal with their specific demands. Consequently, panethnicity leads Asian Americans and Latinos to participate in various nonvoting activities as opportunities to make an actual difference.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

I began by asking two questions: what leads Asian Americans and Latinos to develop panethnicity? What are the political consequences of panethnicity? In answering these two questions, I first defined panethnicity as a sense of solidarity beyond diverse ethnic or national origins. It is a sense of linked fate shared among members of a panethnic group and an awareness of the importance of cooperation at the panethnic level. As one dimension of group consciousness, it is distinct from panethnic self-identification as a manifestation of accepting a socially imposed category.

Much of the research on Asian American and Latino panethnicity is limited in several aspects. First, it has failed to distinguish between panethnic solidarity, panethnic self-identification, panethnic mobilization and pan-Asian American and Latino group consciousness. As a result, we little learn about what determines Asian American and Latino panethnicity, as a sense of solidarity specifically, and pan-Asian American and pan-Latino group consciousness generally. Besides, most discussions of panethnicity are flooded with rhetoric and anecdotes. Consequently, we have little systemic knowledge on the factors that scholars emphasize in their arguments regarding the formation and consequence of panethnicity.

In response, I systematically tested the development and consequence of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos with greater conceptual clarity. In this exploration, I also investigated whether or not Asian Americans and Latinos behave in a generalizable pattern, or whether these groups behave in distinct ways.

Formation of Panethnicity

Based on the ethnic studies literature, I identified two important groups of theories on ethnicity; culturalism and instrumentalism. Culturalism views ethnicity as determined by culture and blood lineage. In contrast, instrumentalism understands

ethnicity as being socially and politically constructed. Building on instrumentalism as an underlying theory of panethnicity, I assumed that panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos is a social product. Asian Americans and Latinos develop their panethnicity in the process of responding to external conditions such as social and political policies, discrimination, and residential and political circumstances.

This assumption suggests that panethnicity is a creation of both objective outer settings and personal reactions to them. Thus, I focused on two sets of factors; individual socializing factors and contextual factors. The individual socializing factors include panethnic self-identification, discrimination experience, birth place and English proficiency. The contextual factors include the size of panethnic population, the level of segregation, and the number of panethnic elected officials. For Asian Americans, the impact of the number of ethnic/panethnic organizations and religious service attendance are included as additional contextual factors.

The evidence suggests that panethnicity is a social product. Asian Americans and Latinos develop panethnicity in the process of responding to external conditions. Among individual socializing factors, English proficiency, panethnic-self identification and discrimination experience are revealed as significant determinants for both Asian American and Latino panethnicity. These factors decide how Asian American and Latinos react to given circumstances. In addition, panethnic self-identification and discrimination experience are a reflection of the political and social system, such as racial categorization imposed to Asian Americans and Latinos. Among the contextual factors, the level of segregation acquired a statistical significance on Latino panethnicity. Along with English proficiency, the level of segregation determines Latinos' interactions with members of other racial groups as well as their opportunities in society. Thus, the significant impact of these factors indicates that Asian Americans and Latinos develop panethnicity, in the process of adapting to given social settings. In sum, panethnicity is a

reflection of what Asian Americans and Latinos experience in response to given circumstantial settings.

However, I found no impact of panethnic elected officials and organizations on the formation of panethnicity among Asian Americans and Latinos. Why are Asian American and Latino political elites and community leaders a statistically poor predictor, despite a large number of case studies which argue their significant role in the formation of panethnicity? One possible answer is that they might not provide a consistent and regular basis for interpersonal interactions necessary to form panethnicity due to their small number and organizational structure. Alternatively, the main strategy of panethnic elected officials and organizations may not evoke panethnic sentiment. Panethnic elected officials tend to appeal to voters across races. A large number of panethnic organizations helps members of the panethnic groups to integrate into the American society.

Instead, not including specific policy issues related to the panethnic groups into my models might be a reason for no impact of panethnic elected officials and organizations. Panethnic elected officials and organizations are known to take a leading role when there is a specific panethnic or racial issue. Therefore, when explicitly adding policy issues as external conditions into my models, these contextual factors might be found to be important. Thus, I believe that if future research incorporates specific policy issues into the model of panethnicity formation, it will be a great contribution to our understanding of panethnicity.

Based on the significant impact of discrimination experience and the level of segregation, combined with the null finding with regard to nativity and socioeconomic status, I predict that even if Asian Americans and Latinos achieve socioeconomic success and are born in the U.S., they will develop and hold panethnicity as long as they perceive discrimination and residential segregation persists.

Panethnicity and Political Participation

My criticism of the existing studies on Asian American and Latino political participation was largely based on their insufficient focus on panethnic group features such as panethnicity and contextual factors. As a response, in chapter IV and V, I examined how panethnicity as a group feature, together with the other individual socializing and contextual factors, affects Asian American and Latino political participation. In this investigation, panethnicity, discrimination experience, the size of population, the level of segregation and the number of panethnic elected officials were revealed as significant group features to determine Asian American and Latino political participation.

First, I found the panethnicity affects Asian American and Latino political participation. However, the influence of panethnicity varies with the types of political activities and the panethnic groups. Specifically, panethnicity significantly dampens Asian Americans' voting activities but has no impact on Latino voting participation. I offered three possible reasons for the negative impact of panethnicity on Asian American voting participation. First, panethnicity may lead Asian Americans to view formal voting process as an ineffective vehicle for their political demands. In other words, it prompts them to believe that candidates from different racial and ethnic groups would not advocate their demands. Second, panethnic solidarity may promote Asian Americans to perceive their limited ability to influence election outcomes due to their small numbers. That is, strong panethnicity holders are more likely to have lower expectations on election outcomes because they are more likely to feel that their votes will be wasted with respect to selecting their group' favored candidate. Lastly, panethnicity may dampen Asian Americans' sense of civic duty by making them feel remote from the mainstream society.

In contrast, I did not find evidence suggesting a significant impact of panethnicity on Latino voting participation. Together with the significant impact of socioeconomic status, this finding indicates that for Latinos, rather than a psychological drive, practical resources such as income and education, are key determinants to voting. Also, the lack of impact of panethnicity on Latino voting participation can be understood as a function of current mobilization patterns; mobilizing voters who are likely to vote and to determine voting outcomes. This interpretation is convincing particularly with regard to the significant impact of the size of Latino population and partisan strength, and null effect of Latino elected officials. Latino elected officials tend to mobilize members from other racial groups to win. When they mobilize Latinos, they target Latinos who live clustered together in large numbers and who hold strong partisanship. Considering these mobilization patterns, the lack of impact of panethnicity implies that panethnic solidarity among Latinos is not a crucial incentive for political elites to rely on. Thereby, panethnicity does not serve as an instrument to facilitate Latino voting participation.

Unlike its negative and racially different effect, I found that panethnicity as a political instrument significantly bolsters both Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation. This finding indicates that panethnicity prompts Asian Americans and Latinos to actively seek an effective and direct political vehicle for translating their respective groups' demands and preferences into actual gains, and to have higher expectation on political outcomes from their nonvoting participation. It thereby encourages Asian Americans and Latinos to participate in nonvoting activities. In addition, the strong and positive impact of panethnicity on nonvoting participation suggests that panethnicity play a more crucial role in Asian Americans' and Latinos' political activities which require a higher level of commitment than voting. In short, panethnicity is an influential factor for Asian American and Latino participation.

Second, my empirical findings identified discrimination experience as a good predictor for Asian American and Latino political participation. Discrimination experience prompts the members of the two groups to see political participation as an opportunity to enhance their status, and consequently encourages them to vote. Additionally, the positive effect of Latinos' discrimination experiences only on their nonvoting participation indicates that Latinos prefer nonvoting participation to voting participation in expressing their grievances and achieving their needs.

Third, in general, the contextual factors turned out as significant for Asian American and Latino political participation, particularly voting participation. Specifically, the size of Asian American population, Asian American elected officials and religious service attendance registered a statistically significant impact on Asian American voting participation. For Latinos, the size of Latino population and the level of Latino segregation against whites acquired statistical significance. Regarding nonvoting participation, I found that the number of Asian American elected officials is a significant predictor of Asian American nonvoting participation.

Taken together, my evidence indicates that the contextual factors are better predictors of Asian American and Latino voting participation than nonvoting participation. This evidence implies that Asian Americans and Latinos will react to changing residential and political settings with greater sensitivity with respect to voting participation than nonvoting one. Besides, this limited role of the suggested contextual factors in Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation highlights the importance of panethnicity as a crucial participation instrument; Asian Americans and Latinos with strong panethnicity will participate regardless of where they live.

One unexpected finding regarding the impact of contextual factors is Asian American elected officials' impact on Asian American voting participation. Scholars have confirmed the significantly positive relationship between African American elected

officials and African American participation. My analyses found that this relation holds only for Asian Americans but in a different way; Asian American elected officials depress Asian American voting participation while they bolster Asian American nonvoting participation. This finding indicates that Asian American elected officials neither bolster Asian Americans' expectation on election outcomes nor serve as successful election information providers and mobilization agents. One possible reason for the negative impact of Asian American elected officials on Asian Americans' voting in the presidential election is that Asian American elected officials do not meet Asian Americans' expectation as advocates for Asian Americans particularly in the political system at the higher level. As a result, the presence of Asian American elected officials discourages Asian Americans from voting.

Then, one interesting question that emerges from the negative impact of panethnicity and Asian American elected officials is whether panethnic political elites and candidates will evoke panethnicity when they mobilize Asian American voters in a future campaign by emphasizing the importance of panethnicity. I expect that they will do so as the size of Asian American population grows, and thereby, Asian Americans become swing voters. Then, to gain support from Asian Americans, who will decide voting outcomes, political candidates and elites will appeal to the Asian American panethnicity. The positive impact of the size of Asian American population on Asian American voting participation lends support to this prediction. Besides, in the future when Asian American elected officials represent Asian Americans proportionally to its panethnic group size, I expect that Asian American elected official will play a positive role in enhancing Asian American turnout. In this scenario, Asian Americans are very likely to have higher expectations for an election to serve as an opportunity to deliver their demands to the political system. Thereby, Asian Americans will vote more. As a

response, Asian American elected officials are very likely to take a more active role in mobilizing Asian American voters.

Fourth, my findings revealed that the conventional participation factors such as education, income, age, interest in politics and partisan strength are good predictors of Asian American and Latino participation. These findings indicate that when group features such as panethnicity, discrimination experience and contextual factors are properly controlled, Asian Americans and Latinos politically act like their white counterparts.

In investigating the political effect of panethnicity on voting participation, my models are limited in a few aspects. Among them, my models did not test the variables suggested by the “economic voting” model which has gained considerable empirical and practical support. The economic voting model argues that election outcomes are largely predetermined by the health of the economy and individuals’ economic conditions (Gibson et al. 1995; Kramer 1971; Lewis-Beck 1988; Lewis-Beck et al. 1992, 1996, 2000; Nadeau et al. 2001; Pacek 1994; Pacek et al. 1995). According to this argument, the evaluation of national and individual economic conditions helps voters find an easy way to evaluate candidates. Put differently, voters’ evaluation on micro and macro-economic conditions guide voters’ candidate choice.

This economic argument implies that voters’ economic evaluations can determine whether voters will show up at the voting booth by lowering the cost of processing complex and often vague campaign information. When incorporating Asian Americans’ and Latinos’ economic evaluations into my voting models, my findings and conclusions might be modified. Therefore, an important future research agenda to pursue is to test for the economic voting model factors. I believe that the new research design incorporating these factors will help us to more explicitly map Asian American and Latino voting participation.

Future of Panethnicity: Bi-panethnicity between Asian
Americans and Latinos

My evidence suggests that Asian Americans and Latinos will hold their respective panethnicity as long as they experience discrimination and segregation remains as a feature of American society. It also indicates that as long as a growing number of new Asian American and Latino immigrants, who are of limited English proficiency, recharge the two minority communities, Asian Americans and Latinos will continue to develop their panethnicity. Then, when Asian Americans and Latinos develop their respective panethnicity in response to external events, will they also develop an inter-panethnic tie together as a collective response to other external stimuli? My answer is somewhat negative. Many case studies find that Asian Americans and Latinos collaborated in favorable city, state assembly and senate redistricting plans and civil right activities (Fong, 1994; Horton 1995; Kim et al. 2001; Saito 1994, 1998; Saito et al. 2000). Most of these collaborative efforts made by these two groups were intended to cope with specific issues discriminating against these groups simultaneously.

However, most racial issues and discrimination cases occur along with distinctive racial lines. Thus, it is hard for members of these two panethnic groups to develop sustainable bi-panethnic solidarity based only on shared discrimination experiences and common racial issues. Evidence also suggests that when the issues related to both groups are resolved, their coalition also ends. Besides, as a growing number of Asian Americans and Latinos develop panethnicity, as a new expanded bond in the U.S. with other members of their respective panethnic groups, and panethnicity becomes an established core identity shared among them, Asian Americans and Latinos are less likely to accept each other beyond their own panethnic group boundaries.

Many of my findings are open to different and often contradictory interpretations.

However, my dissertation is a contribution to Asian American and Latino studies. Even if it does not illuminate a full picture of group consciousness among Asian Americans and Latinos, my dissertation helps us understand panethnicity as one element of group consciousness. Second, my dissertation helps us to better understand Asian American and Latino participation by resolving some puzzles. For example, I provide one possible answer to why Asian Americans participate less in voting despite their high levels of socioeconomic status; panethnicity discourages them from voting. In addition, I found panethnicity serves as an important resource in boosting Asian Americans' and Latinos' nonvoting participation. For Asian Americans and Latinos, who lack political resources in general, panethnicity is a crucial instrument to motivate them to be politically involved. Third, my dissertation contributes to the field of minority politics. Most cross racial studies have compared African Americans with whites, or Latinos with whites or African Americans. Thus, this dissertation is a contribution to the cross-racial study between Asian Americans and Latinos.

APPENDIX A
QUESTION WORDING AND SELECTED CODING SCHEMES FOR
PANETHNICITY

In this appendix, I describe the question items from the datasets employed for the empirical tests of chapter III.

Panethnicity

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: Do you think what happens generally to other groups of Asians in this country will affect what happens in your life? (Choices: Yes / No); [If yes] Will it affect it a lot, some or not very much? (Choices: A lot / Some / Not very much); If you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is Asian American. Would you be more likely to vote for the Asian American candidate, if two are equally qualified? (Choices: Yes/No); “[If yes] Would you still vote for the Asian American, even if he or she is less qualified? (Choices: Yes/No). This panethnicity scale runs from 0 through 5. When respondents answer no for the first and third question, they are coded as zero while respondents answer yes for either of the questions, or both the questions, they are coded as one to five, depending on degree. For example, if a respondent answers “a lot” for the second question and yes for the fourth question, he is given five.

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Generally Speaking, do you think that various Latino groups worked together politically Latinos would be better off, worse off or wouldn't it make much difference? (Choices: Better off/Worse off/ Wouldn't make much difference).

Panethnic Self-Identification

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: People think of themselves in different ways. In general, do you think of yourself as an American, an Asian American, an Asian, a [Respondent's ethnic group] American, or a [Respondent's ethnic group]? (Choices: American/Asian American/Asian/Respondent' ethnic group American/ Respondent's ethnic group/Other).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Do you consider yourself to be white, black or African-American, Asian-American or some other race? (Choices: White/ Black or African American/ Asian American/Some Other Race/ Hispanic or Latino). Panethnic identifiers are coded as one while non-panethnic identifiers are coded as zero.

Discrimination Experience

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: Have you ever personally experienced discrimination in the United States? (Choices: Yes/ No).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: During the last 5 years, have you, a family member, or a close friend experienced discrimination because of your racial or ethnic background, or not? (Choices: Yes/ No). When respondents report that they experienced discrimination, they are coded as one and otherwise zero.

English Proficiency

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: What language do you usually speak, when at home with family? (Choices: English/ Something else/ Mixed between English and other); What language do you usually use to conduct personal business and financial transactions? (Choices: English/ Something else/ Mixed between English and other). The scale of this variable

ranges from zero to four. When respondents answer “English” for these two questions they are coded as four while they are given zero when they answer “something else” for both questions.

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Would you say you can carry on a conversation in English (both understanding and speaking)?(Choices: Very well/ Pretty well/ Just a little/ not at all); Would you say you can read a newspaper or book in English—very well, pretty well, just a little or not at all? (Choices: Very well/ Pretty well/ Just a little/ not at all). When respondents answer “very well” for these two questions they are coded as six while they are given zero when they answer “not at all” for both questions.

Birth Place

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: Were you born in Asia?(Choices: Yes/No).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Were you born in the U.S. or in another country? (Choices: U.S./ Another country). When respondents were born outside of the U.S. they are coded as one, and otherwise as zero.

Religious Service Attendance

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: How often do you attend religious services? Would you say every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year or never?(Choices: Every week/ Almost every week/Once or twice a month/A few times a year/Never).

Citizenship

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: Thinking about the November 2000 presidential election when Al Gore ran against George Bush did you vote in the election? (Choice Yes/No) For what

reason were you not able to vote? Were you not a citizen, citizen but not registered to vote or something else?(Choices: Not a Citizen/ Citizen but Not Registered to Vote/ Other(specify)). When respondents answer yes to the first question, or when they answer “citizen but not registered to vote”, or “other” for the second question, they are counted as citizens and coded one, and otherwise zero.

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Now, we would like to ask you about US citizenship. Are you?(U.S. Citizen/ Currently applying for citizenship/Planning to become citizen). Citizens are coded as one while non-citizens are coded as zero.

Income

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: If you added together the yearly incomes of all the members of your family living at home last year, would the total of all their incomes be less than \$20,000 or more than \$40,000 or somewhere in between?“(Choices: Less than 10,000\$/ 10,000\$ to19, 999\$/ 20,000\$-29.999\$/ 30,000\$ to39,999\$/ 40,000 to59,999\$/ 60,000\$ to 79,999\$/ Over 80,000).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Is your total annual household income from all sources, and before taxes(Choices: Less than \$50,000/ \$50,000 or more); Would that be?(Choices: Less than \$20,000/ \$20,000 but less than \$30,000/\$30,000 but less than \$ 40,000/\$40,000 but less than \$ 50,000/ \$50,000 but less than \$75,000/ \$75,000 but less than \$ 100,000 /\$ 100,000 or more).

Education

Asian Americans:

Based on Responses to: What is the highest level of education or schooling you have completed?(Choices: Grade school or less/ Some high school/ High school graduate/

Vocational/Technical training beyond high school/Some college/ College graduate/
Some graduate school/ Post-graduate degree).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: What is the last grade or class that you completed in
school?(Choices: None or grade 1-8/ High school incomplete(grades 9-11)/ High school
grad(grade 12 or GED)/ Business, technical or vocational school after high school/ Some
college, no 4-year degree/ College graduate/ Post-graduate training or professional
schooling after college).

Age

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: In what year were you born?

Latinos:

Based on responses to: What is your age?

APPENDIX B
QUESTION WORDING AND SELECTED CODING SCHEMES FOR
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In this appendix, I describe the question items from the datasets employed for the empirical tests of chapter IV and V.

Voting Participation

Asian Americans:

i. Voter Registration: Based on responses to: Thinking about the November 2000 presidential election when Al Gore ran against George Bush, did you vote in the election?(Choices: Yes/No); For what reason were you not able to vote? Were you not a citizen, citizen but not registered to vote, or something else?(Choices: Not a Citizen/ Citizen but Not Registered to Vote/ Other(specify)). The other reasons for not voting include “busy working” “do not like candidates”, “sick”, “out of country”, “do not believe in electoral college”, do not have in elections and politics” and “did not receive absentee ballot.” When respondents answer yes to the first question, or they answer “other”, they are considered as registering to vote. When respondents registered to vote, they are coded as one, and otherwise zero.

ii. Voting: Based on responses to: Thinking about the November 2000 presidential election when Al Gore ran against George Bush, did you vote in the election?(Choices: Yes/No). When respondents voted, they are coded as one and otherwise zero.

iii. Overall Voting Participation: The index of this variable is constructed by combining the voter registration and voting variables. If respondents registered and voted, they are coded as two. If respondents neither registered nor voted, they are coded as zero.

Latinos:

i. Voter Registration: Based on responses to: Some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?(Choices:

Yes/ No). When respondents registered to vote, they are coded as one and otherwise zero.

ii. Voting: Based on responses to: Do you remember for sure whether you voted in the November 1996 presidential election when Bill Clinton ran against Bob Dole and Ross Perot?(Choices: Yes, voted/NO, did not voted). When respondents voted, they are coded as one, and otherwise zero.

iii. Overall Voting Participation: The index of this variable is constructed by combining the voter registration and voting variables. If respondents registered and voted, they are coded as two. If respondents neither registered nor voted, they are coded as zero.

Partisan Strength

Asian Americans:

Generally Speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican as a republican, a Democrat, and independent or of another political affiliation?(Choices: No, Do not think in these terms/ Republican/ Democrat/ Independent); Would you call yourself a strong Republican or Democrat?(Choices: Yes/No).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat and independent or Something else?(Choices; Republican/ Democrat/Independent/Something Else) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a very strong Democrat?(Choices: Strong Democrat/ Not a Very Strong Democrat)/ Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican?(Choices: Strong Republican/ Not a Very Strong Democrat). The scale of this variable ranges from two (strong partisans) to zero (non-partisans).

Interest in Politics

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: How interested are you in politics and what's going on in government in general? Are you very interested, somewhat interested only slightly

interested or not at all interested in politics and what goes on in government?(Choices: Very interested/ Somewhat interested/ Slightly interested/ Not at all interested).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: How much attention would you say you pay to politics and government? A Lot, a fair amount, not much or none at all?(Choices: A lot/ A fair amount/ Not much of/ None at all).

Political Efficacy

Asian Americans:

Based on responses to: If you had some complaint about a government activity and you took that complaint to a local public official, do you think that he or she would pay a lot attention to what you say, some attention, very little attention, or none at all?(Choices: A lot/ Some/ Very little/ None at all); How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decision- a lot, moderate amount, a little or none at all?(Choices: A lot/ Moderate/ A little/ None at all). The scale of this variable ranges from zero (no political efficacy) to six(strong political efficacy).

Latinos:

Based on responses to: Do you agree/disagree strongly or somewhat with the following one; Political leaders do not care much what people like me think. (Choices: Agree Strongly/ Agree Somewhat/ Disagree Somewhat/ Disagree Strongly).

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