

Identity and Acculturation:
Examination of Berry's Model on Asian Americans Political Participation

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in the Department of
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

Based on Berry's (1987) framework on acculturation and ethnic identity interaction, this study examined the link from this interaction among Asian Americans to their political participation. Using the 2008 National Asian American Survey (Study 1) and a self-initiated survey among Chinese students in Fall 2014 (Study 2), this thesis presents a model from which to consider some of the important determinants of Asian Americans' political participation, whether and how acculturation level interacts with (pan)ethnic group resource in predicting their participation. Most findings from these two studies supported the hypotheses. First, all the five traditional models of political participation have significant share in predicting Asian Americans' political participation. Second, the interaction between acculturation and ethnic identity does increase the model fit of Asian Americans' participation, but with varying strengths based on different forms of participation and target populations. Finally, after creating four groups based on acculturation and ethnic identity, I find that the integrated group is generally the most actively engaged in politics, followed by the assimilated group, the separated group and the marginalized group.

Dedication

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my respective parents and grandparents who have been my constant source of love, passion and inspiration.

Contents

Abstract	iv
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
Acknowledgements	x
1. Background	1
2. Literature and Hypotheses	4
2.1 Models of Political Participation	4
2.1.1 Conventional Models	4
2.1.2 (Pan)ethnic Group Resource Model	6
2.1.3 Demographic/Acculturation Model	8
2.2 Hypotheses of Asian American Political Participation	9
3. Study 1: 2008 National Asian American Survey	13
3.1 Methods	13
3.1.1 Populations	13
3.1.2 Measurement	14
3.1.3 Statistical Analysis	16
3.2 Results	18
3.2.1 Preliminary Analysis	18
3.2.2 Hypotheses Test	25
4. Study 2: Chinese Students Survey	35
4.1 Methods	35
4.1.1 Populations	35

4.1.2 Measurement	37
4.1.3 Statistical Analysis	39
4.2 Results	40
4.2.1 Preliminary Analysis	40
4.2.2 Hypotheses Test	42
5. Discussion	47
5.1 Findings and Implications	47
5.2 Limitations.....	50
Appendix A: Selected Questions from 2008 NAAS.....	53
Appendix B: Other Analysis from 2008 NAAS	58
Appendix C: Questionnaire of Chinese Students Survey	64
Appendix D: Recruitment Invitation of Chinese Students Survey	84
Appendix E: Other Analysis from Chinese Students Survey	86
Appendix F: Selected Figures on Political Participation	89
References	91

List of Tables

Table 1: Berry's Acculturation Model.....	11
Table 2: Select Demographic Characteristics of Asian American (age≥18).	18
Table 3: Regression on Political Participation among Asian Americans.	26
Table 4: Regression on Political Participation among Asian Americans (Interaction).	30
Table 5: Mean of Acculturation Levels by Items.	42
Table 6: Regression on Participation among Chinese Students.....	42

List of Figures

Figure 1: Political Participation by SES.	20
Figure 2: Political Participation by Psychological Engagement.	21
Figure 3: Political Participation by Institution and Mobilization.	22
Figure 4: Political Participation by (Pan)ethnic Group Resource.	24
Figure 5: Percentage of Political Participation of Four Acculturation Groups.	32
Figure 6: Mean of Political Participation of Four Acculturation Groups.	32
Figure 7: Ethnic Identity of Chinese Students.	41
Figure 8: Political Participation by Acculturation and Ethnic Closeness Interaction of Chinese Students.	46

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1. Background

According to the U.S. Census, Asian and Pacific islanders have been one of the fastest-growing populations over the last several decades. In 1960, Asian Americans only accounted for less than 0.6 percent of the total population. By 2013, this group had grown to 5.1 percent. This explosive growth is expected to continue: as projected by the census, there will be 44.4 million Asian Americans by 2060, or more than 10 percent of the expected total population. This fast-growing population may very likely translate into increased political influence in such a democratic system as U.S. in which numbers matter (Wong et al. 2011).

Beyond this fast growth, Asian Americans are concentrated geographically in such regions as Hawaii, California, New York, Washington and Texas. According to the 2013 American Community Survey, nearly 68.7 percent of Asian Americans live on the western coast of the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii. Given such concentration, California, for example, has already seen the growing political influence of Asian Americans. It is estimated that they make up a larger proportion of California's registered voter population than African Americans do (Wong et al. 2011). Even though Asian Americans make up only 1.3% of state legislators across the country, which is a much smaller proportion than their share of the U.S. population¹, their political power is seen no longer a matter of long-term speculation, but a present-day reality by some scholars (Wong et al. 2011). For example, in high Asian American populated areas like those noted above, Asian elected officials account for 73% of the total in the nation, far outweighing the rest of the 45 states (Nakanishi and Lai 2011).

¹ The figure is calculated by dividing Asian American elected officials as identified by the UCLA in their National Asian Pacific American Political Almanac by the U.S. Census's census of governments figure for total elected positions in the United States. Given the difficulty of acquiring this information, this figure gives a rough idea of the underrepresentation of Asian Americans in American politics.

Despite the fact that Asian Americans tend to exhibit patterns of concentrated geographic settlement, they are now becoming increasingly dispersed nationwide as well. For example, data from the American Community Survey show that between 2000 and 2013, there are 37 states where Asian American population grew faster than the national average, which was a rate of increase of 6.25 percent.

As Asian Americans become increasingly important, questions arise as to who contributes to this growing trend and actually participate in politics and, if so, in what forms? This is a culturally different group with some of distinct characteristics distinguishing itself from other racial groups. For example, it is widely noted that Asian Americans have lower rates of formal political participation in such ways as registration and voting. At the same time they have higher levels of education than other racial groups, which are traditionally connected with higher rates of registration and voting. What other factors might play a part, therefore, becomes an important question when studying Asian Americans.

To answer this question, scholars have paid closer attention to the characteristics that are particular to Asian Americans. For instance, Asian American include the largest group who are foreign born: around 66% Asian Americans are born outside of U.S. according to 2009-2013 American Community Survey. By contrast, being foreign-born only accounts for 36%, 8.6%, 8.4% and 6.5% for Latinos, African Americans, Whites and Native Americans, respectively. Therefore, immigrant studies have become the key to studying Asian Americans. As proposed by Wong et al. (2011), to study the immigrant socialization is central to the study of political and civic participation among Asian Americans, and arguably more so than for any other major racial and ethnic group in the United States. Specifically, concepts central to the immigrant experience such

as acculturation (e.g. language use, length of stay, media usage) and (pan)ethnic identity might *uniquely* contribute to political participation among this group.

This study contributes to the literature on immigrant socialization and Asian Americans' political participation. In particular, it examines the interactive effects of acculturation and (pan)ethnic identity on various levels and forms of political participation among Asian Americans. Specifically, four groups are specified in terms of their acculturation level and (pan)ethnic identity and are used in accounting for their political participation. This study does not aim to present a complete contour of Asian American participation, but rather gives closer focus on the micro-level interactions of these two variables. However, traditional factors such as socioeconomic status and mobilization are also discussed in order to test the validity of this interaction model.

In the sections that follow, this paper first discusses existing research on Asian American participation. Then it examines prevailing understandings of how factors related to immigration acculturation and (pan)ethnic identity shape their political attitudes and behaviors. Hypotheses are developed about which groups among Asian Americans are expected to be more likely than others to participate in politics. Then those expectations are tested using 2008 National Asian American Survey (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012) and a self-initiated survey among Chinese students in Fall 2014. The paper ends with a discussion of the implications of results, focusing on conditions under which the rapidly diversifying population could contribute to American politics.

2. Literature and Hypotheses

Studies on Asian Americans' political participation remain rather scarce compared with other ethnic minorities such as African Americans and Latinos (exceptions include Diaz 2012, Jacob 2006, Kim 2007, Lai 2011, Lai and Nakanishi 2003, Lien 1994, 1997, 2003, Lien et al. 2002, Lien et al. 2004, Magpantay 2009, Min 2014). According to Lien (1997), there are mainly five models to explain the distinctive patterns of political participation among ethnic/racial minorities: the socioeconomic model, the socio-psychological model, the legal constraint model, the group culture model, and the demographic model. However, these models seem to neglect the contextual influence of institutions on mobilization. Therefore, if the legal constraint model is broadened and renamed as contextual model, the first three models could be categorized as conventional models. Accordingly, the remaining two models are specific to studies on ethnic group participation.

2.1 Models of Political Participation

2.1.1 Conventional Models

The most conventional models on participation are the resource model, the sociopsychological engagement model and the mobilization model, which have been well-established in the American political participation literature (Campbell et al. 1960, Conway 2000, 2001, Dahl 1961, Hero and Campbell 1996, Leighley and Nagler 1992, Milbrath and Goel 1977, Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, Verba and Nie 1972, Verba et al. 1993, Verba et al. 1995, Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). Mounting evidence shows that citizens of higher socioeconomic status are more likely to participate in politics. Researchers have attempted to refine the resource model by focusing on specific resources, such as time, money and civic skills

(Verba et al. 1995). According to Verba et al.'s (1995) resource model, having more money leads to an increased input into the political system through donations and other causes, and formal education is thought to facilitate participation by fostering civic skills that help the citizen possess the requisite organizational and communications capacities.

Even though the seeming paradox—high average SES and low average rates of voter turnout and other forms of political participation—among Asian Americans might lead us to suspect the applicability of the resource model for predicting their participation, the utility of these indicators cannot be ruled out completely. According to several studies on Asian Americans, socioeconomic factors are still strong positive predictors of voting registration and turnout, while their importance might not be the same as to other ethnic groups (Lien 1998, 2000, 2001a, b, 2003, Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2008).

The sociopsychological approach on the other hand takes account in factors such as partisan attachment, ideology, political interest, political efficacy, trust in government, sense of civic duty and so on. Scholars in this vein argue that groups with more interest in politics, closer party affiliation and sense of pivotality are associated with higher level of political participation (Blais and Dobrzynska 1998, Brady et al. 1995, Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2013, Duffy and Tavits 2008, Geys 2006, Karp and Banducci 2008, Van der Meer et al. 2009, Verba and Nie 1972, Verba et al. 1995). Studies on Asian American political participation find that political interest and strength of partisanship have a positive effect on voting and other forms of participation (Lien 1994, Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2008).

Another conventional model focuses on the importance of context in motivating political participation. Parties and organizations have long been argued to be important sources of political mobilization and recruitment. For example, being contacted by a party or other organizations is

likely to facilitate voter turnout and other forms of political activities (Conway 2001, Dahl 1961, Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, Verba et al. 1995). Even though Asian Americans are less likely to be contacted by political party, studies have shown significant and quite dramatic influence of mobilization in increasing the political participation of those who are (Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2011). Similarly, civic engagement in non-political institutions, such as churches and voluntary organizations, has also been shown to be significantly correlated with political activity among the general population (Verba et al. 1995, Alex-Assensoh and Assensoh 2001, Calhoun-Brown 1996, Harris 1999, Jones-Correa and Leal 1996, Wilcox 1990) and Asian Americans as well (Lien 2004, Lien et al. 2004, Min and Kim 2002, Wong et al. 2011, Yoo 1999).

2.1.2 (Pan)ethnic Group Resource Model

A common approach in survey-based research to assess political participation among ethnic minorities is to account for one's identified or ascribed ethnic/racial identity based on the patterns that compose the group culture. This approach has long been supported by the fundamental argument by Campbell et al. (1960, p296): "[g]roups are real because they are *psychologically* real, and thereby affect the way in which we behave" (emphasis in the original). The literature on ethnic group politics considers subjective group identification as the common link between group membership and collective political behavior (Barreto and Pedraza 2009).

This model includes four most prominent factors: self-identity (Phinney 1990) and group consciousness (Miller et al. 1981) which includes linked fate (Dawson 1994) and perception of discrimination. These factors have all proved strong indicators of political participation (e.g. Austin et al. 2012, Leighley and Vedlitz 1999, Stokes-Brown 2009). For example, while the

effects of ethnic-identification and panethnic-identification have always been treated interchangeably and shown to be related to higher levels of political participation, some other studies find differences in forming political actions (Schildkraut 2005). Specifically, both compared with American-identification, ethnic-identification tends to be associated with lower odds of participation while pan-ethnic identity is not (Stokes 2003, Valdez 2011). However, others found the opposite that panethnicity significantly bolsters non-participation and dampens participation among ethnic minorities (e.g. Min 2014, Sanchez 2006). Given the fact that Asian American is such a panethnic group that has been created for the purpose of bureaucratic racial categorization, panethnic identity should be decoupled from ethnic identity.

Beyond (pan)ethnic self identity, group consciousness has also been shown to be important or more meaningful than SES in predicting ethnic minorities political participation (e.g. Sanchez 2006). Linked fate, proposed by Dawson (1994), is thought to help one consider ethnic/racial group interests in evaluating alternative political choices. Research on Asian American also finds that (pan)ethnic linked fate relates to higher levels of participation beyond voting (Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2008). Research on perception of discrimination, however, divides into two groups. On the one hand, it may lead individuals to be active in politics in order to challenge racial inequality (Uhlener 1991); on the other hand, it may be damaging in generating attitudinal (Michelson 2003, Wenzel 2006) and behavioral alienation (Schildkraut 2005). However, current studies on Asian Americans seem to have a unanimous finding that experience of and perceptions of discrimination are likely to be associated with an increased political participation (Lien 1997, Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2008, Wong et al. 2011).

2.1.3 Demographic/Acculturation Model

In Lien's (1997) demographic model, she specifies demographic factors that are specific to the immigrant population such as nativity, ancestry, length of stay and citizenship. Since these demographic factors are particular to immigrant adaptation to U.S. politics, they are also understood as *acculturative* factors in the following discussion.

Acculturation has long been conceptualized as an indicator to explain adjustment types, such as Berry's (1987) acculturation model (discussed further in this section). Acculturation is a progression by which immigrants or new comers adjust to the mainstream culture by changing their behaviors and attitudes (Rogler et al. 1991). It is particularly important in studying new immigrant groups who are more likely to be foreign-born like Asian Americans.

A multitude of studies show that acculturation plays a crucial role in rendering immigrants and ethnic minorities less distinct from native-born white Americans in many areas, including their participation in politics, sense of self, partisanship, issue positions, and trust in government (Barreto and Pedraza 2009, Hajnal and Lee 2011, Lien 1994, 2004, Michelson 2003, Michelson 2007, Sanchez 2006, Schildkraut 2011, Wenzel 2006). However, the effects of acculturation on political participation remain rather complicated, sometimes opposite according to previous literature. For example, some studies find that ethnic descent become more cynical about American government as they incorporate into or are exposed to mainstream American culture, and thus depressing their willingness to participate in politics (Michelson 2003). Other studies, however, indicate that social integration facilitates political incorporation and electoral participation (Diaz 2012). Therefore, the mechanisms between acculturation and political action should be more cautiously considered. Previous studies on Asian Americans have shown that

factors like nativity, length of stay, citizenship¹, English proficiency, formal education in U.S., transnational activities, exogamy, and interracial friendship are significantly correlated with acculturation level (Junn 1999, Lien 1997, Wong et al. 2011). For example, being foreign born is less likely to participate than native born (Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2008, Wong et al. 2011), and as immigrants stay longer in the U.S., they are more likely to become naturalized, register, and become voters (Lien 2000, Lien et al. 2004, Ong and Nakanishi 1996) and more likely to develop partisan attachments (Cain et al. 1991, Wong 2000). Citizenship is thus another important indicator that helps remove the roadblock for those who want to participate, especially in voting (Lien et al. 2001). Having higher English proficiency, more frequent media usage and formal education in the U.S. are also hypothesized to predict higher levels of political participation among Asian Americans (Wong 2001, Wong et al. 2011) since they are closely linked to political socialization (Cho 1999). In addition, those who are engaged in transitional political activities are also more likely to participate in U.S. politics (Lien et al. 2004) and those who have more interracial connections through exogamy and making friends with different ethnic background are also more likely to participate in politics (Lien 1997).

2.2 Hypotheses of Asian American Political Participation

In the last section, models on Asian Americans political participation were described, each of which has shown distinct effects in separate empirical studies, but see for exceptions, Lien et al. (2004), Wong et al. (2008) and Wong et al. (2011), which have included most factors in the five models, but not all.

¹ In Lien (1997), citizenship was categorized under the Legal Constraint Model. While this model has been translated into institution and mobilization model in this paper, citizenship is thus discussed here.

Based on the five aforementioned models, it is hypothesized that there is no single model that can account for the dynamics among Asian Americans alone. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 is proposed as follows.

Hypothesis 1: All the factors that predict political participation in the broader population should be relevant for Asian Americans.

Even though (pan)ethnic identity formation is currently conceptualized as a process that can occur during the overall acculturation process (Berry 2008, Phinney 2003), and it is true that the process of acculturation may result in changes in one's loyalty and commitment to one's culture of origin, as well as change in sense of belonging to the host culture, or *(pan)ethnic identity* (Berry 1980, Lien et al. 2004, Pearson and Citrin 2006, Schildkraut 2011), (pan)ethnic identity and acculturation development are *different* psychological processes. For example, it has been highlighted that the interaction between *acculturation* and *ethnic identity* has proved more valid and useful in predicting psychosocial adjustment than single-effects approaches (Ryder et al. 2000, Phinney 2003). Therefore, instead of assessing Asian Americans' political participation based on a one-dimensional model that separates identity and acculturation, as most previous research has done, this study tests an interactive approach of (pan)ethnic identity and acculturation, while controlling for other traditional indicators.

As the main theorists of acculturation psychology, Berry et al. (1987) proposed that the interaction between ethnic identity and acculturation is consistent with four modes of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. In other words, the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation is not necessarily linear. As summarized in Table 1 below, those who are highly acculturated and have strong (pan)ethnic identity are categorized as *integrated* or *bicultural*, those who acculturate entirely into mainstream culture at

the expense of (pan)ethnic identity are grouped as *assimilated*, those who do not acculturate while preserving strong (pan)ethnic identity are *separated* and those who have no strong acculturative pattern and weak (pan)ethnic identity are *marginalized*.

Table 1: Berry's Acculturation Model.

		(Pan)ethnic Identity	
		High	Low
Acculturation	High	Integrated group	Assimilated group
	Low	Separated group	Marginalized group

Building on this theoretic frame, numerous studies have found that higher psychological well-being is positively associated with identification with one's own ethnic group in conjunction with integration into mainstream culture (Bankston Iii and Zhou 1997, Chae and Foley 2010, Lieber et al. 2001, Phinney et al. 2001). In other words, when immigrants retain their ethnic identity and, at the same time, become acculturated to the mainstream culture, they are more likely to experience higher levels of psychological well-being (Liebkind 1996).

However, with such an abundance of psychological research on acculturation and (pan)ethnic identity of immigrants, how this interaction relates to one's political participation is unfortunately rarely studied. One exception is a study that shows Asian Americans who do not think of themselves primarily as American, who think that their fate is tied to that of the group, and who are less acculturated are more likely than others to prefer coethnic representatives (Schildkraut 2013).

Focusing on the two prominent factors of immigrant studies—acculturation and (pan)ethnic identity—this paper then develops further hypotheses as follows.

Hypothesis 2: Adding the effect of the interaction between acculturation and (pan)ethnic linked fate on Asian Americans' political participation should increase the model fit.

As mentioned separately in the group resource model and the acculturation model, having a higher group resource level and a higher level of acculturation are associated with higher levels of participation. Therefore, the integrated group is expected to be the most actively engaged in politics, while the marginalized group is expected to be the most reluctant group to participate.

Hypothesis 3.1 The integrated group shows the strongest inclination of participating in politics or civic activities while the marginalized group shows the least.

However, previous literature sheds little light on how the separated group and the assimilated group should rank. It is also difficult to determine whether acculturation is stronger or weaker than (pan)ethnic identity in predicting political participation. Therefore, their ranking order remains dependent on how these two groups relate to other traditional factors. If the assimilated group is more likely to be positively correlated with most traditional factors such as income, education, interest in politics, party affiliation, and worship frequency, then it is expected to be more active than the separated group in political participation, and vice versa. Therefore, hypotheses 3.2 and 3.3 are proposed as follows.

Hypothesis 3.2 The separated group participates at a higher rate than the assimilated group.

Hypothesis 3.3 The assimilated group participates at a higher rate than the separated group.

3. Study 1: 2008 National Asian American Survey

3.1 Methods

3.1.1 Populations

This study relies on the 2008 National Asian American Survey (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012), a large-scale telephone survey of 5,159 self-identified Asian/Asian American residents of the United States. This is approximately 0.047 percent of the United States Asian/American adult population. Forty-seven percent of respondents agreed to take the survey, resulting in a 12 percent rate of all valid numbers dialed¹. It was conducted mostly in the fall of 2008, with interviews including questions about personal experiences in immigration to the U.S. as well as political behavior and attitudes. Survey interviews were conducted in eight languages—English, Cantonese, Mandarin, Korean, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Japanese, and Hindi—and yielded sample sizes of at least 500 adult Asian American residents in the six largest national-origin groups. The final breakdown is 1,350 Chinese, 1,150 Asian Indian, 719 Vietnamese, 614 Korean, 603 Filipino, and 541 Japanese origin respondents, with 182 additional respondents who are either from other countries in Asia, or who identify as multi-racial or multi-ethnic. Overall, 40 percent of the sample chose English as their preferred language for the interview.

The sample was weighted using a raking procedure and population characteristics from the 2006-2008 three-year average of the Current Population Survey (CPS) and the 2007 American Community Survey, to reflect the balance of gender, nativity, citizenship status, and educational attainment of the six largest Asian national-origin groups in the United States, as well

¹ It is the only existing information on response rate open to the public.

as the proportion of these national-origin groups within each state. This method produces a sample that looks similar to a probability sample on the matched characteristics, but may still differ in unknown ways on unobserved characteristics such as regional differences. Demographic information includes age, race, language, gender, country of birth, religion, marital status, educational level, employment status, citizenship status, household income, and size of household.

3.1.2 Measurement

Political participation. Voting is measured by reported voter turnout in 2004 (1=*Yes* and 0=*No*) for all eligible voters. Nonvoting political participation is measured by a bivariate indicator with 1=*Participated in any nonvoting activity* (excluding discussion of politics) and 0=*None participated*. The seven forms of participation are discussion of politics with family and friends, online discussion of candidate or issue, work for campaign, political donations, contacting government officials, community activism and protest activity. Please see detailed question wording at Appendix A.

Socioeconomic status (SES). "Income" and "education" are included to measure SES. It is expected to see a positive relationship between higher socioeconomic status and political participation.

Psychological engagement. "Political interest", "trust in government" and "party affiliation" are measured to assess the socio-psychological motivation to participate in politics. "Political interest" is measured by a 4-point scale, from 1=*Not at all interested* to 4= *Very interested*. "Trust in government" is a response to the statement, "We can trust our government in Washington to do what is right", with 5-scale Likert format, 1= *Disagree strongly* to 5=*Agree*

strongly. "Party affiliation" is measured with five responses including *Republican*, *Democrat*, *Independent*, *Other party*, and *Nonidentifier* ("Do not think in these terms", "Don't know" or "Refused"). "Non-party affiliation" was thus created with 1=*Nonidentifier* and 0=*Identifier*.

Institution and Mobilization. Party contact and organization contact are added to measure the "contact" effect on mobilization ($\alpha=0.503^2$), 1=*No contact* to 3=*Contact from both*. "Worship frequency" is intended to measure civic engagement that influences one's social networks as well as social integration. It has a 6-point scale with 1=*Never* to 6=*At least every week*.

(Pan)ethnic group resource. "Self (pan)ethnic identity", "(pan)ethnic linked fate" and "experience of discrimination" are measured for group resource. Specifically, self-identity (first mention) is categorized as "ethnic group", "Asian", "ethnic American", "Asian American", and "American". Linked fate is decoupled into panethnic and ethnic linked fate. "Linked fate" is measured based on two questions with responses adding together as 1=*No linked fate* to 4=*A lot*. "Experience of discrimination" is measured by 1=*Yes* or 0=*No* question on five items in NAAS ($\alpha>0.9$) and has been recoded in this paper as 1=*No discrimination* to 6=*All discriminated* by adding these five items. Please see Appendix A for detailed wording.

Acculturation. "Citizenship", "length of stay in the U.S.", "English proficiency", "transnational activity", "newspaper", "foreign born", "formal education in the U.S.", and "exogamy" are included to measure the acculturation levels. "Citizenship" is a bivariate variable that distinguishes 1=*U.S. citizen* and 0=*Non U.S. citizen*. "Length of stay" is calculated by the year of birth for natives and the year of entry into the U.S. on permanent basis for foreign born. "English proficiency" is measured by the language that was conducted during the interview, and

² The internal validity in this paper is calculated by the Cronbach's Alpha.

the self-report of English proficiency of speaking of those who didn't conduct an English interview with an 5-point scale, 1=*Not at all* to 5=*Comfortable in English interview*.

"Transnational activity" is a battery of three items ($\alpha=0.748$) with a 4-point scale, 1=*Not connected at all* to 4=*Fully connected*". "Newspaper", "foreign born", and "formal education in the U.S." are bivariate variables with 1=*Yes* and 0=*No*. "Exogamy" is measured by the ethnic background of current and/or previous partner with 1=*Yes* and 0=*No*.

Control variables. Age, gender and ancestry are used to control variations across the population. Based on the percentage of main population of Asian Americans, "ancestry" includes seven dummy variables that represent the countries of origin: China, India, Philippines, Vietnam, Korea, Japan.

3.1.3 Statistical Analysis

In adjusting sample proportions to population proportions estimated from the 2006-2008 three-year average of the Current Population Survey and the 2007 American Community Survey, both conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, the data are weighted using a raking procedure to reflect the balance of gender, nativity, citizenship status, and educational attainment of the six largest Asian national-origin groups in the United States, as well as the proportion of these national-origin groups within each state. More details about the weighting procedure can be found in Appendix F at Wong et al. (2011). Since people with less income and Chinese Americans are significantly more likely to give such responses as "don't know" and "refuse", missing values due to non-compliance should not be considered as random missing. Therefore, a multiple imputation of age, income, ancestry, gender, voting and nonvoting was conducted with SPSS 20, which attempts to eliminate the possibility of a biased sample due to missingness on non-compliance.

Even though this method tries to produce a sample that is close to random, it is still almost impossible to ascertain for sure that it is randomly distributed.

First, descriptive statistics are presented to demonstrate the frequencies of relevant variables. Second, multiple linear regression is conducted to see predictors of political participation. Third, after dividing respondents into four groups based on variations in acculturation and ethnic linked fate (integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized), a regression model is tested to see whether these four groups increases the model fit.

Finally, a Kruskal-Wallis Test was used to further test whether they significantly differentiate from each other with respect to political participation. Since there is no single item questioning on acculturation level of respondents in NAAS, given most research use English proficiency as the main indicator of acculturation (e.g. Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2008), this paper created a dummy variable based on "English proficiency" (an 8-point scale): those who used English in interview and those who didn't use English but think their English are "Very well" or "Pretty Well" (5-8 points) are categorized as 2=*High*, while those who chose ethnic language in the interview and thought their English is "Not at all" or "Just a little" (1-4 points) are recoded as 0=*Low*. Since (pan)ethnic self-identification is measured in one question, creating dummy variables based on panethnicity and ethnicity separately would decrease the sample in halves, linked fate was thus used. While weaker and insignificant effects were found with panethnic linked fate, only ethnic linked fate was reported for the limit of space. Specifically, ethnic linked fate was recoded as 2=*High*, which included responses "A lot" and "Some", and 1=*Low*, which included "Not very much" and "No linked fate". Adding these two dummy variables created an interaction variable that has four categories: 1=*Marginalized*, 2=*Separated*, 3=*Assimilated* and 4=*Integrated*.

Other statistical analysis is reported in the Appendix B, including the regression model of predictors on (pan)ethnic group resource, frequencies of the four groups, correlations of key variables with the four groups, and regression model of predictors on each form of participation.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Preliminary Analysis

The NAAS was conducted in a random probability national sample, which approximates general Asian American adult population parameters on some dimensions, but not all. Table 2 below provides a breakdown of the sample by some relevant demographic characteristics, as compared with the 2006-2008 ACS and the weighted sample.

Table 2: Select Demographic Characteristics of Asian American (age≥18).

	NAAS 2008	2006-2008 ACS	Weighted sample
Female	46.2%	52.3%	52.9%
Foreign-born	88.8%	77.8%	81.6%
Mean age	53	43	51
U.S. citizen	81.2%	68.1%	66.5%
Ancestry			
Chinese	24.2%	27.1%	26.6%
Asian Indian	21.2%	13.1%	17.1%
Pilipino	11.7%	23.1%	20.9%
Vietnamese	13.9%	12.2%	11.5%
Korean	11.9%	13.2%	12.2%
Japanese	10.5%	10.0%	8.7%
Education			
Less than high school	8.7%	13.5%	12.6%
High school	15.9%	18.2%	17.5%
Beyond high school	70.7%	68.3%	70.3%

Source: Author's compilation of data from 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012) and the 2006-2008 ACS (U.S. Census Bureau 2008a) using the online data analysis tool (Ruggles et al. 2010).

Political participation. Most Asian Americans have discussed politics with family and friends (69.4%), followed by community service (22.2%), financial contribution (12.8%), online discussion (12.5%), contacted representatives (9.6%), protest (4.4%), and worked for politics (3.4%). In general, 40.3% have participated in any form of nonvoting activity beyond discussing politics with family and friends. 56.6% of eligible Asians have voted in the 2004 election. It should be noted that the majority of Asian Americans do not prefer a direct and violent way of participation beyond voting such as work for candidate or protest. Since participation in discussion of politics with family and friends far outweighs other forms of participation, it is excluded from the analysis of nonvoting behavior.

Income and education. As shown in Figure 1, participants with a college degree (or some form of post-secondary education) were more likely to participate than those with a high school degree or lower. However, once a college level educational attainment is achieved, participation does not necessarily change drastically with higher degree. In addition, groups with higher income are generally more likely to participate in both formal and informal activities.

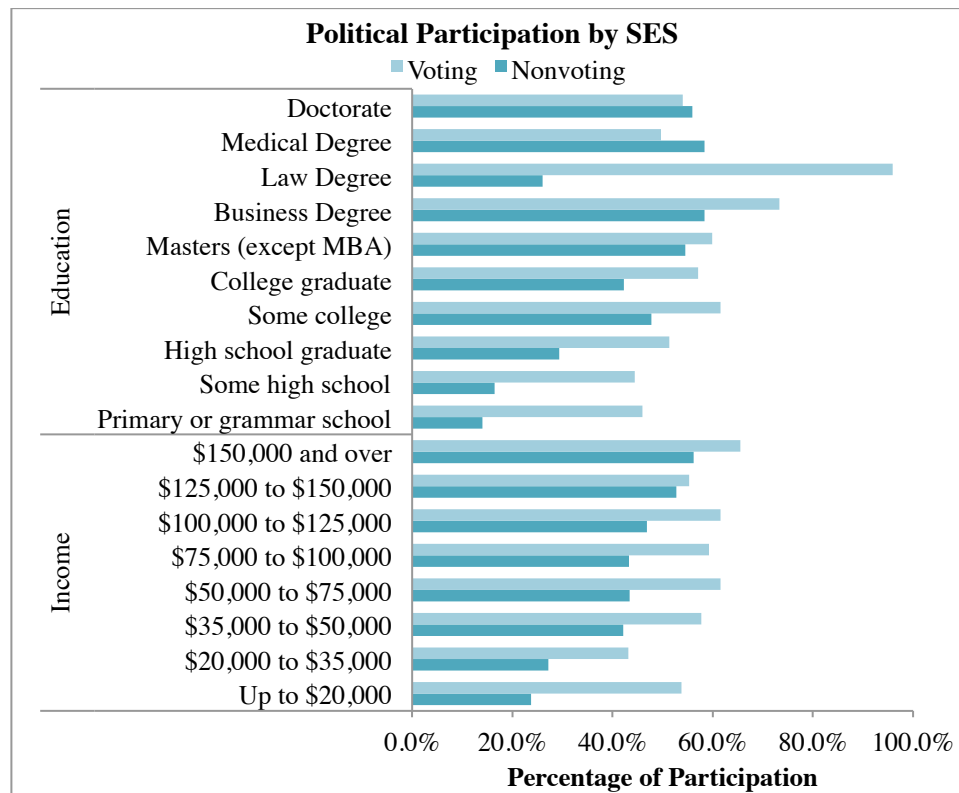


Figure 1: Political Participation by SES.

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Socio-psychological factors. According to Figure 2, it is clear that psychological engagement such as political interest, political trust and party affiliation is heavily related to one's participation. Specifically, the more interested in politics, the more likely one participates in politics. In addition, those who have more trust in government are generally less likely to participate. Finally, Republicans and Democrats do not differ significantly with respect to participation beyond voting, even though Democrats (46.6%) are more likely to participate than Republicans (45.3%). However, the difference between party-identifiers and non-identifiers is worth noting. The groups who do not think party attachment in these terms or those who do not

know their party affiliation are greatly less likely to participate in all forms of activities including voting.

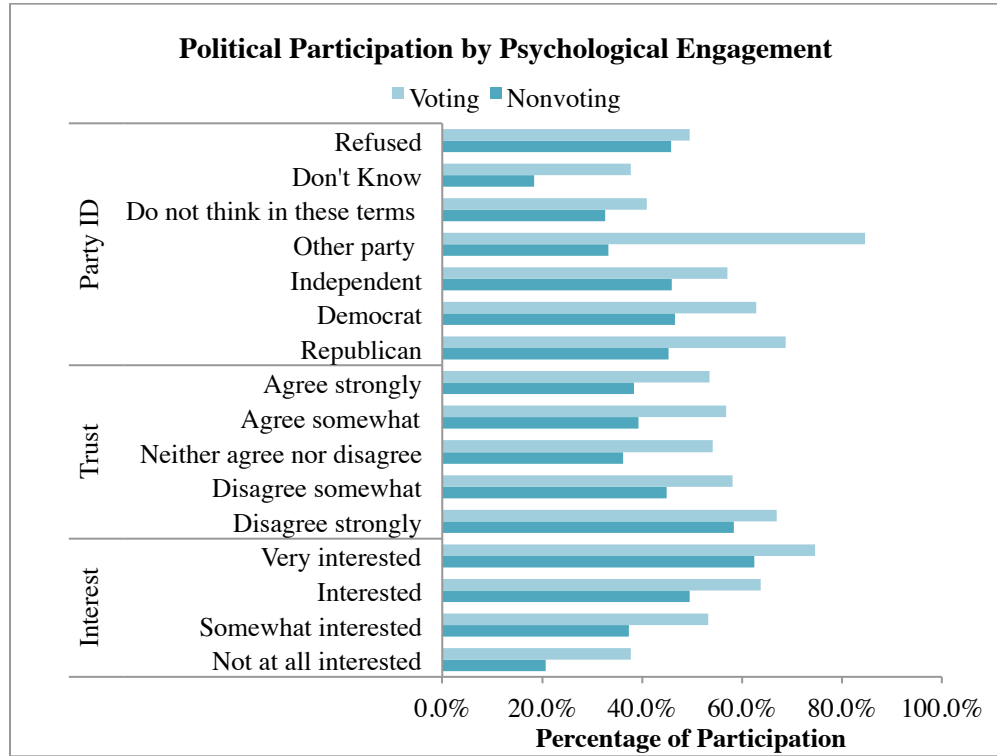


Figure 2: Political Participation by Psychological Engagement.

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Institution and Mobilization. As shown in Figure 3 below, the more contact from party or/and organization, the more likely one participates in all forms of activities. However, it is also possible that those who are actively engaged are more likely to be contacted. So "contact" is eliminated from the regression models that follow in order to decrease endogeneity. In addition, the differences are less obvious for religious frequency, with frequent worship indicates slightly higher possibility of participation.

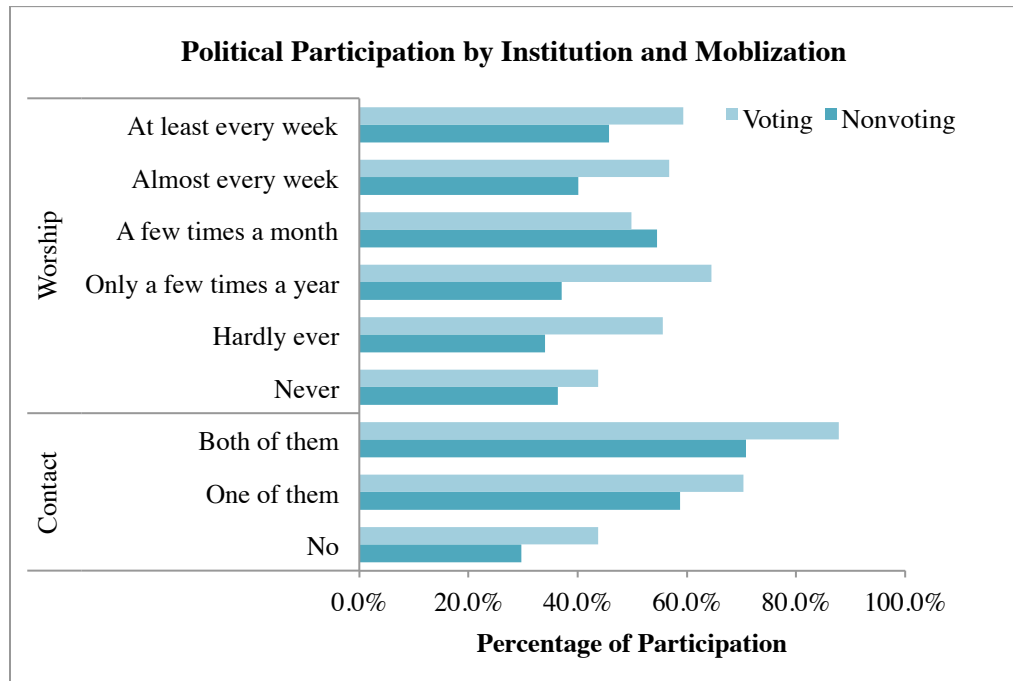


Figure 3: Political Participation by Institution and Mobilization.

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

(Pan)ethnic group resource. The distribution of (pan)ethnic group resource is worth noting before analyzing its relationship with participation. Asian Americans are more likely to identify with ethnic-related identification, either with ethnic group (30.5%) or ethnic American (39.7%) than Asian-related identification, with Asian (12.1%) and Asian American (14.8%).³

The frequency of (pan)ethnic linked fate indicates that more than half of Asian Americans (59.8% for panethnic linked fate, 53.6% for ethnic linked fate) do not think they are

³ Identification with "American" accounts for only 3%, which demonstrates its unpopularity among Asian Americans. But the low response may also result from the survey design, as this category was not read to respondents during the interview.

linked or linked very much with Asian Americans or ethnic Americans⁴. Turning to the experiences with discrimination, 63.6% have not experienced any discrimination on the five items in the interview, and this percentage decreases gradually with more experiences of discrimination. In aggregate, the majority of Asian Americans are identifying closer with ethnic-related groups, while does not feel quite linked with them and has seldom experiences with discrimination.

In accounting for their relationship with political participation, Figure 4 indicates that (pan)ethnic group resource also associates with one's political participation. Those who are more active in politics generally self-identify with American-related identity, either it is ethnic American, Asian American or American. Self-identity is also excluded from regression model in order to eliminate problems with over-specification. Groups who perceive higher linked fate are more inclined to participate than those who do not perceive linked fate at all. Experiences with discrimination show a quite obvious relationship with participation beyond voting: those who experience more discrimination are generally more likely to participate. However, it remains unclear as whether the more politically engaged are also more likely to perceive discrimination.

⁴ This lower level of linked fate compared with other ethnic groups such as African Americans might attribute to the immigration history that they have not.

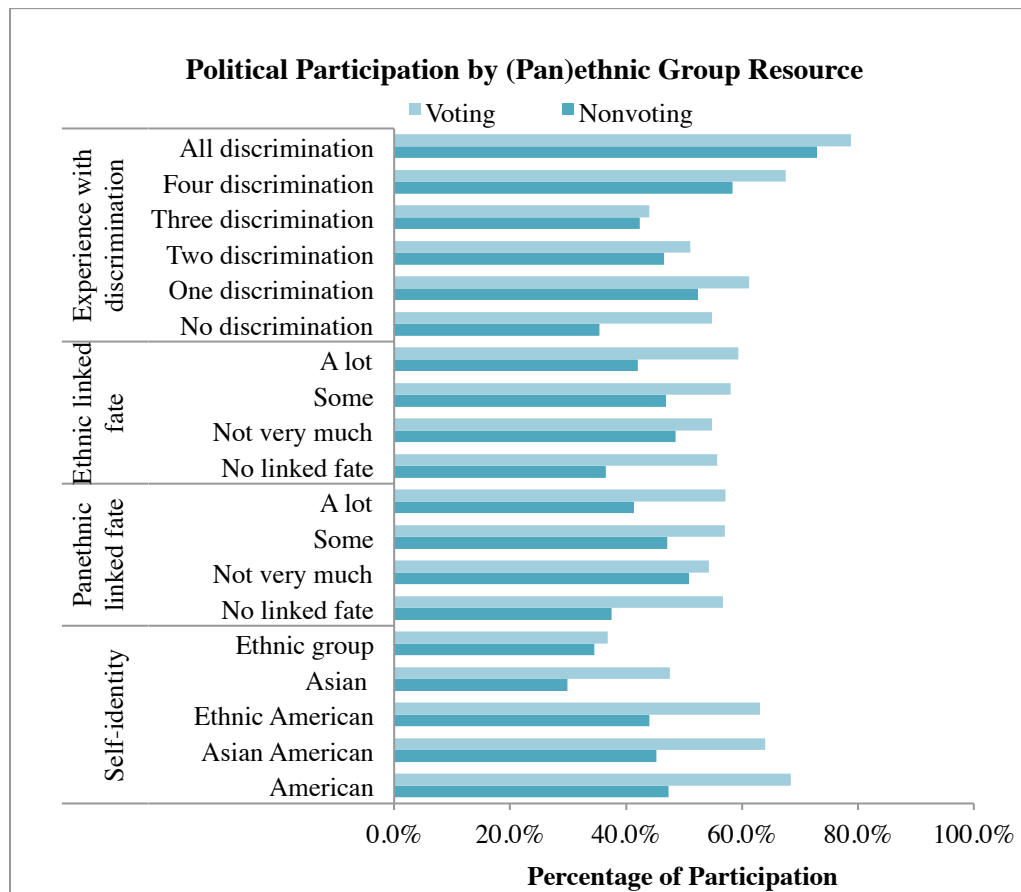


Figure 4: Political Participation by (Pan)ethnic Group Resource.

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Acculturation. The distribution of acculturative factors is summarized as follows: 66.4% of Asian Americans are U.S. citizens; the mean length of stay in the U.S. is 18.7 years; 83.9% are either comfortable with an English interview or think their English are quite well; only 16.8% have not participated in any form of transnational activities; 58.4% have more than half ethnic social network; 34.2% have completed all formal education in the U.S.; 33% have married with someone of different ethnic background; and 81.6% are born outside of the U.S. The percentage

of consuming newspaper is 64.7%. The relationship between acculturative factors and political participation is also significant as will be shown later in this section.

3.2.2 Hypotheses Test

Hypothesis 1: All the factors that predict political participation in the broader population should be relevant for Asian Americans.

As shown in previous descriptive statistics, most factors demonstrate their utility in correlating with one's participation both in voting and nonvoting activities. The significance of these factors is further investigated in the multivariate analyses reported in Table 3 below. Models 1-6 test the steps of introducing the five traditional models on nonvoting behavior, and Models 7-12 test on voting behavior. Since Model 5 and Model 11 seems to be overspecified due to an inclusion of all variables, Model 6 and Model 12 with selected factors were conducted for nonvoting and voting respectively.

As implied from these models, the participation model fit generally increases with more factors included for both forms of participation. In other words, all five participation models have their significant share in relating to Asian Americans' political participation, while with varying predicting values. However, it should be noted that for voter turnout, only the SES resource model, the psychological model and the acculturation model are significantly related even though the other two models help increase the model fit.

Hypothesis 1, therefore, is partly supported by the analysis, which indicates that should be no single model that can account for the dynamics among Asian Americans, a finding commensurate with most previous research on Asian Americans (Lien 1997, Lien et al. 2004, Wong et al. 2011).

Table 3: Regression on Political Participation among Asian Americans.

<i>Dependent variable:</i>												
	Political Participation beyond Voting					Voter Turnout in 2004						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Income	0.126*** (0.018)	0.098*** (0.019)	0.094*** (0.022)	0.091*** (0.024)	0.062** (0.028)		0.181*** (0.021)	0.165*** (0.023)	0.138*** (0.026)	0.157*** (0.028)	0.090*** (0.034)	0.165*** (0.022)
Education	0.194*** (0.019)	0.146*** (0.021)	0.132*** (0.026)	0.123*** (0.027)	0.115*** (0.033)	0.163*** (0.021)	0.088*** (0.022)	0.026 (0.025)	0.031 (0.031)	0.047 (0.033)	0.027 (0.040)	
Interest		0.426*** (0.037)	0.451*** (0.043)	0.438*** (0.045)	0.386*** (0.053)	0.436*** (0.038)		0.322*** (0.043)	0.327*** (0.049)	0.316*** (0.052)	0.319*** (0.063)	0.338*** (0.044)
Trust		-0.093*** (0.027)	-0.073** (0.031)	-0.052 (0.033)	-0.041 (0.038)			-0.040 (0.031)	-0.069* (0.036)	-0.055 (0.038)	-0.021 (0.046)	
Party Affiliation		0.331*** (0.081)	0.255*** (0.096)	0.250** (0.104)	0.278** (0.119)	0.408*** (0.084)		0.732*** (0.091)	0.763*** (0.108)	0.770*** (0.116)	0.683*** (0.137)	0.704*** (0.092)
Worship Frequency			0.101*** (0.027)	0.097*** (0.029)	0.100*** (0.034)				0.042 (0.032)	0.029 (0.034)	0.010 (0.040)	
Ethnic Linked Fate				0.138*** (0.037)	0.137*** (0.043)	0.135*** (0.031)				0.020 (0.043)	0.068 (0.051)	0.025 (0.036)
Discriminat ion				0.176*** (0.043)	0.151*** (0.048)	0.213*** (0.035)				0.041 (0.049)	0.008 (0.056)	0.035 (0.040)
Citizenship					0.205 (0.153)							
Length of					0.011**						0.067***	

Stay					(0.006)						(0.007)	
English					-0.025	0.070*					-0.016	0.168***
					(0.055)	(0.037)					(0.063)	(0.041)
Transnational Activity					0.354***						-0.042	
					(0.070)						(0.080)	
Newspaper					0.357***						0.420***	
					(0.113)						(0.129)	
Foreign Born					-0.364						0.118	
					(0.253)						(0.305)	
Formal Education in U.S.					0.343***						0.512***	
					(0.125)						(0.151)	
Exogamy					0.107						0.035	
					(0.108)						(0.129)	
Age	0.004*	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.002	-0.001	0.043***	0.046***	0.048***	0.050***	0.040***	0.047***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.003)
Female	-0.232***	-0.132*	-0.217***	-0.212**	-0.107	-0.130*	-0.123*	-0.017	-0.134	-0.147	0.050	-0.062
	(0.064)	(0.070)	(0.081)	(0.086)	(0.101)	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.080)	(0.094)	(0.099)	(0.119)	(0.082)
Asian Indian	0.085	-0.003	-0.108	-0.052	0.188	0.086	-0.400*	-0.489**	-0.722**	-0.644**	-0.200	-0.692***
	(0.186)	(0.203)	(0.251)	(0.258)	(0.317)	(0.213)	(0.213)	(0.235)	(0.304)	(0.314)	(0.392)	(0.246)
Filipino	0.023	0.043	-0.145	-0.161	-0.033	0.076	-0.522**	-0.511**	-0.736**	-0.699**	-0.575	-0.849***
	(0.195)	(0.212)	(0.257)	(0.265)	(0.322)	(0.221)	(0.221)	(0.244)	(0.310)	(0.320)	(0.395)	(0.252)
Vietnamese	-0.138	-0.157	-0.229	-0.242	-0.264	-0.086	0.239	0.151	-0.051	-0.017	0.327	0.120
	(0.194)	(0.213)	(0.259)	(0.268)	(0.315)	(0.218)	(0.221)	(0.247)	(0.313)	(0.324)	(0.387)	(0.250)
Korean	-0.251	-0.284	-0.507*	-0.586**	-0.397	-0.310	-0.616***	-0.733***	-0.988***	-0.972***	-0.863**	-0.749***

	(0.194)	(0.210)	(0.259)	(0.268)	(0.312)	(0.217)	(0.221)	(0.244)	(0.314)	(0.325)	(0.384)	(0.249)
Japanese	-0.327*	-0.522**	-0.418	-0.416	-0.753**	-0.430*	0.114	-0.074	-0.352	-0.496	-2.322**	-0.523*
	(0.198)	(0.215)	(0.270)	(0.280)	(0.368)	(0.227)	(0.240)	(0.265)	(0.339)	(0.350)	(0.475)	(0.273)
Chinese	-0.381**	-0.347*	0.012	-0.020	0.042	-0.241	-0.693***	-0.705***	-0.599*	-0.649**	-0.368	-0.774***
	(0.185)	(0.201)	(0.261)	(0.270)	(0.314)	(0.207)	(0.210)	(0.232)	(0.316)	(0.326)	(0.383)	(0.237)
Constant	-1.827***	-2.321***	-2.522***	-3.087***	-4.168***	-3.189***	-2.506***	-3.415***	-3.267***	-3.621***	-5.052**	-4.092***
	(0.249)	(0.296)	(0.374)	(0.408)	(0.595)	(0.320)	(0.287)	(0.347)	(0.445)	(0.482)	(0.703)	(0.373)
Nagelkerke R-sq	0.1074	0.1536	0.1440	0.1549	0.2007	0.1649	0.1549	0.2132	0.2073	0.2109	0.3229	0.2115
Observations	4,526	3,991	2,923	2,622	2,068	3,747	3,791	3,377	2,551	2,297	1,858	3,185
Log Likelihood	-2,876.0	-2,485.8	-1,848.7	-1,650.2	-1,262.3	-2,314.5	-2,262.4	-1,905.9	-1,417.3	-1,271.8	-932.18	-1,813.0
Akaike Inf. Crit.	55	94	58	44	74	24	02	64	64	76	1	05
	5,774.11	4,999.78	3,727.51	3,334.48	2,574.74	4,659.04	4,546.80	3,839.92	2,864.72	2,577.75	1,912.3	3,656.00
	0	7	5	7	9	8	3	7	7	3	63	9

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Hypothesis 2: Adding the effect of the interaction between acculturation and linked fate on Asian Americans' political participation should increase the model fit.

The effect of the interaction between acculturation and ethnic linked fate is reported in Model 2 and Model 4 in Table 4 for activities beyond voting and voting, respectively. Model 1 and Model 3 with selected traditional factors are reported as a benchmark for the interaction model. It is found that the Nagelkerke R^2 increases after introducing the interaction for both forms of activities. It seems that the introduction of the acculturation and ethnic linked fate interaction does not increase the model fit drastically as hypothesized. However, it cannot be simply concluded that this interaction should be ruled out completely.

On the one hand, introducing the interaction changes the utility of other variables. It decreases the importance of education/income, party affiliation, ethnic linked fate, experience with discrimination and English proficiency for both activities while increases the strength of worship frequency for nonvoting. Furthermore, the assimilated and the integrated group even show significant predicting values in both models.

On the other hand, a statistically significant difference based on the four modes of acculturation on participation beyond voting ($\chi^2(2)=129.652$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) and voting ($\chi^2(2)=23.639$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) was detected with the Kruskal-Wallis Test. Results from the K-W test indicate that these four groups should be distinguished from each other in participating in politics.

Table 4: Regression on Political Participation among Asian Americans (Interaction).

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Political Participation beyond Voting		Voter Turnout in 2004	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Education	0.181 ^{***} (0.026)	0.169 ^{***} (0.026)		
Income			0.184 ^{***} (0.022)	0.177 ^{***} (0.022)
Party Affiliation	0.502 ^{***} (0.095)	0.499 ^{***} (0.095)	0.813 ^{***} (0.090)	0.805 ^{***} (0.090)
Worship Frequency	0.077 ^{***} (0.028)	0.079 ^{***} (0.028)		
Ethnic Linked Fate	0.135 ^{***} (0.035)	0.077 (0.097)	0.035 (0.035)	-0.063 (0.100)
Discrimination	0.204 ^{***} (0.041)	0.201 ^{***} (0.041)	0.040 (0.039)	0.037 (0.039)
English	0.050 (0.043)	-0.071 (0.067)	0.164 ^{***} (0.040)	0.060 (0.064)
Age	0.0001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.047 ^{***} (0.003)	0.047 ^{***} (0.003)
Female	-0.272 ^{***} (0.081)	-0.281 ^{***} (0.081)	-0.139 [*] (0.080)	-0.145 [*] (0.080)
Asian Indian	0.081 (0.246)	0.159 (0.248)	-0.540 ^{**} (0.239)	-0.483 ^{**} (0.241)
Filipino	-0.105 (0.252)	-0.055 (0.253)	-0.794 ^{***} (0.246)	-0.753 ^{***} (0.246)
Vietnamese	-0.183 (0.249)	-0.200 (0.249)	0.174 (0.243)	0.159 (0.243)
Korean	-0.459 [*] (0.252)	-0.435 [*] (0.252)	-0.625 ^{**} (0.243)	-0.624 ^{**} (0.244)
Japanese	-0.187 (0.268)	-0.130 (0.269)	-0.351 (0.266)	-0.303 (0.267)
Chinese	-0.046 (0.252)	-0.009 (0.253)	-0.739 ^{***} (0.231)	-0.727 ^{***} (0.232)
Separated		0.072 (0.296)		0.264 (0.288)
Assimilated		0.414 [*] (0.228)		0.408 [*] (0.213)
Integrated		0.574 [*] (0.314)		0.647 ^{**} (0.307)
Constant	-2.388 ^{***}	-2.188 ^{***}	-3.517 ^{***}	-3.334 ^{***}

	(0.374)	(0.391)	(0.358)	(0.379)
Nagelkerke R-sq	0.1105	0.1133	0.1874	0.1895
Observations	2,830	2,830	3,220	3,220
Log Likelihood	-1,826.104	-1,822.849	-1,868.351	-1,865.509
Akaike Inf. Crit.	3,682.209	3,681.697	3,764.702	3,765.018

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Hypothesis 3.1 The integrated group shows the strongest inclination of participating in politics or civic activities while the marginalized group shows the least.

Hypothesis 3.2 The separated group participates at a higher rate than the assimilated group.

Hypothesis 3.3 The assimilated group participates at a higher rate than the separated group.

Figure 5 below demonstrates the percentage of participation in nonvoting and voting activities by the four acculturation groups. Figure 6 demonstrates the mean of political participation (0=No, 1=Yes) by the four groups. Shown in these two figures and as Hypothesis 3.1 predicts: the integrated group (more acculturated with higher levels of ethnic linked fate) is generally most actively engaged in politics both in voting as well as other activities, while the marginalized group (less acculturated and have less linked fate with ethnic Americans) show the least inclination to participate in both forms of activities. In addition, Hypothesis 3.3 shows higher validity with the assimilated group demonstrating higher inclination to participate in politics than the separated group.

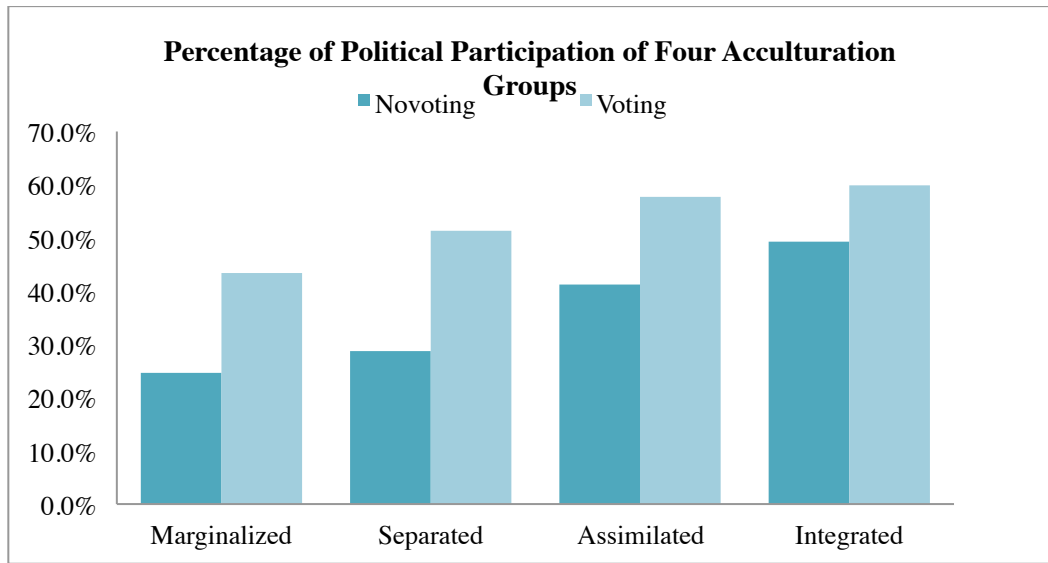


Figure 5: Percentage of Political Participation of Four Acculturation Groups.

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

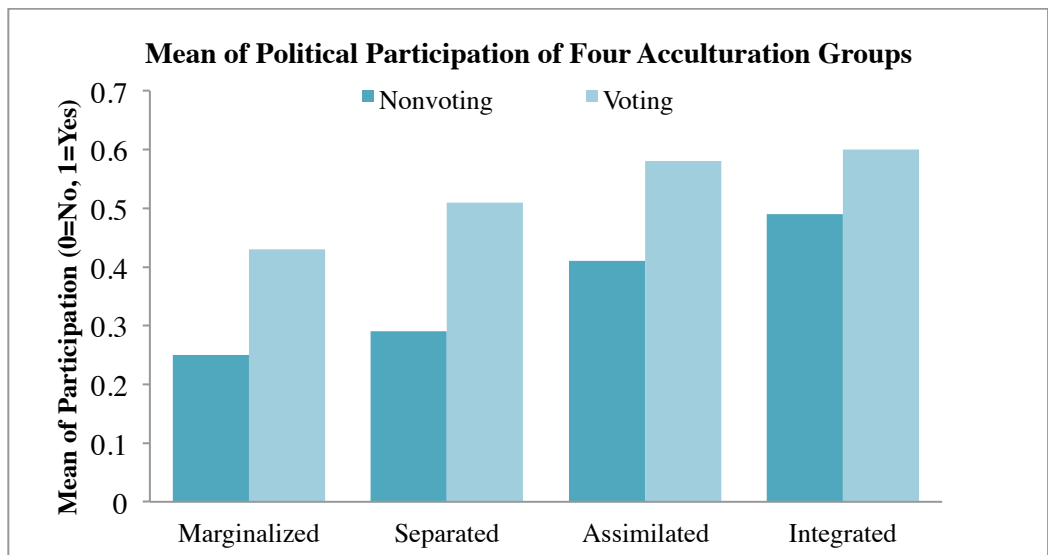


Figure 6: Mean of Political Participation of Four Acculturation Groups.

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Figure F.1 in Appendix F further indicates that these four groups are clearly differentiated with each other as to the number of political activities participated. In order to further test Hypothesis 3.1-3.3, a multiple comparison test after Kruskal-Wallis ($p < 0.05$) on participation beyond voting was conducted as reported in Table 5. It is clear from the comparisons that the integrated group has the largest difference with the marginalized group, followed by the separated and the assimilated. Similar findings were detected for voter turnout in 2004, while the differences were only significant between integrated and marginalized, assimilated and marginalized. To sum up, K-W test further indicates that Hypothesis 3.1 and Hypothesis 3.3 might be the case.

Table 5: Multiple Comparison Test after Kruskal-Wallis on Participation between Four Acculturation Groups.

Comparisons	Participation beyond Voting	Voter Turnout in 2004
Integrated-Assimilated	176.72*	50.97
Integrated-Separated	415.21*	159.24
Integrated-Marginalized	550.51*	221.70*
Assimilated-Separated	238.49*	108.27
Assimilated-Marginalized	373.79*	170.72*
Separated-Marginalized	135.30	62.46

Note:

* $p < 0.05$

Source: Author's compilation of the data from the 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

In addition to the above models on political participation beyond voting, Table B.4 in Appendix B presents a detailed report on the predictors on each form of participation. Given the fact that the internal validity for activities beyond voting is only slightly over 0.5, it is expected to see variations in the strength and even direction of each indicator in predicting a particular form. It is beyond the limit of this paper, but to sum up, interest, party affiliation, transnational activity and newspaper still significantly predict participation in most forms, while others are either not strong in most forms or predicting in the opposite directions. The ordering of the four

acculturation groups are also dependent on the specific form of participation, but the mean ranking order from the most active to the least is integrated/assimilated (1.57), separated (2.86) and marginalized (3.42)¹. This finding is slightly different from that in the aggregate analysis, which indicates the dynamics within each forms and a necessity to improve the measurement of participation if an aggregate analysis is a need.

¹ Calculated by the mean of each group's ranking in the seven forms of participation.

4. Study 2: Chinese Students Survey

From Study 1, one can have a glimpse of how the interaction between ethnic identity and acculturation relates to Asian Americans' political participation. The model fit does not dramatically increase after adding this interaction, but its significance could still be detected by analysis results as reported in Figure 5-6 and Table 4. One reason why this interaction shows little utility might be the measurement error: in Study 1, (pan)ethnic group resource is calculated based on ethnic linked fate, and acculturation is measured by English proficiency. However, the concept of linked fate was originally proposed for African Americans, whose historical experiences have "resulted in a situation in which group interests have served as a useful proxy for self-interest" (Dawson 1994, p77). While Asian Americans do not necessarily share a similar history with their (pan)ethnic groups as African Americans do, as also shown by the observation that more than half do not think they share a linked fate with their (pan)ethnic group, it might not be a proper measurement for their group resource. On the other hand, Study 1 uses English proficiency in assessing acculturation as most previous studies do. However, this measurement remains questionable since language alone might not be able to fully account for one's acculturation levels. Previous psychological studies have also demonstrated that, language could only be considered as one dimension of acculturation among Asian Americans (e.g. Suinn et al. 1987). Therefore, Study 2 was utilized to test the external validity of the measurement in Study 1.

4.1 Methods

4.1.1 Populations

Participants in this study were 152 students from Mainland China who were enrolled full-time in eight U.S. universities across North Carolina, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois,

Oklahoma, California, and Tennessee in Fall 2014. Chinese students were selected because 1) this group is easier to reach under research budget and 2) this group shows high inclination to stay in the U.S. after graduation, which might contribute to the Asian American population in the future. Of these participants, 9% (52.4% after weighted, thereafter *W*) were undergraduates, 45.5% (*W*=23.7%) were master students, 41% (*W*=21.4%) were PhD students and 3.9% (*W*=2.5%) were Postdocs. The mean age for the participants was 24.9 (SD=3.64) and 23.14 after weighted (SD=3.22); 57.9% (*W*=56.8%) were women and 42.1% (*W*=43.2%) were men.

Respondents were sent an email containing a link to an online version of the survey (constructed using Qualtrics.com software) (Appendix C). This recruitment email (Appendix D) was sent through the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA)/university-affiliated listserv¹ designed for Chinese students (e.g., china@***.edu and dcssa@***.edu). In this email, students could read the recruitment and a brief description of this study. It was also encouraged that the respondents circulate this survey invitation within their university. The total Chinese student population in these seven universities is around 11,970 according to a rough calculation from the statistics report of each university². Assuming that these distribution methods covered all the target population, the total response rate was slightly over 1.27% (152/11,970), and the average response rate of each university was 2.02%³

Participants were asked to provide their decision to leave or stay in the U.S. after graduation, ethnic identification, acculturation experiences, political orientations and some basic demographics. We offered users a lottery for one \$25 Amazon gift card for survey completion.

¹ Since it is the main method that CSSA and Chinese students communicate information among the Chinese community within one university, it is assumed that the listserv covers all the target population.

² For protection of the respondent information, name of the university and detailed statistics is provided upon requests.

³ Calculated by the response number by total Chinese students number in each university.

Respondents participated in a one-time survey that takes approximately 10-12 minutes to complete. The recruitment email was sent on November 21, 2014 and a reminder was sent on November 28, 2014 in order to reach out larger number of samples. The entire survey period lasted thirteen days, which expired on December 3, 2014.

4.1.2 Measurement

Political participation. Political participation are measured in a battery on three items ($\alpha=0.382$) with a 4-point scale, 1=*None participated* to 4=*All participated*. Only three forms of participation are selected since other items asked in NAAS cannot be targeted among international students. These three patterns are discussion of politics with family and friends, discussion of issue online and protest. It should be noted that the measurement on participation is different from that in Study 1⁴.

Socioeconomic status. "Income" and "education" are included to measure SES. However, the wordings are different from that in NAAS in order to fit the target population. Please see Appendix C for details.

Psychological engagement. "Political interest" and "ideology non-affiliation" are measured to assess the socio-psychological motivation to participate in politics. "Political interest" is measured by a 4-point scale from 1=*Hardly at all interested* to 4=*Extremely interested*. "Party affiliation" is replaced by "ideology affiliation" with four categories⁵, since the majority of international Chinese students might not be familiar with U.S. Party system.

⁴ Analysis on bivariate indicator of participation, however, seems to generate different results from that in Study 1. So the aggregate measurement of participation is used here.

⁵ Liberal, Conservative, Moderate, and Ideology Non-affiliated (i.e. Do not know).

(Pan)ethnic Group Resource. This questionnaire serves as the first trial to introduce more items that are aimed at gauging the dynamic nature of one's ethnic identity. They are "Chinese-American identity", "Ethnic closeness", and "Linked fate" ($\alpha=0.722$). Borrowing from the Identification with All Humanity Scale (IWAH) (McFarland et al. 2012), the survey includes a question on the closeness that respondents feel to "Chinese" on a five-point scale, 1=*Hardly close at all* to 5=*Extremely close*. "Linked fate" is modified from NAAS 2008, which combines the two questions related to linked fate⁶. Responses were changed into a four-point scale from 1=*A lot* to 4=*Hardly ever*. In addition, this questionnaire designs a 100-point scale that ranges from 0=*Chinese identity* to 100=*American identity*.

Acculturation. Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (SCAS) abridged (Searle and Ward 1990, Ward and Kennedy 1999) was introduced to measure the acculturation levels of Chinese students ($\alpha=0.634$), which includes five items that are closely related to the experience of international students. This scale measures the level of difficulty in sociocultural and university contexts with a Likert response format, 1= *Extreme difficulty* to 5=*No difficulty*. A battery of acculturation is then created with 5=*Lowest acculturation level* to 25=*Highest acculturation level*. Please see Q7 in Appendix C for the five-item battery.

Other acculturative factors such as "length of stay", "English proficiency", "Ethnic social network", "transnational activity", and "anti-exogamy" are also included to test their significance on acculturation level as reported in Table E.1 in Appendix E. The measurement for "length of stay" and "English proficiency" is quite similar with Study 1. Ethnic social network is measured by the proportion of American friends one has on a 5-point scale, 1=*All of them are American*

⁶ To fit the target population, "Ethnic American" is modified into "Chinese students" and "American students" respectively.

friends to 5=None of them are American friends. "Transnational activity" is measured by the frequency one contacts with family or friends in China on a 5-point scale, 1=*Almost never* to 5=*Nearly everyday*. Anti-exogamy attitude was asked in the question "Do you think your family would approve or disapprove of you marrying an American?" with responses on a 7-point scale, 1=*Strong approve* to 7=*Strongly disapprove*.

Control variables. Age and gender are introduced to control variations across age and gender.

4.1.3 Statistical Analysis

Due to the lack of a systematic enrollment reports of Chinese students at these seven universities, the weighted benchmark was from the Open Doors Report (2013a, 2013b), assuming that the general distribution of education level and major in these seven universities is similar to that of the total Chinese students population in U.S. It was weighted using propensity scores based on education level and major. This method produces a sample that looks similar to a probability sample on the matched characteristics, but may still differ in unknown ways on unobserved characteristics, such as gender and regional differences. After conducting the ANOVA and K-W test, those who report noncompliant responses are generally not significantly differentiated with those who do not. Therefore, no imputation was conducted in Study 2 and all missing values were excluded through listwise deletion.

The following statistical analyses are similar with Study 1, with a slight change of handling with the four acculturation groups. It introduces a dummy variable for acculturation (5-25 points), 2=*High* (>20 points) and 0=*Low* (<=20 points). As shown later in this section, most Chinese students are highly "acculturated" according to the survey results, therefore a relatively

high cut point was made in order to generate similar numbers in each acculturation group for comparison.⁷ Since ethnic linked fate shows less reliability than ethnic closeness in the regression model, a dummy variable for the later is thus created. Specifically, ethnic closeness is recoded as 2=*High*, which included responses "Extremely close" and "Very close", and 1=*Low*, which included "Moderately close", "Slightly close" and "Hardly at all". Similar computation as Study 1 does was processed, which resulted in a categorical variable with four groups: 1=*Marginalized*, 2=*Separated*, 3=*Assimilated* and 4=*Integrated*.

Other statistical analysis is reported in the Appendix E, including a linear model of predictors on acculturation, frequencies of the four groups, and correlations of key variables with these groups.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Preliminary Analysis

For participation, 70.8% have discussed politics with family and friends, 43.1% have visited Internet to discuss political issues and only 2.4% have attended a protest during the past 12 months.

As for conventional factors: 47.9% think they have quite good family financial situation, 70% are interested in U.S. politics, 41% are liberal, 13.3% are conservative, 18.7% are moderate and 27% don't know their ideological affiliation.

In measuring one's ethnic identity, it was found that the majority of Chinese students have close ties with ethnic group. As shown in Figure 7 below, 42.2% identify themselves with Chinese, while 32.8% have *bicultural* identity and 25% identify with American identity. In

⁷ Therefore, it should be noted that the divisions are relative terms that can only be compared within these four groups.

addition, Chinese students are more likely to consider themselves closer to Chinese ethnic group: 70.4% think that they feel very close or extremely close to Chinese while only 11.3% think so when it comes to Chinese American; 75% think what happens to Chinese students affects them a lot or some, while only 36.4% think so with American students.

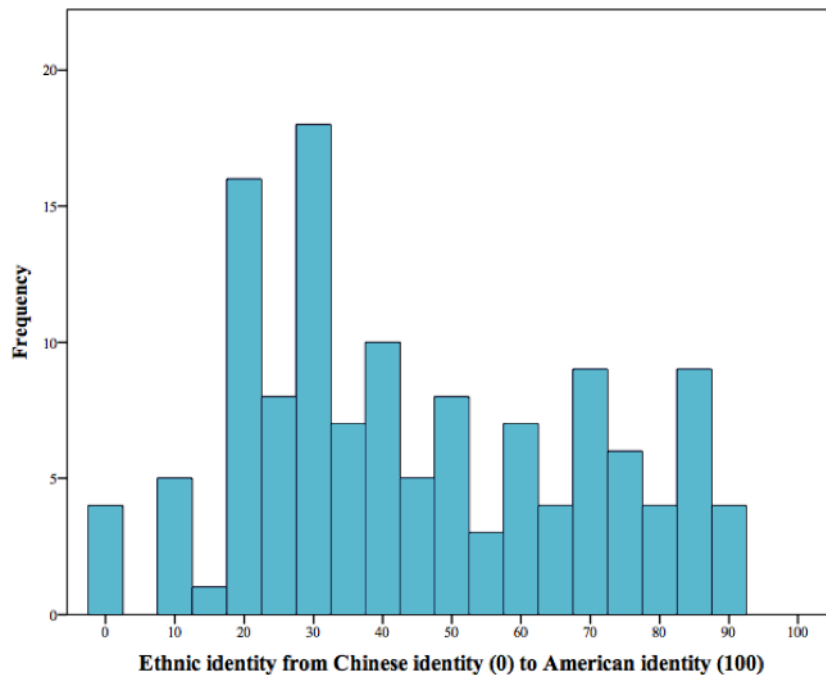


Figure 7: Ethnic Identity of Chinese Students.

The internal validity of the five items measuring one's acculturation level in the U.S. is 0.634 calculated by Cronbach's Alpha. As shown in Table 6 below, understanding what the professor says in class has the highest level of acculturation with a mean of 4.42 while making friends (mean= 3.6) is the most difficult task for Chinese students to adjust. For other acculturative factors, the mean years of staying in the U.S. is 2.7 years, 61.2% think their English is quite well, 67.5% frequently contact their family or friends in China, 85% do not have many

American friends, and more respondents (32.8%) have anti-exogamy attitude than pro-exogamy (27%).

Table 5: Mean of Acculturation Levels by Items.

	Friends ^a	Transport ^b	Shopping ^c	Understanding ^d	Participation ^e	Total
Mean	3.60	4.23	4.08	4.42	3.88	20.23
Median	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	20.00
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1	5
Maximum	5	5	5	5	5	25

a. Making friends

b. Using transport system

c. Going shopping

d. Understanding what the professors say

e. Expressing opinions at class

4.2.2 Hypotheses Test

Hypothesis 1: All the factors that predict political participation in the broader population should be relevant for Asian Americans.

As shown in Model 1 (Adjusted $R^2=0.57$) and Model 2 (Adjusted $R^2=0.585$) reported in Table 7, psychological engagement and (pan)ethnic group resource show significant relationship with Chinese students' political participation. The more interested in politics, the more discrimination perceived, the more likely one has higher levels of participation. Conservative and non-ideological affiliated are significantly less likely to participate than liberals. In addition, male Chinese students tend to be significantly more active than female students. Other factors are not shown to be significantly important for Chinese student's political participation.

Table 6: Regression on Participation among Chinese Students.

Dependent variable:

Participation Among Chinese Students

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Income	0.028 (0.057)		
Education	-0.076 (0.091)		
Interest	0.334*** (0.093)	0.349*** (0.074)	0.388*** (0.073)
Conservative	-0.546*** (0.197)	-0.596*** (0.162)	-0.441** (0.171)
Moderate	-0.179 (0.152)	-0.170 (0.141)	-0.131 (0.138)
Ideology Non Affiliated	-0.420** (0.210)	-0.416** (0.184)	-0.406** (0.181)
Identity	0.001 (0.003)	-0.0002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
Ethnic Linked Fate	0.017 (0.084)		
Ethnic Closeness	0.063 (0.067)	0.061 (0.063)	0.0002 (0.118)
Discrimination	0.106* (0.063)	0.118* (0.060)	0.101* (0.060)
Length of Stay	-0.012 (0.030)	-0.015 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.021)
English	0.015 (0.093)		
Acculturation	0.022 (0.021)	0.025 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.025)
Transnational Activity	0.078 (0.088)		
Ethnic Social Network	-0.103 (0.102)	-0.122 (0.092)	-0.089 (0.095)
Anti-Exogamy	0.022 (0.041)		
Age	0.027 (0.024)	0.013 (0.016)	0.009 (0.015)
Male	0.304** (0.132)	0.280** (0.122)	0.186 (0.131)
Separated			0.673** (0.312)
Assimilated			0.673*** (0.251)

Integrated			0.664** (0.308)
Constant	-1.725 (1.047)	-0.906 (0.732)	-0.796 (0.768)
Observations	117	118	118
R ²	0.637	0.628	0.658
Adjusted R ²	0.570	0.585	0.607
Residual Std. Error	0.533 (df = 98)	0.521 (df = 105)	0.507 (df = 102)
F Statistic	9.555*** (df = 18; 98)	14.762*** (df = 12; 105)	13.061*** (df = 15; 102)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

The insignificance of other factors might result from the particular characteristics of target population and lack of power from small sample size. In Study 1, education does significantly predict one's participation, but as Figure 1 demonstrates, the great difference exists between those who complete education higher than college and those who are not. Since the target population is students from college or higher level, the effect of education should not be expected to have strong predicting values as Study 1 shows. The lack of party/organization contact and formal education in the U.S. in survey design is also due to the background of target population as international students. The insignificance of other factors such as transnational activity and media usage might be largely attributed to the survey design that does not cover as full questions as NAAS does.

However, since Study 2 is mainly geared towards testing the interaction effect between (pan)ethnic group resource and acculturation, it is thus more important to discuss the model fit as well as the significance of this interaction as follows.

Hypothesis 2: Adding the effect of the interaction between acculturation and linked fate on Asian Americans' political participation should increase the model fit.

Since ethnic link fate was less reliable than ethnic closeness for Chinese students either because of survey design or the particular characteristics of international students, the interaction was calculated based on ethnic closeness and acculturation. Reported in Model 3 (Adjusted $R^2=0.57$) from Table 6, it could be found that, after introducing the interaction effect, the model fit increases at a higher rate than that in Study 1. Belonging to the each group has also shown significant effects and the ordering is explained below.

Hypothesis 3.1 The integrated group shows the strongest inclination of participating in politics or civic activities while the marginalized group shows the least.

Hypothesis 3.2 The separated group participates at a higher rate than the assimilated group.

Hypothesis 3.3 The assimilated group participates at a higher rate than the separated group.

Shown in Figure 8 below, the integrated is the most actively engaged in politics, while the marginalized group is the least. The assimilated group and the separated group are slightly lower than the integrated group in participation. From the regression model reported in Model 3 from Table 6, it is also found that compared with the marginalized group, all other groups are generally equally high in participation. Therefore, different from the findings in Study 1 and Hypothesis 3.1, more acculturated with higher level of ethnic linked fate is not necessarily the most actively engaged in politics, but those who are less acculturated and have less closeness with ethnic group still show the least inclination to participate. Figure 8 implies that the assimilated group might be more active than the separated while this difference is not quite large as Model 3 displayed above. However, if these four groups are further divided based on the levels of interest

(reported in Table E.4 in Appendix E), the ranking order reverts to integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized from most politically active to the least.

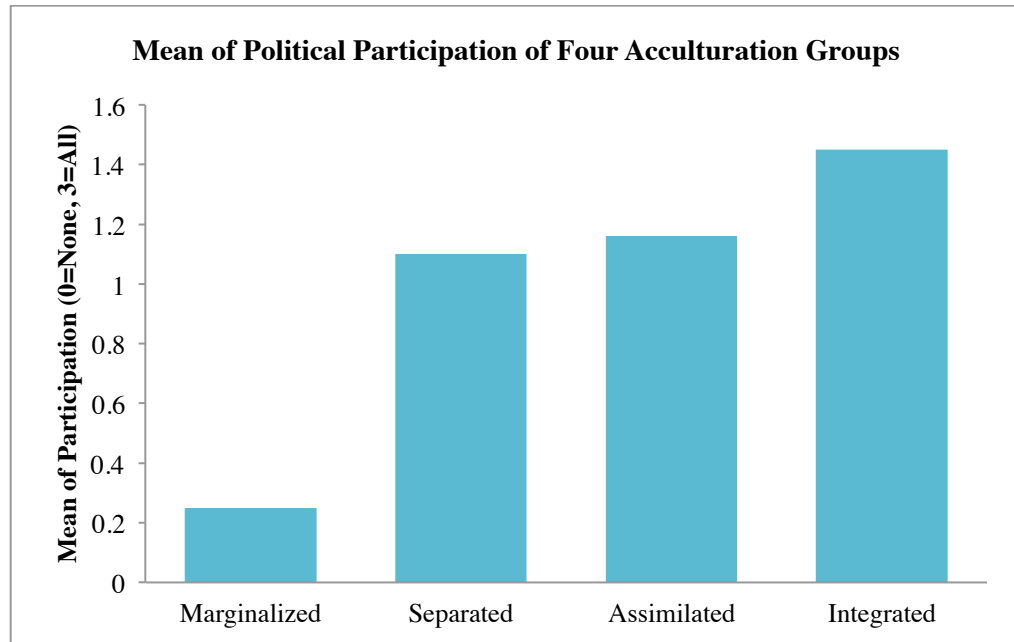


Figure 8: Political Participation by Acculturation and Ethnic Closeness Interaction of Chinese Students.

5. Discussion

5.1 Findings and Implications

The purpose of this study was to explore the acculturation and ethnic identity among Asian Americans as it relates to their political participation, and thus the possible political consequences it may bring such as which populations are more likely to participate in politics and what political agenda they might be interested in. The results of this study provide a model from which to consider some of the important determinants of Asian Americans' political participation, whether and how acculturation level interacts with (pan)ethnic group resource in associating with their participation.

In order to realize this purpose, two studies were conducted. Study 1 analyzed results from National Asian American Survey 2008 and was intended to test Hypothesis 1, regarding the most important determinants of political participation among Asian Americans; Hypothesis 2, as to whether the interaction between acculturation and (pan)ethnic group resource can improve the model on participation; and Hypothesis 3, as to how the four acculturation groups relate to one's participation. Study 2 analyzed a self-initiated survey on Chinese students studying at U.S. colleges in Fall 2014 and was conducted to test the external validity of Study 1 through accessing Hypothesis 2 and 3.

Most findings from Study 1 and Study 2 support the following four hypotheses:

1) Asian Americans' political participation is not predicted by any single participation model alone, but by all the five models: the socioeconomic resource model, the psychological engagement model, the institution and mobilization model, the (pan)ethnic group resource model and the acculturation model. Specifically, those with higher income/higher education level, more

interest in politics, party affiliation, frequent worship, stronger linked fate with ethnic group, more discrimination perceived, longer residence in the U.S., proficiency in English, more transnational activities engaged, more consumption of newspaper, and have formal education in the U.S., are generally more likely to participate in politics beyond voting. However, the (pan)ethnic group resource model and the mobilization model seems to have less utility in predicting voting behavior. The failure of the mobilization model in predicting voter turnout might result from the measurement error, given the fact that contact from party/organization was excluded from the regression model, which might cause endogeneity if added. However, test results show that if this variable is introduced in measuring mobilization, the mobilization model become significantly correlated with voting behavior.

2) The interaction between acculturation and ethnic linked fate is likely to increase the fit of the model for both Asian American and Chinese students' participation, with significant results found in both studies. Panethnic linked fate, however, shows weaker effects on Asian Americans' political participation, and thus not reported in the models.

3.1) Integrated group is generally the most active in participation while marginalized tends to be the least according to the significant results from the regression analysis and K-W test on both voting and nonvoting activity among Asian Americans. However, the significant results from the regression model of Chinese students demonstrate that integrated group is not necessarily the most actively engaged compared with separated and assimilated.

3.2) The assimilated group is generally more active in politics than the separated group according to the significant results from regression models and K-W test among Asian Americans. But the difference between these two groups is not significantly large among Chinese students. The mechanism through which the assimilated group is more actively engaged than the separated

might be explained by the findings that the assimilated group is more likely to be positively associated with traditional factors that predict higher levels of political participation. For example, the assimilated group has higher socioeconomic status, is more interested in politics and more likely to have party affiliation than the separated group. These positive association, therefore, help the assimilated group exceed the separated in participation.

In aggregate, Asian Americans based on participation are ordered as integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized. While for Chinese students, they are ranked as assimilated/separated/integrated and marginalized. Given the finding that those with strong bonding within the ethnic group and well adjustment to the American mainstream are the most active group in politics among Asian Americans, ethnic-related issues are expected to be one of their most concerns, which is an important political implication for agenda setting and policy making.

Different composition of the four groups¹ and their relationship with political participation between Asian Americans and Chinese students imply that the interaction between acculturation and (pan)ethnic group resource is ever-changing rather than static. The mechanism through which this interaction has different effects on participation might be explained by the Asian Minority Identity Development Model, proposed by Atkinson et al. (1989). This model explains how Asian minorities identify themselves as interacting their ethnic culture with mainstream cultures in five stages. Specifically, they are: the conformity stage (pursue the mainstream culture rather than ethnic culture), dissonance stage (experience ambivalent feelings between two cultures), resistance and immersion stage (reject the mainstream culture and rejoin again the ethnic culture), introspection stage (find individuality in both ethnic culture and the

¹ See the comparisons between Table B.2 in Appendix B and Table E.2 in Appendix E.

mainstream culture), and synergetic articulation and awareness stage (reject or accept values of the mainstream and ethnic culture according to judgments). Therefore, how to measure and define each stage and how the interaction associates with participation at each stage needs to be studied but is beyond the scope of this paper.

5.2 Limitations

Limitations to these research findings are important to consider. First, the measurement of key variables in both questionnaires need further test on external validity. In measuring acculturation, only language usage was used in Study 1, and the measurement of acculturation in Study 2 was tailored in order to target a particular group among Asian Americans. In addition, measurement on (pan)ethnic group resource is limited to a one-dimensional approach, while it has shown to have several different dimensions (Bahk et al. 2003, Phinney and Ong 2007). As summarized by Sadowsky, et al. (1995), ethnic identity consists of both external aspect and internal aspect. The external aspect includes language, group friendship, group functions, media and traditions. The internal aspect, on the other hand, consists of cognitive dimension such as self-image, moral dimension such as anti/pro exogamy, and affective dimension such as feeling of security. Finally, the self-report ethnic identity should also generate measurement problems. As shown by Ray, et al. (2013), any self-report data has a significant potential for social desirability bias, otherwise known as “faking good”. To sum up, in order to further study the dynamics during which acculturation interacts with (pan)ethnic group resource in predicting Asian American's participation, improving the measurement is strongly needed.

Second, in handling existing variables, two concerns remain in question: 1) since it was a first try to quantitatively measure the groups based on acculturation and (pan)ethnic group

resource in political science, there has not been a standard established for doing so in academics. These four groups were created by adding two dummy variables, which is a self-interpretation that has only been tested in these two studies. Therefore, these four acculturation groups could only be compared with each other relatively. Further studies might want to examine the external validity of this interpretation and establish a more systematic measurement of this interaction in order to improve our understanding of Asian Americans' adjustment to American politics. 2)

Participation in Study 1 is measured by the bivariate indicator that distinguishes those who participated in any form of activity with those who did not participate at all. However, the internal validity for the seven activities measuring participation beyond voting is only 0.536 calculated by Cronbach's Alpha. This value is considered as poor and only slightly higher than unacceptable. In addition, as Table B.4 in Appendix B demonstrates, different forms of participation might be predicted by different variables with varying strengths and directions. Therefore, how Asian Americans vary in different forms beyond voting and how acculturation interacts with (pan)ethnic group resource in those patterns need further studies. In addition, future studies might also want to improve the measurement of the aggregate political participation, which provides a contour in analyzing this group.

Third, some important factors are not considered in the analysis. For example, *personal traits* is neglected in relating to one's acculturation level and ethnic identity. Cross-cultural research identifies certain personal qualities help facilitate one's ability of acculturation. Studies emphasize open and direct communication (Yang et al. 2006), learning quickly, initiating and responding, entering the other's imagination in empathetic fashion (Kettle 2005, Li and Gasser 2005, Marginson 2010), relating to diverse culture/identity, emotional regulation, openness, flexibility, and critical thinking (Matsumoto et al. 2004) as conditions of effective acculturation

agency. In addition, differences in *residential contexts* were excluded from the analysis in order to present an aggregate picture. However, this factor might also be important in differentiating groups from varying regions, given the fact that some states have essentially higher density of Asian Americans where "the minority is the majority" and its political power should in turn has higher effect on mobilization, ethnic identity and acculturation.

Finally, most of the analyses have limited statistical capabilities, which can further impact the internal validity. For example, it was assumed that all the interested variables are normally distributed. And at the final steps, this study recoded both ethnic group resource and acculturation as dummy variables to help create the four groups. This step could also generate measurement errors due to a missing of the variations within variables. Furthermore, only regression models and K-W tests were conducted in the analysis, which limits the depth and complicates of what the four groups could present. However, beyond these limitations, this study presents a new perspective in viewing Asian Americans' political participation, proposing an increasing attention to the role of acculturation and (pan)ethnic group resource interaction.

Appendix A: Selected Questions from 2008 NAAS

F1 Self ethnic identity

People of Asian descent in the U.S. use different terms to describe themselves. In general do you think of yourself as [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FOUR CHOICE CATEGORIES]

[CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

An Asian American

A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1]

A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American

An AsianOtherAmerican [DO NOT READ]

None of these [Do not read]

Don't know

Refused

[ROTATE ORDER OF F2 AND F3]

F2 Linked fate (with Asians)

Do you think what happens generally to other Asians in this country affects what happens in your life? [MARK "MAYBE", "SOMEWHAT", "A LITTLE", "SORT OF" AS YES]

Yes

No

Don't know

Refused

F2a Linked fate (with Asians)

[IF F2="Yes"] Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

A lot

Some

Not very much

Skip / NA

Don't know

Refused

F3 Linked fate (with Ethnic Americans)

Do you think what happens generally to other [R ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1]

Americans affects what happens in your life? [MARK "MAYBE", "SOMEWHAT", "A LITTLE", "SORT OF" AS YES]

Yes

No

Don't know

Refused

F3a Linked fate (with Ethnic Americans)

[F3="Yes"] Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

A lot

Some

Not very much

Skip / NA

Don't know

Refused

F5 Experiences of discrimination

[IF FOREIGN BORN] We are interested in the way you have been treated in the United States, and whether you have ever been treated unfairly because of your race, ancestry, being an immigrant, or having an accent. Have you ever been: [READ EACH CATEGORY AND RECORD RESPONSE]

A unfairly denied a job or fired?

B unfairly denied a promotion at work?

C unfairly treated by the police?

D unfairly prevented from renting or buying a house or apartment?

E treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores?

Yes

No

Skip / NA

Don't know

Refused

F5a Experiences of discrimination

[IF U.S. BORN] We are interested in the way you have been treated in the United States, and whether you have ever been treated unfairly because of your race or ancestry. Have you ever been: [READ EACH CATEGORY AND RECORD RESPONSE]

- A unfairly denied a job or fired?
- B unfairly denied a promotion at work?
- C unfairly treated by the police?
- D unfairly prevented from renting or buying a house or apartment?
- E treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores?

Yes

No

Skip / NA

Don't know

Refused

C7 Voting (Voter turnout)

Thinking about past elections, did you vote in the 2004 U.S Presidential election?

Yes

No

Not eligible

Don't know

Refused

C15 Other civic and political activities

People take part in many types of civic and political activities. In the last 12 months, have you [RANDOMIZE ORDER] [READ EACH CATEGORY AND CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

Discussed politics with family and friends

Worked for a candidate, political party, or some other campaign organization

Contributed money to a candidate, political party, or some other campaign organization

Contacted your representative or a government official in the U.S.

Worked with others in your community to solve a problem

Visited an internet site or on-line community to discuss a candidate or issue

Attended a protest march, demonstration, or rally

Yes

No

Don't know

Refused

Appendix B: Other Analysis from 2008 NAAS

Table B.1 Regression on (Pan)ethnic Group Resource

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Ethnic Linked Fate (1)	Panethnic Linked Fate (2)	Discrimination (3)
Discrimination	0.118*** (0.024)	0.107*** (0.023)	
Panethnic Linked Fate			0.086*** (0.019)
Worship Frequency	0.030* (0.016)	0.019 (0.015)	-0.030** (0.014)
Citizenship	0.043 (0.061)	-0.019 (0.058)	0.083 (0.052)
Length of Stay	-0.0004 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)
English	0.031 (0.024)	0.005 (0.023)	0.029 (0.021)
Transnational Activity	0.105*** (0.033)	0.121*** (0.031)	0.084*** (0.028)
Newspaper	0.109** (0.052)	0.168*** (0.049)	0.019 (0.044)
Formal Education in U.S.	0.108* (0.065)	0.088 (0.063)	-0.088 (0.056)
Exogamy	-0.077 (0.051)	-0.110** (0.049)	-0.007 (0.044)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.008*** (0.002)
Female	0.042 (0.047)	0.032 (0.045)	-0.169*** (0.040)
Asian Indian	-0.567*** (0.163)	-0.643*** (0.161)	-0.154 (0.144)
Filipino	-0.709*** (0.157)	-0.755*** (0.155)	-0.081 (0.140)
Vietnamese	-0.325** (0.160)	-0.629*** (0.158)	-0.187 (0.142)
Korean	-0.025	-0.218	-0.019

	(0.159)	(0.157)	(0.141)
Japanese	-0.501 ^{***}	-0.446 ^{**}	-0.207
	(0.186)	(0.182)	(0.163)
Chinese	-0.304 [*]	-0.361 ^{**}	0.053
	(0.160)	(0.158)	(0.142)
Constant	1.966 ^{***}	2.133 ^{***}	1.644 ^{***}
	(0.235)	(0.228)	(0.205)
Observations	2,284	2,291	2,291
R ²	0.066	0.068	0.048
Adjusted R ²	0.059	0.061	0.040
Residual Std. Error	45.253 (df = 2266)	43.143 (df = 2273)	38.597 (df = 2273)
F Statistic	9.431 ^{***} (df = 17; 2266)	9.814 ^{***} (df = 17; 2273)	6.683 ^{***} (df = 17; 2273)

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01
Source: Author's compilation of data from 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012)

Table B.2 Crosstab of English Proficiency and Ethnic Linked Fate Interaction

% of Total

		Ethnic Linked Fate		Total
		Low ^a	High ^b	
English Proficiency	Low ^c	9.6%	8.8%	18.4%
	High ^d	44.0%	37.6%	81.6%
Total		53.6%	46.4%	100.0%

a. No linked fate or not very much

b. Some or a lot

c. Not at all or A little

d. English Interview, Very Well or Pretty Well

Source: Author's compilation of data from 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012)

Table B.3 Correlations of Key Variables with Four Acculturation Groups

Key Variables	Marginalized	Separated	Assimilated	Integrated
Income	-.223**	-.221**	.123**	.146**
Education	-.268**	-.225**	.114**	.185**
Interest	-.072**	-.046**	.002	.069**
Party Affiliation	-.103**	-.020	.012	.063**
Party/organization Contact	-.127**	-.092**	.019	.114**
Worship Frequency	.011	.081**	-.049**	-.006
Panethnic Linked Fate	-.216**	.184**	-.497**	.521**
Ethnic Linked Fate	-.316**	.317**	-.763**	.767**
Discrimination	-.079**	-.029	-.074**	.140**
Citizenship	-.084**	-.040*	.034*	.043**
Length of Stay	-.100**	-.128**	.092**	.047**
English	-.553**	-.553**	.376**	.296**
Transnational activity	-.041**	.078**	-.053**	.030
Newspaper	-.005	.049**	-.074**	.048**
Foreign Born	.108**	.121**	-.056**	-.083**
Formal education in the U.S.	-.205**	-.185**	.071**	.166**
Exogamy	-.045**	-.080**	.044**	.034*
Age	.157**	.121**	-.043**	-.126**
Female	.020	.025	-.015	-.012

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Author's compilation of data from 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012).

Table B.4 Regression on Each Form of Participation Among Asian Americans

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	Discussio n	Work for Politics	Donatio n	Contact	Communi ty Activism	Online discussi on	Protest
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Income	0.065* (0.034)	0.192*** (0.066)	0.128*** (0.037)	0.062 (0.041)	0.030 (0.031)	0.074* (0.042)	0.007 (0.059)
Education	0.104** (0.041)	-0.027 (0.071)	0.051 (0.040)	0.069 (0.044)	0.094*** (0.034)	0.033 (0.044)	-0.098 (0.073)
Interest	0.648*** (0.067)	0.350*** (0.123)	0.392*** (0.069)	0.367*** (0.076)	0.276*** (0.057)	0.433*** (0.078)	0.291*** (0.112)
Trust	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.018 (0.082)	0.096** (0.049)	-0.083 (0.052)	-0.049 (0.041)	-0.067 (0.054)	-0.058 (0.079)
Party Affiliation	0.565*** (0.129)	1.029** (0.435)	0.453** (0.182)	0.589*** (0.212)	0.126 (0.134)	0.151 (0.189)	0.413 (0.290)
Worship Frequency	-0.021 (0.040)	0.008 (0.078)	-0.019 (0.045)	0.111** (0.050)	0.154*** (0.038)	0.029 (0.051)	0.199*** (0.073)
Ethnic Linked Fate	-0.036 (0.144)	-0.065 (0.273)	0.129 (0.153)	0.285* (0.164)	0.087 (0.127)	0.325** (0.164)	0.259 (0.227)
Discrimina tion	0.204*** (0.064)	-0.036 (0.104)	0.160*** (0.056)	0.095 (0.062)	0.133*** (0.049)	0.147** (0.062)	0.221*** (0.085)
Citizenshi p	0.454*** (0.171)	1.478** (0.744)	0.701** (0.279)	0.527* (0.277)	0.104 (0.172)	0.132 (0.238)	0.244 (0.356)
Length of Stay	0.0003 (0.006)	0.016 (0.013)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.019** (0.008)	0.008 (0.006)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.029** (0.012)
English	-0.094 (0.093)	-0.039 (0.205)	0.021 (0.108)	-0.079 (0.122)	-0.175** (0.088)	-0.083 (0.115)	-0.309** (0.153)
Transnatio nal Activity	0.352*** (0.082)	0.284* (0.159)	0.303*** (0.090)	0.173* (0.099)	0.388*** (0.077)	0.462*** (0.104)	0.419*** (0.149)
Newspape	0.629***	0.675**	0.530***	0.449**	0.393***	-0.042	0.671**

r	(0.128)	(0.327)	(0.164)	(0.179)	(0.128)	(0.168)	(0.296)
Foreign Born	-0.651*	0.215	0.101	0.427	-0.154	-0.601*	-1.086**
	(0.352)	(0.485)	(0.289)	(0.314)	(0.259)	(0.328)	(0.546)
Formal Education in U.S.	0.001	0.363	0.095	0.286*	0.291**	0.332*	0.359
	(0.155)	(0.266)	(0.155)	(0.169)	(0.131)	(0.174)	(0.248)
Exogamy	0.407***	0.237	0.031	0.322**	0.048	0.256*	0.006
	(0.135)	(0.239)	(0.139)	(0.150)	(0.117)	(0.152)	(0.239)
Age	-0.022***	0.015	0.013*	-0.015**	-0.006	-0.011	0.020**
	(0.006)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.010)
Female	-0.075	-0.344	0.085	-0.396***	-0.143	-0.292*	-0.331
	(0.120)	(0.243)	(0.133)	(0.151)	(0.110)	(0.153)	(0.218)
Asian Indian	0.294	0.741	-0.025	-0.030	0.471	0.587	-0.827
	(0.380)	(0.797)	(0.388)	(0.413)	(0.332)	(0.527)	(0.555)
Filipino	0.257	0.532	-0.204	0.075	-0.085	0.697	-1.050*
	(0.382)	(0.814)	(0.398)	(0.421)	(0.341)	(0.536)	(0.563)
Vietnamese	-0.060	0.453	-0.381	-0.424	-0.336	0.145	-0.289
	(0.367)	(0.820)	(0.401)	(0.429)	(0.336)	(0.547)	(0.503)
Korean	0.254	0.441	-0.128	-0.472	-0.486	1.243**	-1.268**
	(0.367)	(0.823)	(0.393)	(0.424)	(0.332)	(0.524)	(0.543)
Japanese	0.265	0.653	-0.824*	-0.317	-0.163	-0.412	-0.698
	(0.435)	(0.877)	(0.457)	(0.488)	(0.390)	(0.636)	(0.702)
Chinese	0.440	0.483	-0.042	-0.349	-0.013	0.687	-0.693
	(0.371)	(0.826)	(0.394)	(0.427)	(0.332)	(0.532)	(0.516)
Separated	0.615	1.573	-0.240	-0.102	0.226	-0.359	-0.256
	(0.408)	(1.270)	(0.529)	(0.679)	(0.410)	(0.614)	(0.694)
Assimilated	0.396	1.588	0.361	0.979*	0.507	0.806*	0.567
	(0.298)	(1.121)	(0.402)	(0.547)	(0.316)	(0.487)	(0.513)
Integrated	0.843*	1.735	0.252	0.437	0.591	0.379	0.505
	(0.437)	(1.268)	(0.524)	(0.659)	(0.422)	(0.607)	(0.713)
Constant	-1.814**	-11.678**	-8.337**	-6.586***	-4.142***	-5.651***	-4.813***
	(0.729)	(1.856)	(0.845)	(0.942)	(0.662)	(0.960)	(1.224)
Nagelkerke R-sq	0.2638	0.1520	0.2149	0.1709	0.1515	0.1591	0.1525
Observations	2,068	2,065	2,065	2,065	2,061	2,066	2,063
Log	-955.053	-329.783	-821.724	-699.2	-1,111.925	-681.6	-399.79

Likelihood				05		89	6
Akaike	1,966.106	715.565	1,699.44	1,454.4	2,279.850	1,419.	855.593
Inf. Crit.			8	09		377	

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Source: Author's compilation of data from 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012)

Appendix C: Questionnaire of Chinese Students Survey

Part I General Experiences

Q2 Thank you for your interest in this research. I am a graduate student at Duke University, studying the experience of Chinese students who study at US colleges. Please click on the NEXT button to begin the survey.

Q3 In this section, we're going to ask some questions about your general experiences while studying in the U.S. college.

Q4 Generally speaking, are you satisfied or unsatisfied with the college experience in the U.S.?

- Extremely satisfied
- Moderately satisfied
- Slightly satisfied
- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- Slightly dissatisfied
- Moderately dissatisfied
- Extremely dissatisfied

Q5 Generally speaking, how often do you contact with your family in China? Please choose the one that is closest to your situation.

- Nearly every day
- A few times a week
- A few times a month
- Less than once a month
- Almost never

Q6 Among all your friends in the U.S., what is the proportion of **American** friends you have?

- All of them
- Most of them
- Some of them
- Hardly any of them
- None of them

Q7 Living far away from home is often difficult for students. Please indicate the amount of difficulty you've experienced in the following areas while you are in the U.S.

	No difficulty	Slight difficulty	Moderate difficulty	Great difficulty	Extreme difficulty
Making friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Using the transport system	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Going shopping	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understanding what professors say in class	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressing your ideas in class	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8 After you complete all of your anticipated schooling in the U.S., how likely are you to remain in the U.S.?

- Extremely likely
- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Very unlikely
- Extremely unlikely

Q9 And about how long do you expect to remain in the U.S. after completing your studies?

- Leave U.S. as soon as I finish all my studies
- Remain in U.S. for 1 or 2 years
- Remain in U.S. for 3-10 years
- Remain in U.S. for more than 10 years, but will return eventually
- Stay at U.S. permanently
- Don't know

Q10 I am interested in knowing if your plans to stay in the U.S. have changed while living here. Compared to when you first arrived in the U.S., are you now more or less likely to remain in the U.S., after your studies are complete?

- Much more likely
- Somewhat more likely
- About the same
- Somewhat less likely
- Much less likely

Q11 In thinking about your decision to remain in or leave the U.S., how important are each of the following considerations?

Q12 Did you have any study experiences outside of Mainland China before coming to the U.S. to attend college? (Including short time study exchanges, places like Hong Kong and Taiwan are also included.)

- Yes
- No

Q13 Thinking about difficulty of finding a job after you complete your studies in the U.S., how difficult is it in U.S. and China?

	Extremely difficult	Very difficult	Somewhat difficult	Neither difficult nor easy	Somewhat easy	Very easy	Extremely easy
Find a job in the U.S.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Find a job in China	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q14 What is your cumulative GPA? (From 0.00 to 4.00)

Q15 Generally speaking, how often do you participate in activities that are held by the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) in your college?

- Almost never
- Once in a while
- About half a time
- Frequently
- Almost always

Q16 What is your religious background?

- Atheist (无神论)
- Buddhist
- Catholic
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Muslims
- New religions
- Protestant Christian
- Taoist (道教)
- Not religious
- Other (Please specify) _____

Part II Ethnic Identification

Q17 In this section, we'd like to know what you generally identify yourself with regarding ethnicity.

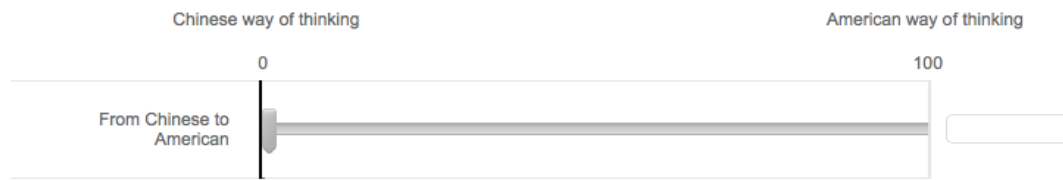
Q18 Do you think of yourself as a typical Chinese, somewhat different from typical Chinese or very different from typical Chinese?

- Typical Chinese
- Somewhat different from typical Chinese
- Very different from typical Chinese

Q19 How well are you able to carry on a conversation in English, both understanding and speaking?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderately well
- Slightly well
- Hardly well at all

Q20 In thinking about your ethnic identity, do you think it is closer to the Chinese way of thinking or American way of thinking? How would you identify yourself in the following scale that ranges from "Chinese" to "American"? ("0" means that you think you have typical Chinese way of thinking while "100" means that you have typical American way of thinking.)



_____ From Chinese to American

Q21 How close do you feel to each of the following groups?

	Extremely close	Very close	Moderately close	Slightly close	Hardly close at all
Chinese Americans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Chinese	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asian Americans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q22 Do you think what happens to other Chinese students in the U.S. affects what happens in your life? And American students?

	A lot	Some	Not very much	Hardly at all
Chinese students in U.S.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
American students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q23 In general, do you think discrimination against Chinese is an extremely serious, very serious, moderately serious, minor serious or hardly at all serious problem?

- Extremely serious
- Very serious
- Moderately serious
- Minor serious
- Hardly at all serious

Q24 Do you think you have ever been treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores because of your race or accent?

- Yes
- No

Q25 Do you think your family would approve or disapprove of you marrying an American?

- Strongly approve
- Moderately approve
- Slightly approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Slightly disapprove
- Moderately disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

Part III Issue Salience

Q26 Now we'd like to ask about your opinions of American politics and current issues in the news.

Q27 How interested are you in information about what's going on in U.S. government and politics?

- Extremely interested
- Very interested
- Moderately interested
- Slightly interested
- Hardly at all interested

Q28 People rely on different sources for political information. Which source in the following do you use most often for information about politics?

- Discussion with friends and neighbors
- Western media/ European and U.S. media (e.g. CNN, BBC, WSJ)
- China state media (e.g. 新华社, 人民日报, 参考消息)
- Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau media (e.g. 凤凰网, 大公报, 文汇报, 中央日报, 中华日报)
- Social media (e.g. 微博, 人人, 微信, 推特, 脸书)
- Political blogs (e.g. 搜狐, 新浪, 腾讯)
- Other (Please specify) _____

Q29 What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States today? (Please choose at most three choices.)

- Economy in general
- Jobs/ Employment
- Ethics/ Morality/ Family Decline
- Education
- Health care
- Race/ ethnic relations
- Foreign policy towards China
- Terrorism
- Immigration

Q30 What do you think are the most important problems facing China today? (Please choose at most three choices.)

- Economy in general
- Jobs/ Employment
- Ethics/ Morality/ Family Decline
- Education
- Health care
- Ethnic relations
- Foreign policy towards the U.S.
- Corruption
- Freedom of speech

Part IV Political Orientations

Q31 When it comes to politics do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

- Extremely liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate or middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Extremely conservative
- Haven't thought much about this

Q32 Which of these three statements comes closest to your view?

- Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to legally marry.
- Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry.
- There should be no legal recognition of a gay or lesbian couple's relationship.

Q33 Which of these four statements comes closest to your view?

- By law, abortion should never be permitted.
- The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.
- The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.
- By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

Q34 Do you know when the NPC&CPPCC (全国两会) is usually held in China each year?

January - December, Don't know

Q35 Do you know when is the Midterm Election usually held in U.S. every four years?

January - December, Don't know

Q36 People take part in many types of civic and political activities. In the last 12 months, have you participated in the following activities?

	Yes	No
Discussed politics with family and friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visited an Internet site or on-line community to discuss political issues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attended a protest march, demonstration, or rally	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q37 Thinking about before you came to the United States, were you involved in a political party or other type of political organization?

- Yes
- No

Part V Demographics

Q38 In this section, we'd like to gather some basic demographics. Please note that your information is completely confidential and is collected only for academic analysis.

Q39 In which year did you come to study in the U.S.?

2014 - 1990, Other

Q40 Approximately when do you plan to complete all your schooling in U.S.?

2014 - 2035, Later than 2035, Undecided yet

Q41 What year were you born?

2000 - 1960, Other

Q42 Are you an undergraduate student, master student, PhD student, or postdoc?

- Undergraduate student
- Master student
- PhD student
- Postdoc

Q43 What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

Q44 Compared with your Chinese friends in U.S., how do you rate the economic situation of **your family in China** today?

- Extremely good
- Very good
- Somewhat good
- So so (neither good nor bad)
- Somewhat bad
- Very bad
- Extremely bad

Q45 Where does your father work?

- State-owned enterprises and institutions 国有企事业单位
- Government 政府机关
- Private enterprise 民营企业
- Joint venture enterprise 合资企业
- Peasant 农民
- Self-employed individual 自由职业者
- Not applicable
- Other (Please specify) _____

Q46 What is your current or intended major?

- Architecture, visual arts or design
- Biological sciences/ life sciences
- Business
- Communications
- Computer and information sciences
- Education
- Engineering, mathematics, or physical sciences/ science technologies
- Health professions or related sciences
- Humanities/ liberal arts
- Law or legal studies
- Psychology
- Social sciences or history
- Other (Please specify) _____

Q47 Do you want to enter the drawing of a \$25 Amazon gift card? If you select "Yes", you will be asked to leave your email address so as to process the lottery.

- Yes
- No

Q48 Do you want to receive a survey report later this year? If you select "Yes", you will be asked to leave your email address so as to send the report.

- Yes
- No

Answer If Do you want to enter the drawing of a \$25 Amazon gift card? Yes Is Selected Or Do you want to receive a survey report later this year? Yes Is Selected

Q49 Please leave your email address here. Your email address is confidential. It is collected only for the use of processing the lottery and disseminating the report. The researcher can in no way link these unique addresses to individual responses. Email addresses will be discarded shortly after the winner is drawn and survey report sent.

You will expect to receive a survey report and/or the winner announcement on Dec. 22. For protection, winner's email will not be publicized but IRB will see to it and guarantee the fair lottery process.

Q50 Thank you for your interest in this study. You have now completed the Understanding the Experiences of Chinese Students Studying in U.S. We encourage you to spread out this survey within your university and have more of our group's voices heard!

If you have any further questions, please contact the researcher at: zz57@duke.edu.

We'd like to hear about how you think about this survey. Please provide any constructive feedback or comments. After commenting, please remember to click on the NEXT button to submit your responses.

Appendix D: Recruitment Invitation of Chinese Students Survey

(Forwarded by president of CSSA in each university)

Title: How is your life here at U.S.? Come and take a survey. Have your voice heard and take the chance to win a \$25 Amazon gift card!

Body:

Dear CSSA,

Could you please help me forward this survey invitation to your listserv recipients? Thanks!

Dear student,

How are you enjoying your life here at a U.S. college? As a student researcher from China, I am very interested in hearing about your experiences and opinions. No matter what areas you are in, come and take this survey

This survey has been approved by IRB, an official institute that has high standards in confidentiality requirement and thus protecting your privacy. Following please see a brief description of this study.

Study Name: Understanding the Experiences of Chinese Students Studying in U.S.

Eligibility Requirements: Students from Mainland China, of 18 years or older and full-time enrolled in U.S. colleges

Duration: 10-12 minutes

Compensation: Approximately 1/200 chance to win a \$25 Amazon gift card!

Instructions: This task requires completing a brief questionnaire designed to basically examine U.S. college experience of international students from Mainland China. The questionnaire should take about 10-12 minutes to complete. Your answers are entirely confidential.

To proceed, please: Click on the link provided below. This will direct you to a secure, confidential, and entirely anonymous external site.

(link about here)

Thank you for your time and attention to this research. Your participation is valued and appreciated.

Yours,

Zihe Zhang

zz57@duke.edu

Appendix E: Other Analysis from Chinese Students Survey

Table E.1 Regression on Acculturation

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	(1)	Acculturation (2)
American Identity	0.003 (0.016)	
Ethnic Closeness	-0.074 (0.394)	
Discrimination	-0.508* (0.298)	-0.542* (0.289)
Length of Stay	0.252* (0.139)	0.118 (0.113)
English	1.447*** (0.414)	1.281*** (0.388)
Transnational Activity	0.388 (0.428)	0.192 (0.404)
Ethnic Social Network	1.347*** (0.471)	1.130** (0.434)
Anti-Exogamy	-0.136 (0.220)	-0.121 (0.205)
Age	0.147* (0.087)	0.145* (0.084)
Male	0.863 (0.643)	0.778 (0.598)
Constant	5.571 (4.805)	7.925** (3.957)
Observations	118	130
R ²	0.244	0.186
Adjusted R ²	0.174	0.133
Residual Std. Error	3.241 (df = 107)	3.265 (df = 121)
F Statistic	3.456*** (df = 10; 107)	3.465*** (df = 8; 121)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table E.2 Crosstab of Acculturation and Ethnic Closeness

% of Total		Ethnic Closeness		Total
		Low ^a	High ^b	
Acculturation	Low ^c	11.4%	30.0%	41.4%
	High ^d	18.6%	40.0%	58.6%
Total		30.0%	70.0%	100.0%

a. Moderately close, slightly close or hardly at all

b. Extremely close or very close

c. < 20-point (5-25 points in total)

d. >= 20-point (5-25 points in total)

Table E.3 Correlations of Key Variables with Four Acculturation Groups

	Marginalized	Separated	Assimilated	Integrated
Interest in U.S. politics	0.1	0.009	-0.013	-0.063
Liberal	0.017	-0.033	-0.022	0.036
Conservative	-0.038	0.058	0.013	-0.039
Moderate	0.065	-0.027	-0.114	0.07
Ideology Non Affiliated	-0.057	0.017	0.139	-0.085
Perception of discrimination	0.071	-0.009	-0.105	0.046
Proficiency of English	-0.042	-0.257**	0.346**	-0.006
Length of stay	0.177**	-0.3**	0.176**	0.027
Male	-0.225**	0.015	-0.055	0.176*

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table E.4 Regression on Political Participation Based on Levels of Interest*Dependent variable:*

	Participation Among Chinese Students	
	(1) High Interest	(2) Low Interest
Conservative	-0.449** (0.213)	-0.928* (0.451)
Moderate	-0.139 (0.191)	-0.467 (0.304)
Ideology Non Affiliated	-0.385 (0.258)	-0.707** (0.281)
American Identity	-0.001 (0.004)	0.007 (0.008)
Ethnic Closeness	-0.250 (0.154)	0.262 (0.285)
Discrimination	0.087 (0.074)	0.251 (0.147)
Length of Stay	-0.009 (0.029)	-0.012 (0.047)
Acculturation	-0.055 (0.035)	-0.076 (0.077)
Ethnic Social Network	-0.204 (0.127)	-0.108 (0.207)
Age	-0.005 (0.021)	-0.001 (0.035)
Male	0.143 (0.180)	0.466 (0.275)
Separated	1.098** (0.423)	0.892 (0.729)
Assimilated	1.294*** (0.394)	1.149 (0.690)
Integrated	1.384*** (0.463)	1.150 (0.767)
Constant	2.992*** (0.895)	0.030 (2.498)
Observations	78	40
R ²	0.515	0.616
Adjusted R ²	0.407	0.401
Residual Std. Error	0.538 (df = 63)	0.526 (df = 25)
F Statistic	4.772*** (df = 14; 63)	2.868** (df = 14; 25)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix F: Selected Figures on Political Participation

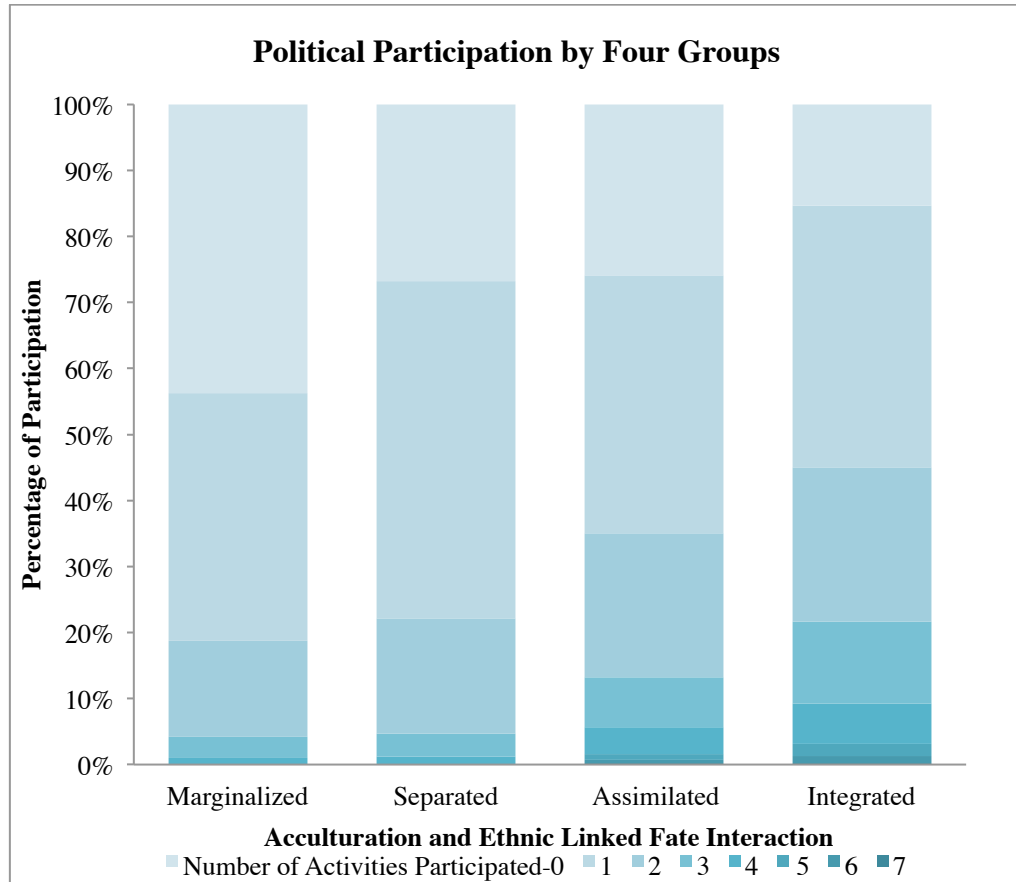


Figure F.1 Percentage of Political Participation by Four Groups (2008 NAAS)

Source: Author's compilation of data from 2008 NAAS (Ramakrishnan et al. 2012)

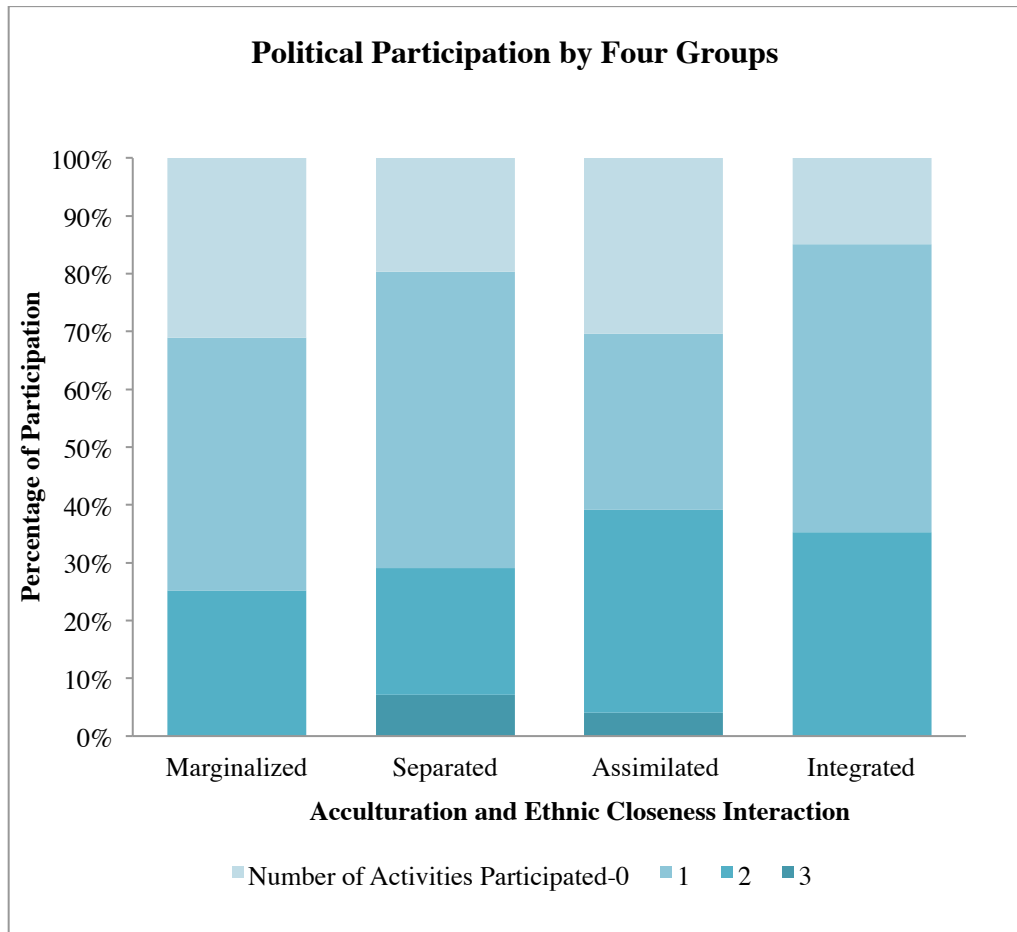


Figure F.2 Percentage of Political Participation by Four Groups (Chinese Students Survey)

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