



Asian American Mobilization and Political Identities

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Introduction

Immigrants from Asia have been a defining feature of demographic change over the last quarter century in the United States. The 2000 US Census identified Asian Americans as the fastest growing immigrant group in the nation and the Pew Research Center estimates that Asian Americans will become the largest immigrant group in the country by 2055. With that growth has come the development of a vibrant scholarly literature examining Asian American political participation in the United States. This article is designed to provide an overview of the major foundational studies that explore Asian American political behavior, including mobilization and participation in American politics. The earliest research began in the fields of political science and sociology and consider the viability of a panethnic Asian American identity as a unit of analysis for group-based behavior and political interests. Numerous scholars have considered the circumstances under which panethnic Asian American identity can be activated toward group behavior, and how differences in national origin can lead to variations in behavioral outcomes. Participation in American politics, however, is rooted in many other factors such as socioeconomics, one's experience as an immigrant, ties to the home country, and structural barriers to activism. Individual resources have long been considered an essential component to understanding political participation. Yet, Asian Americans present a puzzle in American politics, evincing higher education and income while participating in politics at a more modest rate. In response to this puzzle, scholars have theorized that structural conditions and the experience faced by Asian immigrants are powerful mechanisms in understanding the determinants of Asian American political participation. Once considered to have relatively weak partisan attachment and little interaction with the two major parties in the United States, studies that examine the development of partisan attachment among Asian Americans are explored which, more recently, find that a growing majority of Asian Americans have shown a preference for the Democratic Party. Finally, we detail studies examining the conditions under which Asian American candidates emerge and are successful, the co-ethnic electorate who supports them, and conclude by detailing the opportunities and constraints for cross-racial collaboration and conflict.

Foundational Studies

Foundational to the development of Asian American politics as a scholarly field is the work of Don Nakanishi (Nakanishi 1985, Nakanishi 1991, and Nakanishi and Lai 2003, all cited under Historical Foundations), who wrote extensively on the development of a panethnic Asian American identity and the role Asian Americans could play in US politics, while Takaki 1989 offers the definitive history of Asians in America and the development of the "model minority" stereotype often used to describe the community. Lien 1994, Lien 2001, and Tam 1995 (all cited under Participatory Foundations) drew upon Nakanishi's insights to further consider the contours of ethnic identity and the extent to which it matters for political behavior outcomes. In addition to the US Census capturing information about the growth of Asian Americans, the creation of surveys of Asian Americans has been transformative to the study of Asian American political identities and mobilization. Lien, et al. 2004 considers the formation of a panethnic identity and the foundations of partisanship, while Wong, et al. 2011 (cited under Participatory Foundations) documents Asian American participation using the landmark National Asian American Survey of 2008. Finally, using case studies, several scholars consider the role of Asian Americans in a changing America. Seito 1998 (cited under Participatory Foundations) examines the effect of demographic change and the interactions between Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in Suburban Los Angeles. Kim 2000 considers Black and Korean conflict in New York City, while Wong 2006 (both cited under Participatory Foundations) analyzes Chinese and Mexican immigrants in New York

and Los Angeles. These studies along with Masuoka and Junn 2013 (cited under Participatory Foundations) consider the structural hierarchy of American society and the placement of Asian Americans in it.

Historical Foundations

A number of foundational studies called for and identified the need to study Asian Americans. The works in this section represent pioneering voices in the study of Asian Americans and the development of Asian American politics as a viable field of inquiry. In 1985, Don Nakanishi was the first scholar to call for the study of Asian Americans in politics (Nakanishi 1985). Later works such as Takaki 1989, Zia 2000, and Nakanishi and Lai 2003 examine the key legal and political issues that have faced Asian Americans, often leading to detrimental stereotyping and social exclusion. Aoki and Nakanishi 2001, alternatively, documents the formation of institutions seeking to uplift the Asian Pacific American community.

Aoki, Andrew, and Don Nakanishi. "Asian Pacific Americans and the New Minority Politics." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34.3 (2001): 605–610.

This article details the formation of the Asian Pacific American Caucus (APAC) within the American Political Science Association.

Aoki, Andrew, and Okiyoshi Takeda. *Asian American Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2008.

This textbook provides a comprehensive introduction to the study of Asian American participation in US politics. The authors explain how the fate of Asian Americans has been powerfully influenced by the way they have been portrayed in the media, and more generally, in US society.

Nakanishi, Don T. "Asian American Politics: An Agenda for Research." *Amerasia Journal* 12.2 (1985): 1–27.

The author argues Asian Americans are becoming an increasing focus in American politics and outlines an agenda for future research.

Nakanishi, Don. "The Next Swing Vote? Asian Pacific Americans and California Politics." In *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California*. Edited by Bryan O. Jackson and Michal B. Preston, 1:25–54. Berkeley, CA: IGS Press, 1991.

The author makes the case for the study of Asian American politics given the growth of the Asian American electorate in California.

Nakanishi, Don, and James Lai, eds. *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy*. Vol. 3. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

This edited volume draws upon court cases, legislation, demographic data to examine topics such as Japanese American redress, the Los Angeles riots, Wen Ho Lee, and gender dynamics.

Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a Distant Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989.

Using narrative history and oral testimony, the author presents a history of Asian Americans. He writes of the Chinese building the transcontinental railroad and laborers in the canefields of Hawaii. He describes Japanese Americans behind the barbed wire of US internment camps, Hmong refugees unable to adjust to Wisconsin's climate and culture, and Asian American students stigmatized by the "model minority" stereotype.

Zia, Helen. *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People*. New York: Macmillan, 2000.

This book argues that incidences of racial exclusion, stereotyping, and violence have galvanized the development of an Asian American consciousness. The author examines stereotypes of Asian Americans and events such as the murder of Vincent Chin, the working conditions of Filipinos in canneries, the Los Angeles riots, and the casting of non-Asians in the Broadway musical *Miss Saigon*.

Participatory Foundations

The works profiled in this subsection represent hallmark studies of Asian American political behavior. These studies take the call of Nakanishi 1985 (cited under Historical Foundations) to advance a research agenda of Asian American political behavior. Qualitative studies such as Seito 1998 and Kim 2000 offer a rare look at Asian American conflict and collaboration in communities undergoing demographic change in Los Angeles and New York City, respectively. These works offer some of the first theorizing about placement of Asian Americans in the structural hierarchy of the American racial landscape, which is later furthered by Masuoka and Junn 2013. Other studies take a quantitative approach such as Tam's examination of vote returns in California (Tam 1995) and several studies by Lien (Lien 1994; Lien 2001) and Wong 2006 and Wong, et al. 2011, works that pioneer the use of survey data for the study of Asian Americans.

Kim, Claire Jean. *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black Korean Conflict in New York City*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Based on in-depth interviews, the author argues that Black-Korean conflict is the result of White dominance in American society, which generates a distinct racial order that encourages conflict among different groups, provokes racial resistance, and delegitimizes and silences such resistance. Through an analysis of the Flatbush Boycott of 1990, she argues that racial protests are inevitable as long as conditions of racial injustice prevail.

Lien, Pei-te. "Ethnicity and Political Participation: A Comparison Between Asian and Mexican Americans." *Political Behavior* 16.2 (1994): 237–264.

Utilizing survey data from 1984 and building upon the view that ethnicity is an evolving rather than a static phenomenon, the author finds that both Asian and Mexican Americans in California, despite a huge socioeconomic gap, bear similar ethnicity and participation structures. For both groups, acculturation increases participation; attachment to homeland culture does not necessarily discourage participation; and the role of group consciousness is much more complex than previously conceived.

Lien, Pei-Te. *Making of Asian America through Political Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

This was the first book to thoroughly assess the political implications of Asian immigration to the United States. The author explores how race, ethnicity, and transnationalism help to construct a complex Asian American electorate by examining rates of participation among Asian Americans as compared with Blacks, Latinos, American Indians, and non-Hispanic Whites, as well as subgroups such as Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Asian Indians, and Vietnamese.

Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong. *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Drawing upon survey data from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey, this book considers the boundaries of identity among Asian Americans, the foundations of partisanship and political participation in both electoral and non-electoral settings.

Masuoka, Natalie, and Jane Junn. *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Through a comparative analysis of public opinion among White, Black, Latino, and Asian Americans, the authors identify and test the critical moderating role of racial categorization and group identity on variation in public opinion on immigration. The authors argue that the relationship between citizenship, race, and immigration drives the politics of belonging in the United States and is central to understanding public opinion on immigration policy.

Seito, Leland. *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

This book documents demographic change in the San Gabriel Valley, where by the late 1990s the size of the White population had been surpassed by an influx of Latino and Chinese immigrants. By tracing grassroots political organizations, the author examines how diverse residents of the region constructed new identities generally and the panethnic "Asian American" identity in particular; overcame their initial antagonisms; and developed new political alliances.

Tam, Wendy. "Asians—A Monolithic Voting Bloc?" *Political Behavior* 17.2 (1995): 223–249.

Using ecological inference to examine vote choice of Asian Americans by national origin, the author argues that studies of Asian voting behavior should be careful to consider the effects and consequences of such aggregation.

Wong, Janelle. *Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Through an examination of Chinese and Mexican immigrants in New York and Los Angeles, the author argues that the low levels of political participation among contemporary immigrants are not due to apathy or preoccupation with their homeland, but to the inability of American political parties and advocacy organizations to mobilize immigrant voters.

Wong, Janelle, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, and Jane Junn. *Asian American Political Participation: Emerging Constituents and Their Political Identities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011.

Based on data from the 2008 National Asian American Survey, this book shows that the motivations for and impediments to political participation are as diverse as the Asian American population. Some key findings: Native-born Asians have higher rates of political participation than recent immigrants; hate crimes and racial victimization are the factors that most motivate Asian Americans to participate politically; and socioeconomic advantage does not necessarily translate into high levels of political participation.

Panethnic and National Origin Identities

The study of minority political behavior relies heavily upon social identity theories of group consciousness and linked fate—constructs that take into consideration the structural hierarchy of society, an individual's view of where their group stands within that structure, and the individual's perception that acting together as a group may improve the group's standing within the hierarchy. Asian Americans present a unique case of minority political behavior given the vast heterogeneity of the group. Studies from Uhlaner, et al. 1989; Espiritu 1992; Lien, et al. 2004; and Masuoka 2006 theorize and assess the boundaries of a panethnic identity and consider the role of group-based identities in political participation, including assessing group consciousness and linked fate. As the study of identity and political participation can be cross-disciplinary, Okamoto 2003 and Lee 2008 represent contributions from both sociology and political science, respectively, and help synthesize our understanding of the linkage between group-based identity formation and group-based behavior.

Espiritu, Yen L. *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

A detailed case study using interviews and demographic data of how, and with what success, diverse national-origin groups can come together as a panethnic group. Explores the construction of affiliations, in which previously unrelated groups assume a common identity. Citing specific examples such as educational discrimination, legal redress, anti-Asian violence, and the development of Asian American studies programs the author demonstrates how Asian Americans came to understand that through cooperation they could succeed in fighting common obstacles.

Lee, Taeku. "Race, Immigration, and the Identity-to-Politics Link." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 457–478.

This article argues that the key to understanding the impact of race on politics is a clearer specification of the identity-to-politics link—the nexus from a population defined by shared racial and ethnic labels to a collective group politics based on those definitions. The author argues that researchers should be mindful of five processes in linking shared demographic categories to common political destinies: definition, identification, consciousness, venue selection, and choice.

Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong. *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Drawing upon survey data from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey, this book considers the boundaries of identity among Asian Americans and challenges popular misconceptions about Asian Americans as politically apathetic and fragmented.

Masuoka, Natalie. "Together They Become One: Examining the Predictors of Panethnic Group Consciousness Among Asian Americans and Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 87.5 (2006): 993–1011.

Using survey data on Asian Americans and Latinos, this article examines individual-level factors that help strengthen the panethnic group identity of Asian Americans and Latinos. The author finds that for Asian Americans, high income, involvement in Asian-American politics, being a Democrat, and the role of racial discrimination encourage panethnic group consciousness. The findings stress the importance of social contextual factors such as racial discrimination on the formation of panethnic identity.

Okamoto, Dina. "Toward a Theory of Panethnicity." *American Sociological Review* 68.6 (2003): 811–842.

This analysis extends theoretical models of ethnic boundary formation to account for the shifting and layered nature of ethnic boundaries. It focuses on the underlying structural conditions that facilitate the expansion of ethnic boundaries or the construction of a pan-national identity, and explores how organizing along an ethnic boundary affects collective efforts at the panethnic level.

Uhlener, C. J., B. E. Cain, and D. R. Kiewiet. "Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the 1980s." *Political Behavior* 11 (1989): 195–231.

Using data collected in 1984 on samples of California's Black, Latino, Asian American, and non-Hispanic White populations, the authors find that Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites participate at roughly equal rates, while Latinos and Asian-Americans are substantially less active. While they find that education, citizenship, and age account for lower Latino participation rates, such controls do little to explain the relative lack of Asian American participation. They conclude that ethnicity does have an indirect effect on participation as a basis for mobilization.

Panethnicity

With the vast array of national origin backgrounds, languages, religions, and socioeconomic statuses, Jacob 2006 asks the quintessential question, "Who is an Asian American?" This subsection details studies that examine the development and existence of a panethnic Asian American identity, the kinds of group-based resources that may influence political behavior, and the extent to which

panethnic identity serves as an organizing tool for political participation. While works such as Min 2014 and Wong, et al. 2005 argue that panethnic identity influences political behavior, contributions from Junn and Masuoka 2008 and Okamoto 2015 find that panethnic identity is malleable, can be activated in certain circumstances, and needs not be in opposition to national origin identities. Chan and Hune 1995 and later Brown and Jones 2015 add to this discussion arguing that the experience of racialization must be considered in the development of group identity. Contributions in this section draw from various scholarly disciplines and use a range of methodological approaches such as Mishra 2013, a case study of South Asians, and Cho 2018 and its use of survey experiments.

Brown, Hana, and Jennifer A. Jones. "Rethinking Panethnicity and the Race-Immigration Divide." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1.1 (2015): 181–191.

Extending the literature on the group formation process, the authors advance an ethno-racialization model. Panethnicity scholars largely view racialization and panethnic group formation as separate processes, with the latter sequentially following the former. In this article, the authors argue that this analytical distinction both reflects and reifies the divide between race and immigration research and yields an incomplete understanding of the group formation process.

Chan, K. S., and S. Hune. "Racialization and Panethnicity: From Asians in America to Asian Americans." In *Toward a Common Destiny: Improving Race and Ethnic Relations in America*. Edited by W. D. Hawley and A. W. Jackson, 205–233. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1995.

This article considers the idea of Asian Americans as a "model minority" and discusses the impact of this racialized, socially constructed stereotype on the people who are subjected to it. The authors argue that America's race-based ideologies, policies, and practices have resulted in largely negative stereotypes of Asian Americans and have limited their full and equitable participation in American society.

Cho, Richard. "The Effect of Minority Identity Convergence on Pan-ethnicity among Asian Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2018: 1–18.

Using data from a survey experiment of Asian American respondents, the author demonstrates that Asian Americans define a panethnic identity largely based on perceptions of spatial proximity with other racial groups. This racial triangulation, which has previously been attributed to explaining hostility between Asians and other racial minority groups, serves here as a context through which Asian Americans define identity via shared commonality with other racial minority groups.

Jacob, A. "Asian American Political Participation: Research Challenges for an Emerging Minority." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39.1 (2006): 103–106.

This article considers the question "Who are Asian Americans?" and argues that how Asian Americans are defined influences modes of political participation. The author considers how the definition of an Asian American has undergone significant changes over the last 150 years due to shifts in the racial and ethnic makeup of the US population and changes in social and political attitudes toward minorities.

Junn, Jane, and Natalie Masuoka. "Asian American Identity: Shared Racial Status and Political Context." *Perspectives on Politics* 6.4 (2008): 729–740.

Using a survey experiment, the authors consider group consciousness among Asian Americans. They identify a degree of malleability in Asian American racial group attachment, in contrast to findings demonstrated by Blacks whose racial identification is relatively stable. They argue for consideration of the structural incentives and costs of adopting racial and ethnic identities by highlighting the significance of US immigration policy and its role in creating group-based stereotypes and racial tropes.

Min, T. E. "The Impact of Panethnicity on Asian American and Latino Political Participation." *Ethnicities* 14.5 (2014): 698–721.

This study examines how panethnicity affects Asian American and Latino political participation and argues that panethnicity, as one component of multidimensional group consciousness, significantly influences Asian American and Latino voting and nonvoting activities. The author finds that panethnicity significantly bolsters both Asian American and Latino nonvoting participation yet significantly dampens Asian American voting participation while having no impact on Latino voting participation.

Mishra, Sangay. "Race, Religion, and Political Mobilization: South Asians in the Post-9/11 United States." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13.2 (2013): 115–137.

Using a case study of South Asians in the aftermath of September 11th, the author considers the primacy of religious identities as a challenge to broader panethnic identity formation and mobilization. Religious identities such as Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh not only shaped and calibrated the racial hostility against different South Asian groups but also framed their responses to racial attacks.

Okamoto, Dina. *Redefining Race: Asian American Panethnicity and Shifting Ethnic Boundaries*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015.

Utilizing interview research, the author documents the social forces that encouraged the development of a collective panethnic identity in the wake of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. The racial segregation of Asians in similar occupations and industries produced a shared experience of racial discrimination, which led Asians of different national origins to develop shared interests and identities. According to Okamoto, ethnic organizations provided the foundation necessary to build solidarity within different Asian-origin communities.

Okamoto, Dina, and G. Cristina Mora. "Panethnicity." *Annual Review of Sociology* 40.1 (2014): 219–239.

This article considers panethnicity as a significant form of identification across the globe including Latino and Asian American, but also identities such as Yoruba and European. The authors argue that panethnicity is characterized by a unique tension inherent in maintaining subgroup distinctions while generating a broader sense of solidarity. This tension distinguishes panethnicity as a form of ethnic expression because it places questions of subgroup diversity and cultural legitimacy at the forefront.

Wong, J. S., P.-T. Lien, and M. M. Conway. "Group-Based Resources and Political Participation among Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* 33.4 (2005): 545–576.

Using survey data, the authors find that the usefulness of group-based resources such as group consciousness, group identity, and ethnic organizations for Asian Americans is contingent on the specific form of the resources and the mode of political participation.

National Origin Political Identities

While the development of a panethnic identity is a significant academic endeavor, this subsection details studies that observe the prevalence of national origin identities that consider why national origin endures as an important strategy by which to analyze Asian American political participation and behavior. The studies in this section detail the unique boundaries of national origin identity, regional experiences faced by communities, and the reasons why some communities appear to be politically invisible, such as Mishra 2016, an account of Indian Americans; Wong 2017, an examination of Hmong Americans; and De Leon and Daus 2018, which studies Filipino American political participation. Several studies detailed here consider how participation in religious organizations can lead to the development of civic skills such as case studies of Indian and Vietnamese communities (Brettell and Reed-Danahay 2011), and the study of Korean American evangelicals (Ecklund 2006) and Muslims (Ahmed 2015). Finally, studies such as Quraishi 2020 and Le 2011 consider the influence of how political traditions such as anti-communist ideologies stemming from the cold war can influence particular communities and residential settlement patterns (Horton 1996).

Ahmed, Afzal. *Lone Star Muslims*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

Drawing on interviews and participant observation, the author provides an account for the lived experiences of Pakistanis living in the Houston, Texas area and shows how class, sectarian affiliation, citizenship status, gender, and sexuality shape transnational identities and mediate racism and marginalization.

Brettell, Caroline, and Deborah Reed-Danahay. *Civic Engagements: The Citizenship Practices of Indian and Vietnamese Immigrants*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.

This book considers the variety of processes by which new citizens acquire and hone civic and leadership skills at religious or ethnic organization meetings, festivals, and banquets, that help them move from peripheral positions to more central roles in American society.

De Leon, Erwin, and Gem Daus. "Filipino American Political Participation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.3 (2018): 435–452.

Using interview research, the study examines the circumstances under which Filipino Americans become politically engaged. They find the main method of political participation is voting and they tend not to support political campaigns with financial contributions or volunteer time, which may partly explain the group's relative lack of political visibility.

Ecklund, Elaine Howard. *Korean American Evangelicals: New Models for Civic Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Using in-depth interviews, this book explores how Korean Americans, a growing segment of American evangelicals, use religion to negotiate civic responsibility. It compares Korean Americans in second-generation and multiethnic churches, the most common types of evangelical churches in which Korean Americans participate.

Horton, J. "The Chinese Suburban Immigration and Political Diversity in Monterey Park, California." *Social Justice* 23.3 (65) (1996): 100–110.

Considers the effect of the size and settlement patterns of Chinese immigrants on political participation in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles.

Le, Long S. "Exploring the Function of the Anti-communist Ideology and Identity in the Vietnamese American Diasporic Community." *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement* 6.1 (2011): Article 14.

Explores the role of anti-communist ideology in the Vietnamese American community as a form of social capital.

Mishra, Sangay. *Desis Divided: The Political Lives of South Asian Americans*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

Focusing on Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi American communities, the author considers how distinctions between South Asian Americans—from taxi drivers to CEOs and Indian American governors Haley and Jindal—present strains on solidarity.

Quraishi, Uzma. *Redefining the Immigrant South: Indian and Pakistani Immigration to Houston during the Cold War*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Drawing on oral histories and archival research, the author argues that South Asian immigrants arriving in Houston appealed to class conformity and endorsed the model minority myth to navigate the complexities of a shifting Sunbelt South. The examination of Indian and Pakistani immigration to a city transitioning out of Jim Crow, sheds light on 20th-century migration, the changing character of the

South, and the tangled politics of race, class, and ethnicity in the United States.

Wong, Carolyn. *Voting Together: Intergenerational Politics and Civic Engagement among Hmong Americans*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017.

Using interview research, this book analyzes how the Hmong came to pursue politics as a key path to advancement and inclusion in the United States. The author shows how intergenerational mechanisms of social voting underlie the political participation of Hmong Americans. Younger Hmong Americans engage older community residents in grassroots elections and conversation about public affairs.

Transnationalism

While a significant amount of attention is paid to the incorporation of immigrants such as their interconnectedness to local communities, media consumption, language accessibility, and outreach of political parties and organizations, other scholarship considers the transnational ties that immigrants maintain with their homelands. This section details works that consider how transnational ties between the United States and Asia influence the development of Asian American political participation in the United States. While Lien 2008 considers the transnationalism of immigrants from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, the edited volume by Collet and Lien 2009 offers essays exploring transnational politics across various Asian immigrant communities. Meanwhile Ong, et al. 1994 and Shams 2020 broadly consider the impact of globalization and what it means for the transnational ties immigrants in the United States form.

Collet, Christian, and Pei-te Lien. *The Transnational Politics of Asian Americans*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009.

With essays discussing Cambodian, Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese communities from Boston to Honolulu, this volume illustrates how transnational ties between the United States and Asia have shaped and are defining Asian American politics in the United States. The authors demonstrate that Asian American political participation in the United States does not consist simply of domestic actions with domestic ends.

Lien, P. "Pre-emigration Socialization, Transnational Ties, and Political Participation Across the Pacific: A Comparison among Immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10.3 (2010): 453–482.

Using data from the 2007 Chinese American Homeland Politics survey, the author considers the experiences of US immigrants of Chinese descent from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. She argues that the experiences Asian immigrants have in different political systems in their homelands may affect a process of resocialization and how much they participate in politics in the United States or their country of origin.

Lien, Pei-te. "Homeland Origins and Political Identities among Chinese in Southern California." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31.8 (2008): 1381–1403.

Using survey data, the author considers the scope and sources of ethnic and other political identities among US residents of Chinese descent whose families originated from the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and elsewhere in Asia.

Ong, Paul, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, eds. *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

This book focuses on Los Angeles as a "world city" in the global economy and as the epicenter of Asian immigration. The volume includes discussions of the settlement patterns of Asian groups in relation to the social, economic, and political developments in Asia and the United States. The contributors examine the garment and health care industries in Los Angeles to explore the role of Asian

immigrants in the city's economy and politics.

Shams, Tahseen. *Here, There and Elsewhere: The Making of Immigrant Identities in a Globalized World*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020.

Using ethnographic data, interviews, and analysis of social media, the author challenges the notion that immigrants' lives are shaped exclusively by their sending and receiving countries. In an analysis of South Asian Muslims, the author argues that the interplay between homeland politics, hostland dynamics, as well as faraway foreign lands can be influential in the formation of identity.

Immigration Pathways and Immigrant Cohort Effects

The political behavior literature has long argued that socioeconomic status (SES) is a powerful predictor of political behavior. Yet SES has not been a strong predictor of Asian American political participation. This relative participation deficit has caused scholars to consider alternative mechanisms to explain political participation. This section includes studies that have examined the influential role of immigration as a predictor of political behavior. Lowe 1996 and Junn 2007 explicitly argue that the economic preference system of US immigration policy shapes the racialization of Asian Americans. Scholarship from Cain, et al. 1991 (cited under Partisan Identities) and Lien 2010 (cited under Transnationalism) on immigrant incorporation argued that first-generation immigrants must undergo political learning in order to progress from newcomers, to naturalized citizens, to voters. In addition, scholars have considered variation in political behavior between different cohorts of immigrants. Work from Lien, et al. 2001 and Wong, et al. 2011 (cited under Participatory Foundations) explores the particular challenges that first-generation, foreign born Asian Americans might face, such as the diversity in languages, culture, and political experiences in their originating countries, all of which could hinder or delay their participation in politics, while Kibria 2003 and Park 2008 examine political behavior among second-generation Asian Americans. In the study of Vietnamese Americans, Le and Su 2018 advances a "cohort hypothesis" arguing that the time of exit from one's homeland and entry and acceptance into the United States is integral to understanding political behavior.

Junn, Jane. "From Coolie to Model Minority: U.S. Immigration Policy and the Construction of Racial Identity." *Du Bois Review* 4.2 (2007): 355–373.

The author examines the role of the US government in creating policies that systematically select particular types of entrants to the United States and thus creates a selection bias, favoring Asian immigrants with high levels of formal education and social standing. The social construction of racial identity thus varies as a function of the unique histories of migration, labor market demands, and shared experiences for people classified by race.

Kibria, Nazli. *Becoming Asian American: Second-Generation Chinese and Korean American Identities*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Using interviews conducted with second-generation Chinese and Korean Americans in Boston and Los Angeles who came of age during the 1980s and 1990s, the author explores the dynamics of race, identity, and adaptation within these communities. The emergence of a new kind of pan-Asian American identity is documented that would complement the Chinese or Korean American identity rather than replace it.

Le, Loan Kieu, and Phi Hong Su. "Party Identification and the Immigrant Cohort Hypothesis: The Case of Vietnamese Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.4 (2018): 743–763.

Using survey data from the 2008 National Asian American Survey (NAAS) and the case of Vietnamese American immigration, the authors investigate patterns of party identification across immigrant cohorts. The findings highlight the importance of times of exit and reception in the immigration and acculturation process in the development of party identification.

Lee, Jennifer C., and Samuel Kye. "Racialized Assimilation of Asian Americans" *Annual Review of Sociology* 42.1 (2016): 253–273.

This article provides a review of recent research on socioeconomic attainment and intermarriage among Asian Americans as well as an overview of research on indicators such as residential outcomes, political participation, and mental health. The authors argue that Asian Americans are assimilating but in ways that differ from their European predecessors: Racial and ethnic boundaries between Asians and Whites may be solidified rather than dissolved, thus maintaining the significance of race for Asian Americans.

Lee, Jennifer, and Min Zhou. *The Asian American Achievement Paradox*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015.

Asian Americans are often stereotyped as the "model minority," given their presence at elite universities and high household incomes. Drawing on interviews with second-generation Chinese immigrants, Vietnamese refugees, and survey data, the authors demonstrate how historical, cultural, and institutional elements work together to confer advantages to specific populations, offering an insightful counter to notions of culture based on stereotypes.

Lien, P., C. Collet, J. Wong, and S. Ramakrishnan. "Asian Pacific-American Public Opinion and Political Participation." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34.3 (2001): 625–630.

A review of public opinion data in the study of Asian American political participation. The authors consider the "puzzle" of Asian American nonparticipation and argue that it may be explained by considering the role of institutional barriers, contextual elements, immigrant pathways and examining participation beyond voting.

Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.

An interdisciplinary study examining the historical, political, cultural, and aesthetic meanings of immigration in relation to Asian Americans. The author argues that understanding Asian immigration to the United States is fundamental to understanding the racialized economic and political foundations of the nation.

Park, Jerry Z. "Second-Generation Asian American Pan-Ethnic Identity: Pluralized Meanings of a Racial Label." *Sociological Perspectives* 51.3 (2008): 541–561.

Based on a sample of second-generation Asian American student leaders in four public universities, this study provides empirical evidence that the definition of the term Asian American has multiplied as a result of major demographic and cultural factors that have affected the Asian population.

Ramakrishnan, Subramanian Karthick. *Democracy in Immigrant America: Changing Demographics and Political Participation*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.

A comprehensive analysis of democratic participation among first- and second-generation immigrants in the United States by considering how immigrants are changing the racial and ethnic makeup of the American electorate, how their numbers compare to those in the early 20th century, and the extent to which traditional models of political behavior explain the voting participation of immigrants.

Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick, and Thomas J. Espenshade. "Immigrant Incorporation and Political Participation in the United States." *International Migration Review* 35.3 (2001): 870–909.

Using survey data, this study finds that anti-immigrant legislation has a positive effect in mobilizing political participation among first- and second-generation Latino and Asian American immigrants.

Social Exclusion, Discrimination, and Racial Context

The previous section considered the role of the immigration system and the pathway upon which an immigrant arrives as mechanisms that influence political participation. This section more explicitly considers the experience an immigrant faces and the context in which they live in the United States as a mechanism of participation. In particular, the Asian American experience has been marked by discrimination and exclusion, which was documented by Zia 2000 (cited under Historical Foundations). Studies such as Kuo, et al. 2017, Lu and Jones 2019, and Phoenix and Arora 2018 find that the shared experience of discrimination, social exclusion, or fear in response to a threatening political context are correlated with outcomes such as linked fate, partisan identity, and political participation. Additional works from Green, et al. 1998 (cited under Cross-Racial Collaboration and Conflict) and Oliver and Wong 2003 consider neighborhood effects and the influence of racial context on the development of in-group identities that can be activated for political participation.

Chong, D., and D. Kim. "The Experiences and Effects of Economic Status Among Racial and Ethnic Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 100.3 (2006): 335–351.

Using national survey data of African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans, the authors find that the effect of economic status on support for group interests is mediated by the socioeconomic experiences of individuals. They argue that intergroup differences therefore result from varying experiences and perceptions of discrimination among minority groups rather than from group-specific theoretical processes.

Kuo, Alexander, Neil Malhotra, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. "Social Exclusion and Political Identity: The Case of Asian American Partisanship." *Journal of Politics* 79.1 (2017): 17–32.

Using the 2008 National Asian American Survey and a laboratory experiment, the authors theorize and demonstrate that social exclusion on the basis of racial/ethnic identity affect partisanship and political attitudes. Their finds help explain why Asian Americans are likely to identify as Democrats and advance an identity-oriented explanation of partisanship.

Lin, May. "From Alienated to Activists: Expressions and Formation of Group Consciousness among Asian American Young Adults." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46.7 (2020): 1405–1424.

Drawing from surveys and interviews gathered in California, the author examines Asian American-specific, activist expressions of group consciousness and relevant processes. The author demonstrates that youth organizing groups encourage activist forms of Asian American group consciousness by reframing personal racialized experiences to challenge dominant racial narratives and by linking identities and ideologies to explicit political action.

Lu, Fan. "Forging Ties: The Effect of Discrimination on Asian Americans' Perceptions of Political Commonality with Latinos." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (2018): 1–20.

Using data from the 2008 National Asian American Survey (NAAS), the author finds the relationship between discrimination and perceptions of political commonality varies by the context in which discrimination occurs and the Asian ethnic group in question.

Lu, Fan, and Bradford Jones. "Effects of Belief versus Experiential Discrimination on Race-Based Linked Fate." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7.3 (2019): 615–624.

Using the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey, the authors compare how the relationship between beliefs/experiential discrimination and race-based linked fate differs across Black, Latino, Asian, and White Americans. The findings suggest even if non-Whites do not personally experience discrimination, they have beliefs about discrimination toward their racial group, and these beliefs are equally important predictors of their sense of race-based linked fate.

Oliver, J., and J. Wong. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science* 47.4 (2003): 567–582.

This article examines how out-group perceptions among Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos, and Whites vary with the racial composition of their surroundings. Using data that merge the 1992–1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality and 1990 Census, the authors find that in neighborhood contexts, interethnic proximity corresponds with lower levels of out-group prejudice and competition and ethnic spatial and social isolation bolster negative out-group perceptions. These findings suggest the value of residential integration for alleviating ethnic antagonism.

Phoenix, Davin L., and Maneesh Arora. "From Emotion to Action among Asian Americans: Assessing the Roles of Threat and Identity in the Age of Trump." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.3 (2018): 357–372.

Using the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post-election Survey (CMPS), the authors find a strong positive association between expressed fear and participation among Asian Americans. This mobilizing effect of fear distinguishes Asian Americans from other racial groups, providing better insight into the political behavior of this group in contexts of threat.

Rim, K. H. "Racial Context Effects and the Political Participation of Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* 37.4 (2009): 569–592.

The author examines the interactive effects of racial linked fate and discrimination on Asian American political participation in New York, California, Illinois, and Hawaii. Although there is no effect on Asian American voting behavior, results indicate significant interactive effects of race-based predictors and racial context on Asian American nonvoting participation.

Xu, Jun, and Jennifer C. Lee. "The Marginalized 'Model' Minority: An Empirical Examination of the Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Social Forces* 91.4 (2013): 1363–1397.

Building upon Claire Kim's (1999) racial triangulation theory, the authors utilize data from the General Social Survey to build the case for a multidimensional system of racial stratification. The results suggest that on average Whites are more likely than Blacks to have more favorable view of the relative positions of Asians, particularly for family commitment, nonviolence, and wealth, but Blacks are more likely to assume racially egalitarian views than do Whites.

Zhou, Min, and Yang Sao Xiong. "The Multifaceted American Experiences of the Children of Asian Immigrants: Lessons for Segmented Assimilation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:6 (2005): 1119–1152,

The authors find that assimilation outcomes among children of Asian immigrants are diverse and depend on the interplay between individual, family, community, and societal factors, which are linked to unique contexts of exit and reception. They also find that most children of Asian immigrants are keenly aware of their inferior racial status in the United States and are likely to internalize the disadvantages associated with it.

Partisan Identities

Scholarship from the 1990s and early 2000s documented not only a deficit in political participation among Asian Americans in comparison to other groups, but also a relative lack of attachment to political parties. Wong 2000 argued that the number of years an immigrant has lived in the United States, naturalization, English language skills, and media consumption all contribute to an immigrants' acquisition of partisanship. Hajnal and Lee 2011 argued that nonpartisanship was a rationally adaptive strategy when the parties fail to meaningfully engage immigrant communities in their outreach. More recently, however, studies have documented a shift in partisan preferences. Whereas the majority of Asian Americans previously identified with no party preference, Masuoka, et al. 2018 identified that a majority of Asian Americans in the 2016 election showed a preference for the Democratic Party. Studies such as Carlos 2018, Raychaudhuri 2018, and Zheng 2019 consider the socialization mechanisms and the role of racial identity contributing to the development of partisan attachments.

Cain, Bruce, D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole Uhlaner. "The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans." *American Journal of Political Science* 35.2 (1991): 390–422.

Using survey data from 1984, this paper examines the acquisition of partisanship by immigrants and subsequent generations of Latinos and Asian Americans. The authors find that the longer Latino immigrants have been in the United States, the more likely they are to identify as Democrats and to have strong party preferences, while immigrants from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia become more Republican with increased exposure to American politics.

Carlos, Roberto F. "Late to the Party: On the Prolonged Partisan Socialization Process of Second-Generation Americans." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 3.2 (2018): 381–408.

This article argues that many second-generation Americans experience a "prolonged partisan socialization process." These findings disrupt the traditional partisan attainment story, which assumes that partisanship is the product of a process of socialization led by parents and suggests that the prolonged socialization process is not destined to be politically disengaged.

Hajnal, Zoltan, and Taeku Lee. *Why Americans Don't Join the Party: Race, Immigration, and the Failure (of Political Parties) to Engage the Electorate*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

This book explores why so many Americans—?in particular, Latinos and Asians?—?fail to develop ties to either major party, why African Americans feel locked into a particular party, and why some White Americans are shut out by ideologically polarized party competition. Through extensive analysis, the authors demonstrate that when the Democratic and Republican parties fail to raise political awareness, to engage deeply held political convictions, or to affirm primary group attachments, nonpartisanship becomes a rationally adaptive response.

Kim, Thomas P. *The Racial Logic of Politics: Asian Americans and Party Competition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007.

The author argues that the party system serves Asian Americans poorly and that given the systemic barriers in party politics, Asian Americans would be better served by building their own political base and agenda.

Masuoka, Natalie, Hahrie Han, Vivien Leung, and Bang Quan Zheng. "Understanding the Asian American Vote in the 2016 Election." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 3.01 (2018): 189–215.

Using survey data, this paper analyzes Asian American political participation and vote choice preferences during the 2016 presidential election. The authors find that voters who report high levels of media consumption and those with a strong sense of political efficacy were more likely to support Clinton and that the incorporation of Asian Americans would result in a base of support for the Democratic

Party.

Nguyen, N. K., and J. C. Garand. "Partisan Strength and Nonpartisanship Among Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* 37.3 (2009): 375–408.

Using data from the 2000–2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey, this study documents the large percentage of nonpartisans among Asian Americans and estimates separate models of partisan acquisition, strength of partisanship, and type of nonpartisanship. The authors discuss how party strength in Asian American samples should be tested.

Raychaudhuri, Tanika. "The Social Roots of Asian American Partisan Attitudes." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.3 (2018): 389–410.

Using interviews and survey data, the author conducts a case study of Asian American partisanship in Houston, Texas, to examine why and how so many Asian Americans develop a strong preference for the Democratic Party, arguing that Asian Americans develop Democratic preferences through interactions within peer groups.

Wong, Janelle. *Immigrants, Evangelicals and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2018.

While evangelicals are often considered a stronghold of the Republican Party, the author demonstrates that Asian Americans and Latinos constitute one in seven evangelicals and hold more liberal stances on policy issues such as expanded immigration rights and government interventions to slow climate change and argues that immigrant evangelicals are neither "natural" Democrats nor Republicans.

Wong, J. S. "The Effects of Age and Political Exposure on the Development of Party Identification Among Asian American and Latino Immigrants in the United States." *Political Behavior* 22 (2000): 341–371.

This study reveals how the number of years an immigrant has lived in the United States, naturalization, gains in English language skills, and media use all contribute to an immigrants' acquisition of partisanship.

Zheng, Bang Quan. "The Patterns of Asian Americans' Partisan Choice: Policy Preferences and Racial Consciousness." *Social Science Quarterly* 2 (2019): 1593–1608.

Drawing on the 2008 National Asian American Survey, the study tests the extent to which socioeconomic status, policy preferences, and race-based political commonality constitute the directional components contributing to partisan orientation. The author finds that Asian Americans' partisanship acquisition derives mainly from policy preferences and a sense of minority political commonality and racial identity.

Asian American Candidates and Campaign Contributions

Beyond mass political behavior, this section considers the conditions under which Asian American candidates emerge and run for office. Lai 2011 considers the opportunities for Asian American candidates to successfully win when running in districts in which Asian Americans do not comprise a majority electorate. Tam Cho 2003 and Adams and Ren 2006 offer important insights on the importance of campaign contributions coming from Asian American community members. Lien 2002 and Go 2019 consider the challenges faced by Asian American candidates.

Adams, Brian E., and Ping Ren. "Asian Americans and Campaign Finance in Municipal Elections." *The Social Science Journal* 43.4 (2006): 597–615.

This paper examines the donation patterns of Asian contributors and the fundraising coalitions assembled by Asian candidates. The authors find that Asian candidates rely heavily on Asian contributors for campaign funds, especially coethnics, and that Asian donors contributed in roughly proportional levels to the population as a whole, and were willing to contribute not only to coethnics but also to Asian candidates of other ethnicities and to non-Asians.

Go, Min Hee. "From Hierarchy to Rivalry: Asian Candidate Evaluation in Changing Racial Contexts." *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 22.4 (2019): 333–344.

Using a survey experiment that pairs an Asian candidate against competitors with varying racial backgrounds the author finds that White voters tend to support an Asian candidate to a greater degree than a coethnic, White competitor. However, in a minority-only context, Whites divide their support more evenly between the two minority candidates. The author demonstrates that this tendency is moderated by the intensity of ingroup attitudes.

Lai, James S. *Asian American Political Action: Suburban Transformations*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2011.

Looking beyond traditional conceptions of immigrant political behavior in "gateway" cities, the author uses case studies to analyze how Asian Americans are not only winning elected office, but also sustaining representation, in places as diverse as California, Texas, Wisconsin, and Maryland.

Lai, J. S., and K. Geron. "When Asian Americans Run: The Suburban and Urban Dimensions of Asian American Candidates in California Local Politics." *California Politics & Policy* 10.1 (2006): 62–88.

The authors argue that Asian American political incorporation is more likely to occur in smaller to medium-sized cities than in large urban cities in the state due to the presence of a significant Asian American population base, less competition for limited seats, the existence of strong community-based organization networks, a history of strong leadership and ideological unity within the community, and a strong reliance on cross-racial alliances.

Lien, P. "Public Resistance to Electing Asian Americans in Southern California." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 5.1 (2002): 51–72.

Using a Los Angeles Times survey of Southern Californians conducted two months after the 1993 mayoral election which featured Chinese American and Los Angeles City councilmember Michael Woo and Richard Riordan, a White businessman, the author examines hypotheses regarding the perception of Asian American politicians. The results suggest that public resistance toward minority candidates results from perceived intergroup conflict and limited interpersonal contact.

Reny, Tyler, and Paru Shah. "New Americans and the Quest for Political Office." *Social Science Quarterly* 99.3 (2018): 1038–1059.

Using a unique survey data set that includes an oversample of first- and second-generation immigrants who have enrolled in civic leadership trainings, the authors examine the perceived barriers to entry into political life. They find that access to structural resources help shape their political ambition. Yet immigrants, unlike their nonimmigrant counterparts, often have less of these resources and perceive their ability to capitalize on these resources as less feasible.

Schildkraut, Deborah. "Which Birds of a Feather Flock Together? Assessing Attitudes about Descriptive Representation

among Latinos and Asian Americans.” *American Politics Research* 41.4 (2013): 699–729.

This study relies on survey data to assess preferences for descriptive representation among Latinos and Asian Americans. The author finds that Latinos and 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 to prefer coethnic representatives.

Shah, Sono. “Donor Preferences for Coethnic Representation: Breaking the Mold or More of the Same?”. Unpublished Manuscript, 2019.

This study estimates rates of coethnic giving among campaign donors from a dataset of over 8 million contribution records from 1980. The author finds that Hispanic and especially Asian donors give significant amounts of money to coethnic candidates even though these candidates represent very small portions of the candidates running for office, providing support for the notion that racial and ethnic minorities prefer coethnic representatives.

Tam Cho, Wendy. “Contagion Effects and Ethnic Contribution Networks.” *American Journal of Political Science* 47.2 (2003): 368–387.

This article examines the impact of conventional socio-demographic covariates on campaign donation behavior by ethnic contributors and explicitly models spatial effects. The spatial analysis reveals that patterns of campaign donations are geographically clustered (exhibiting both spatial dependence, implying a neighborhood effect, and spatial heterogeneity, implying a regional effect), and that this clustering cannot be explained completely by socioeconomic and demographic variables.

Electoral Participation

The act of voting is central to the practice of democracy and, therefore, the study of voting behavior is a hallmark of the political science discipline in the United States. Previously, Asian Americans were viewed as a minority community with little electoral influence and analysis of their voting behavior was limited. In the 1990s and early 2000s scholars became more attuned to the voter behavior of a community that is defined by diversity in national origin, language, culture, and religion. Tam 1995 (cited under Participatory Foundations) and Collet 2005 engaged in the analysis of vote returns, while Wong 2005—both works are cited under Field Experiments and Analysis of Vote Returns—conducted one of the first field experiments assessing Asian American responsiveness to campaign appeals. More recently, with the growth of Asian American communities across the country, the study of Asian American voter behavior has grown. Numerous studies have drawn upon survey data from the National Asian American Surveys of 2008 and 2016, such as Ramakrishnan, et al. 2009, Kim 2015, and Phillips and Lee 2018 (all cited under Analysis of Survey Data). Works such as Go 2018 and Sadhwani 2020 (both cited under Field Experiments and Analysis of Vote Returns) have offered new assessments of voter turnout using voter file data.

Chen, Ming Hsu, and Taeku Lee. “Reimagining Democratic Inclusion: Asian Americans and the Voting Rights Act.” 3 *University of California Irvine Law Review* 359 (2013).

The authors examine some of the empirical limitations in leveraging Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, the creation of majority-minority districts. Using survey data, the authors argue that Asian Americans should be considered a community of interest under the Voting Rights Act.

Analysis of Survey Data

Electoral participation often relies on survey data and this subsection details such work. Some works draw on national surveys such as DeSipio, et al. 2008, Jang 2009, and Lien 2004, which all use the US Current Population Survey. Yet many national surveys fail to capture a large enough sample of Asian Americans to make analysis of Asian American political behavior a viable pursuit. The National

capture a large enough sample of Asian Americans to make analysis of Asian American political behavior a viable pursuit. The National Asian American Survey (NAAS) conducts the survey in multiple Asian languages to ensure participation of both English and non-English speaking respondents. Using this dataset, Kim 2015 examines trends in voter turnout, Phillips and Lee 2018 explores gender dynamics, and Ramakrishnan, et al. 2009 considers political commonality between Asian Americans and Blacks.

DeSipio, L., N. Masuoka, and C. Stout. "Asian American Immigrants as the New Electorate: Exploring Turnout and Registration of a Growing Community." *Asian American Policy Review* 17 (2008): 51.

Using Current Population Survey data this paper explores the effect of immigration on Asian American and Latino political behavior. The authors identify factors that differentiate three non-voting categories: non-naturalized immigrant adults, citizen adults not registered to vote, and registered voter adults who did not vote in the 2000 or 2004 election. They find that scholars must take into account influences related to immigration and political institutions such as labor unions.

Jang, Seung-Jin. "Get Out on Behalf of Your Group: Electoral Participation of Latinos and Asian Americans." *Political Behavior* 31.4 (2009): 511–535.

Using survey data, this study considers how racial context can influence voter turnout of Latinos and Asian Americans. The author finds that the size of the group exerts a significant effect on turnout decisions of Latino and Asian American individuals, and, particularly for Latinos, its effect interacts with the economic status of the group and the overall racial heterogeneity in the county of residence.

Kim, Dukhong. "The Effect of Party Mobilization, Group Identity, and Racial Context on Asian Americans' Turnout." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3.4 (2015): 592–614.

Using the National Asian American Survey of 2008, this study examines the effects of party mobilization, racial group identity, and racial context in accounting for Asian Americans' voter turnout. The author finds that party mobilization, group identity, and racial context work together in accounting for Asians' voter turnout and the effect of parties' mobilization efforts on Asians' political participation is stronger among Asians who do not have a belief in linked fate.

Lien, P. "Asian Americans and Voting Participation: Comparing Racial and Ethnic Differences in Recent U.S. Elections." *The International Migration Review* 38.2 (2004): 493–517.

Using US Current Population Survey voter files from 1994–2000, the author finds that Asian Americans' deficit in voting participation among voting-age persons can be reduced, removed, or even reversed when restricting analyses only to eligible persons. Analyses find that being Asian and foreign born may increase voting registration, and US-born Asians are less likely to turn out compared to their white counterparts.

Masuoka, N., K. Ramanathan, and J. Junn. "New Asian American Voters: Political Incorporation and Participation in 2016." *Political Research Quarterly* 72.4 (2019): 991–1003.

With an analysis of 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) survey data, the authors demonstrate that when Asian Americans are disaggregated by incorporation status (being registered to vote, eligible but not registered to vote, or noncitizen), scholars gain new insights about the factors that predict political participation. The findings show the distinctive behavior of Filipinos, Asian Indians, and the Vietnamese and highlight that second-generation Asian Americans are not necessarily more participatory than their immigrant counterparts.

Phillips, Christian Dyogi, and Taeku Lee. "Superficial Equality: Gender and Immigration in Asian American Political Participation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.3 (2018): 373–388.

Using data from the National Asian American Survey, the authors show that women are less likely to vote than men once resources,

mediating institutions, and immigrant incorporation variables are considered. Additionally, they find that Asian American women who are foreign-born citizens are less likely to participate across a range of modes of political action, and across ethnic groups. They argue that this is evidence that gender and ethnicity simultaneously condition the processes of immigrant political incorporation.

Ramakrishnan, S., J. Wong, T. Lee, and J. Junn. "Race-Based Considerations and the Obama Vote: Evidence from the 2008 National Asian American Survey." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 6.1 (2009): 219–238.

Using data from the National Asian American Survey of 2008, the authors find that respondents who failed to see political commonality between Asian Americans and Blacks were less likely to vote for Obama in the primary, although other factors, such as age and gender, played a more significant role. In the general election, party identification and issue preferences are identified as significant in vote choice.

Seo, Mihye. "Beyond Coethnic Boundaries: Coethnic Residential Context, Communication, and Asian Americans' Political Participation." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 23.3 (2011): 338–360.

This study examines when and where residential context and communicative factors help and hurt Asian Americans' political participation both within and beyond coethnic boundaries. Using multilevel analyses, this paper found that living in ethnically homogeneous residential areas and using ethnic media increase Asian-related political awareness.

Field Experiments and Analysis of Vote Returns

While surveys provide an important sampling of respondents, alternatives to survey data can provide fruitful insights into electoral participation and patterns of voter behavior. Field experiments provide a powerful opportunity to identify causal mechanisms of behavior, such as Wong 2005 and Trivedi 2005 who examine the effects of randomized voter mobilization. Alternatively, the analysis of vote returns can provide significantly larger sample sizes of national origin groups that may not be possible in survey data, particularly at smaller units of analysis such as district level or local elections. Examples of this work include the study of Vietnamese American voting by Collet 2005 and Uhlener and Le 2017, the impact of Anglicized names by Go 2018, and the study of voter turnout by national origin by Sadhwani 2020.

Collet, Christian. "Bloc Voting, Polarization, and the Panethnic Hypothesis: The Case of Little Saigon." *Journal of Politics* 67.3 (2005): 907–933.

Using surname-coded voter registration records and precinct level returns for state and municipal elections between 1998 and 2002, the author finds evidence of bloc voting and polarization in every race where a Vietnamese American candidate is pitted against a white candidate. The author finds additional evidence of panethnic behavior: Vietnamese Americans consistently rank candidates of different Asian ethnicities as their candidates of choice.

Go, Min Hee. "Does Christopher Chen Vote More than Shu-Wei Chen? The Cost of Ethnic Retention among Asian American Voters." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.4 (2018): 553–575.

Using a dataset of over fifty thousand Asian American registered voters in New York City, this paper examines whether voters with distinctively ethnic names show different participatory patterns than voters with Anglicized names. The author finds that voters with Anglicized names tend to vote more frequently, suggesting that cultural assimilation should be considered an important part of minority assimilation beyond formal incorporation.

Sadhwani, Sara. "Asian American Mobilization: The Effect of Co-ethnic Candidates and Districts on Asian American Voter Turnout." *Political Behavior* (2020).

Using voter turnout data, the author finds that Asian American candidates have a measurable increase on panethnic turnout, but conditional on the percentage of Asian Americans in the district. Across national origin groups, the effect of a co-ethnic candidate varies. Korean and Filipino voter behavior is found to reflect patterns similar to African Americans and Latinos. The findings suggest Asian American voting behavior is highly nuanced and markedly distinct from other minority voters.

Tam Cho, Wendy. “Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-) Voting.” *Journal of Politics* 61 (1999): 1140–1155.

This article argues that prior studies oversimplify the effects of socioeconomic status on political participation. Evidence is presented that socioeconomic status variables merely provide the skills necessary for political activity in a suitable political context. Socialization determines how these skills will be manifested.

Trivedi, N. “The Effect of Identity-Based GOTV Direct Mail Appeals on the Turnout of Indian Americans.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601.1 (2005): 115–122.

This article presents the results of a randomized field experiment testing the effectiveness of three different identity-based appeals communicated via direct mail to registered Indian American voters in Queens County. The findings show that a single mailing seems to have little effect on the turnout rates of Indian American voters, although there is some evidence that multiple mailings may have had some effect. None of the identity appeals were especially effective at bolstering turnout.

Uhlener, C., and D. Le. “The Role of Coethnic Political Mobilization in Electoral Incorporation: Evidence from Orange County, California.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5.2 (2017): 263–297.

Using voter history panel data supplemented by elite interviews, the authors examine the effect of co-ethnic candidates on mobilization of Vietnamese American voters. The authors find that coethnic candidacies can mobilize coethnic support as long as the campaign message also resonates, even when out-group competition is absent.

Wong, J. S. “Mobilizing Asian American Voters: A Field Experiment.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601.1 (2005): 102–114.

This study examines the effects of a randomized voter mobilization field experiment, conducted just prior to the 2002 elections, in which a treatment group of registered Asian Americans (Chinese, Korean, Indian, Filipino, and Japanese) received a phone call or postcard encouraging them to vote. Analysis shows that telephone calls and mail increase voter turnout for Asian Americans.

Cross-Racial Collaboration and Conflict

While numerous studies have considered the prospects for coalition building between African Americans and Latinos, the potential role of Asian Americans in a rainbow coalition is relatively less developed. Kim and Lee 2001 offers a review of scholarly literature that has considered interracial political moments. As noted by Ramakrishnan 2014, the opportunity for bringing Asian Americans into cross-racial coalitions was highlighted by the election of Barack Obama, who was supported by a majority of Asian Americans. Studies featured in this section consider the role of Asian Americans in social movements, such as Rim 2009 who examined immigrant rights marches and Merseeth 2018 and Arora and Stout 2018 who study Black Lives Matter. Others consider interracial dynamics such as Korean Americans during the 1992 Los Angeles riots (Abelmann and Lie 1995), cross-racial or multiracial coalitions (Saito and Park 2000; Nicholson, et al. 2020), and the influence of being in an interracial relationship (Lemi and Kposowa 2017).

Abelmann, Nancy, and John Lie. *Blue Dreams: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press, 1995.

Tracing Korean American immigration to the United States since the 1970s, the authors examine the differing motivations and variations in resources of Korean immigrants that lead to the complex socioeconomic and political underplay demonstrated during the Los Angeles riots of 1992.

Arora, Maneesh, and Christopher T. Stout. "Letters for Black Lives: Co-ethnic Mobilization and Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement." *Political Research Quarterly* 72.2 (2018): 389–402.

Using survey experiments, the authors test how the race of an author influences support for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement by randomly assigned letters in support of BLM written by either an Asian American author or a White author. They find that Whites are more likely to respond to appeals from co-racial individuals and that Asian Americans respond positively to co-ethnic and white messengers.

Green, Donald P., Dara Z. Strolovitch, and Janelle S. Wong. "Defended Neighborhoods, Integration, and Racially Motivated Crime." *American Journal of Sociology* 104.2 (1998): 372–403.

Using socio-demographic data, the authors examine racially motivated antiminority crime incidents in New York City (1987–1995). They find that crimes directed against Asians, Latinos, and African Americans are most frequent in predominantly white areas, particularly those that had experienced an in-migration of minorities. The authors argue that the findings support ethnographic accounts of "defended" white urban neighborhoods.

Kim, C., and T. Lee. "Interracial Politics: Asian Americans and Other Communities of Color." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34.3 (2001): 631–637.

The authors review literature that focus on overt conflict and cooperation between Asian Americans and other communities of color, as well as examining more broadly how ideology, power dynamics, and racial hierarchy shape intergroup relations.

Lemi, Danielle Casarez, and Augustine Kposowa. "Are Asian-Americans Who Have Interracial Relationships Politically Distinct?" *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 14.2 (2017): 557–575.

Using the 2008 National Asian American Survey of Asian Americans, the authors consider the implications of interracial relationships for racial group politics. They find that those with interracial partners are *more* likely to be concerned about racial issues, *less* likely to favor co-ethnic candidates and belong to ethnically concentrated civic groups, but are no more likely to be concerned about immigration or to favor a pathway to citizenship.

Merseeth, Julie Lee. "Race-ing Solidarity: Asian Americans and Support for Black Lives Matter." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6.3 (2018): 337–356.

Using the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey, the author demonstrates that race-based linked fate beliefs among Asian Americans are significant predictors of Asian American support for Black Lives Matter and are an imperative part of building cross-racial coalitions.

Nicholson, Harvey L., J. Scott Carter, and Arjee Restar. "Strength in Numbers: Perceptions of Political Commonality with African Americans among Asians and Asian Americans in the United States." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 6.1 (2020): 107–122.

Using the 2008 National Asian American Survey, the authors examine the effects group consciousness, linked fate, and experiences of discrimination have on perceptions of political commonality with African Americans among Asian Americans. The findings show that

group consciousness and linked fate increase the perception of political commonality with African Americans; however, experiences of discrimination do not.

Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick. "Asian Americans and the Rainbow: The Prospects and Limits of Coalitional Politics." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2.3 (2014): 522–529.

Analyzing public opinion data from the National Asian American Survey, and drawing attention to the 2014 fight over affirmative action in California, this study considers the extent to which Asian American support for the Obama candidacy could signal an opportunity for cross-racial coalition building.

Rim, K. H. "Latino and Asian American Mobilization in the 2006 Immigration Protests." *Social Science Quarterly* 90.3 (2009): 703–721.

Through interviews with community organization leaders, the author provides a comparative analysis of Latino and Asian American participation in the 2006 immigration rallies and finds that structural disadvantages diminished prospects for Asian American activists to effectively mobilize the Asian American community.

Saito, L., and Edward J. W. Park. "Multiracial Collaborations and Coalitions." In *The State of Asian Pacific America, Volume IV: Transforming Race Relations*. Edited by Paul M. Ong, 435–474. Los Angeles: LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2000.

The authors argue that multiracial political alliances are most likely when racial/ethnic groups set aside short-term, group-specific considerations to address fundamental issues related to social change; resist narrow race-based politics; individuals and organizations build and sustain relationships across group boundaries over time; and each group contains organizations that serve as vehicles for community mobilization, leadership training, and resource building.

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