Asian Pride or Ambiguous Identities?

Context and Racial Group Consciousness among Asian Americans

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Introduction

Throughout 2006, rancorous debate over immigration legislation in both houses of the U.S. Congress combined with the groundswell of protest in streets across the nation made it nearly impossible to ignore the politics of immigration. The demographic composition of the United States has been transformed in the last two decades with one-third of Americans now classifying themselves racially as something other than "white." Political scientists are only now starting to catch up to the reality of an altered populace as well as the notion democratic politics could be changing as a function of an ethnically diverse polity.

Regardless of where one lives in the U.S., the sea-change in the racial composition of the American populace is palpable. Some of the most noticeable change has occurred outside of the traditional immigrant metropolitan gateways in New York, Texas, California and Florida. Iowa and North Carolina – states that once seemed unlikely locations for ethnic diversity as a function of either a homogeneous white population or racial diversity in terms of black and white – have among the fastest-growing immigrant populations in the nation. In Beardstown, Illinois, the small rural town made famous by the Beardstown Ladies' Investment Club, the size of the Latino population is estimated between 20% and 35% of the town, a substantial shift from its composition as a virtually all-white community scarcely more than a decade ago. According to 2003 U.S. Census Current Population Survey, 33.5 million Americans (11.7%) are foreign born, of which one quarter are from Asia and over half from Latin America.

These dramatic changes in the nation's racial and ethnic makeup have spawned fearful hand-wringing and hyperbole over ethnic balkanization and the diminution of a distinctive American creed. By comparison, careful and systematic observation of phenomena underlying

processes of assimilation, socialization, and citizenship that could inform rhetoric is relatively scarce. Most of the scholarly attention to the new race politics has focused on the impact immigrants from Latin America will have on politics (see the June 2006 *Perspectives on Politics*). Given the size and growth rate of this population, the emphasis is sensible; Latinos now constitute the nation's largest minority group, having eclipsed African Americans in 2000. The meaning of minority group, however, is less clear. The federal government classifies Latinos and Hispanics as an ethnic group and not a race. Yet despite the contested nature of the category, political observers and analysts often expect Latinos to operate politically as a racial group, following in concert with the mobilization of African Americans. Indeed, symbolism and practice from the U.S. Civil Rights movement were evoked repeatedly during the spring 2006 protests against H.R. 4437, commonly known as the Sensenbrenner bill. Yet prior to these powerful displays of collective action, political behavior among Latinos in the U.S. was not as consistent or unified as that of African Americans. In many ways, what is most surprising about the 2006 immigration reform protests was the breadth of pan-ethnic Latino coalitions.

Much of the conventional wisdom in political science would not have predicted such a show of strength in numbers in terms of pan-ethnicity, across a range of state and local political contexts, and among what was widely reported to be individuals with few political resources and substantial disincentives to leave work and show themselves on the street. Few among us would say we could have foreseen this organic mobilization of hundreds of thousands of protesters, included among them, immigrants from a range of ethnic and racial backgrounds, native-born Latinos, whites, Asian Americans, and African Americans. Whether short-lived or the harbinger of a longer standing social movement, the protests highlight the substantial gaps in the knowledge of the dynamics of democratic politics in a polity increasingly populated with

immigrants and colored by ethnic and racial diversity. A host of fascinating questions – best approached by crossing traditional boundaries in political science and traversing allied social science and humanities disciplines – await. What categories of analysis, divided by immigrant generation, ethnicity, or race, are relevant under which circumstances? How do particular contexts, including the political opportunity structure, media and short-term communications, and social demographics operate to encourage or suppress the development of group identity and consciousness? Under what circumstances does racial and ethnic group membership have political consequences?

The existing literature in political science supports the notion that a shared racial identity can act as an ascriptive tie binding together members of a racial group as well as a mobilizing tool to activate political action. Racial minorities are more engaged when they live in high minority empowerment areas (Bobo and Gilliam 1990), are more likely to vote when there is a fellow minority on the ballot (Barreto 2004, Gay 2001), are responsive to racially framed issues (Bobo 2000, Hochschild 1996, Sniderman and Piazza 1993), form social movements centered around their shared identity (Espiritu 1992, McAdam 1999, Padilla 1985) and sponsor their own political organizations (DeSipio 1996, Lien 2001, Pinderhughes 1992). Other studies have made inroads toward pinpointing the implications of a politicized racial identity for political behavior, with the vast majority of the scholarship addressing African American politics (Cohen 1999, Dawson 1994, Dawson 2001, Chong and Rogers 2005, McAdam 1999, Shingles 1981, Tate 1994). Findings that apply to the African American case provide but a starting point to understanding the relationship between racial group identification and political activity, and racial and ethnic identity can no longer be treated as variables with clear meaning and obvious political consequences. With immigration flows from Asia and Latin America creating a more

diverse racial spectrum, race, ethnicity, and the consequent identities are shifting in meaning and significance. Similarly, racial stereotypes, perceptions and treatment applied to minority groups vary in substance and degree, and groups and society at large perceive identity in distinctive ways. Race and ethnicity are tricky subjects whose definitions are constituted under particular historical and political circumstances and whose activation at the individual level is cued by specific contextual frames. Thus, before we can understand the dynamics of political behavior motivated out of group consciousness, we need to further unravel the contours of ethnic and racial group identity.

We address the context of racial group consciousness among Asian Americans, a racial group whose definition continues to change not only as a function of U.S. government classification, but as the result of foreign migration. Though Asian Americans have been in the United States for centuries, the relatively small size of the population, their residential concentration in a few states, and the perception of Asian Americans as politically quiescent are all reasons why political scientists have until recently paid little attention to this population.[1] The most heavily immigrant of the big four racial groups, two-thirds of Asian Americans are foreign-born. Currently 4% of the U.S. population, the size of the population is projected to increase by one percent per decade and reach 8% by 2050. The relatively large influx of Asian Americans is a recent phenomenon due primarily to post-1965 immigration reform that no longer explicitly excluded Asians. Prior to the McCarran-Walter Act and amendments, and throughout the late-19th and early 20th Centuries, Asians were barred from immigrating to the U.S. (Ngai 2004; Tichenor 2001), and only in 1952 could Asian Americans become naturalized citizens.

[1] There is a growing literature on Asian American political participation. See, e.g., Cain Kiewiet and Uhlaner 1991, Cho 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, Lien 2001, Lien Conway and Wong 2004, Nakanishi 1991, Tam 1995, Wong 2000, 2006.

Contemporary immigration policy exists in sharp contrast, and preference for legal entry is now awarded to workers with particular skills and for the purposes of family reunification.

Despite significant changes in the political context welcoming Asian immigrants, the sentiment is far from uniformly positive. Anti-immigrant rhetoric is not limited to new arrivals from Latin America, though the tenor of the concern for Asian Americans is distinctive:

> The flood in recent decades of Asian immigrants to the U.S. was planned by no one, and would likely have been forestalled had a lingeringly racist Congress foreseen it. This errant immigration policy, however, turned out to be a golden blunder, it bringing to the United States millions of new workers, all with an unappeasable hunger for jobs and multitudes with eminently marketable skills, advanced education, and unbounded career ambitions.

The piece, published in *Commentary* in 1990 by Louis Winnick, and titled "America's 'Model Minority'" articulates the construction of a new yellow peril, this time invading American corporations and gated communities. In a different vein, Samuel Huntington heralds the "whitening" of Asian Americans, and predicts rapid assimilation:

> Even more dramatically than previous European ethnic groups, Asian Americans are "becoming white," not necessarily because their skin color is whitening, although it is, but because they have, in varying degrees for different groups, brought with them values emphasizing work, discipline, learning, thrift, strong families, and in the case of Filipinos and Indians a knowledge of English. Because their values are similar to those of Americans and because their generally high educational and occupational levels, they have been relatively absorbed into American society (298).

In reconciling Winnick's and Huntington's competing perspectives within the trope of Asian Americans as a "model minority," is Asian American identity an oxymoron? Alternatively, combined with the underlying image of Asian Americans as "forever foreigner," how does the "model minority" metaphor create a distinctive political context of both incentives and costs for racial group pride and consciousness? Lauded for some characteristics and considered suspicious for others, Asian Americans exist in a unique racial position, providing an opportunity to observe the influence of contextual frames that evoke or suppress racial group identification.

In this article, we investigate the extent to which Asian American political identity is ambiguous or based in a sense of group pride. To gain a clearer picture of how politicized racial identities function in the current environment, we observe how people describe their identities as Asian Americans. We begin by analyzing the perspectives of young Asian Americans in California in open-ended interviews about the meaning of Asian American political identity. In addition to these data, we conducted a nationally representative survey of Asian Americans in the U.S., asking a set of standardized questions on racial and ethnic identification. We report results from an experimental manipulation of contextual primes embedded in the survey that were designed to elicit racial and ethnic group pride, and examine the effect of this short-term communication on racial group identification, comparing Asian Americans and African Americans.

The political consequences of racial identity

The link between race and political participation has long been of interest to political scientists. Since Dahl's (1961) classic statement of his ethnic politics model, which predicted that within three generations immigrants would become fully incorporated into American politics, scholars have wondered how durable racial and ethnic identities are in American political life.[2] The U.S. Civil Rights movement and the persistent challenges preventing racial minority political empowerment make it difficult to question the salience of racial identities in politics, yet at the same time, the impact of racial consciousness on minority political behavior remains unclear. The literature on racial identities and political participation has identified three factors that are

[2] While interest in racially marked populations of new Americans has drawn the lion's share of attention recently, the political behavior of white "ethnics" and white Americans more generally within the context of increasingly racially diverse electorates and in the face of minority candidates for political office is receiving renewed attention (see, e.g., Waters 1990, Leege and Kellstedt 1993, Gimpel and Cho 2004).

believed to be intrinsically linked: racial identity, group consciousness and political behavior (Junn 2006). It is generally assumed that the three are connected in a linear fashion, a position that belies the notion that a minority perceives herself as having a racial identity. That racial identity becomes the basis of a group-based consciousness that is then translated into political interests, and leads to political activity. In practice, however, the process is neither simple nor clear, nor is it uniform within and across racial and ethnic groups.

Race has long been used to classify groups of people in the U.S. (Nagel 1994, Omi and Winant 1994), creating a "color line" dividing Americans. In this regard, race is a salient identity for both dominant and subordinate groups, for along with classification, racial identities assigned to individuals are also embedded with meanings (Omi and Winant 1994). For subordinate groups, these identities are mostly negative, exemplified by pejorative stereotypes that form both the basis for as well as post-hoc justification of racial discrimination. While most scholars understand race to be a social construction rather than a primordial state, racial identities have been and continue to be largely imposed on individuals rather than adopted as a matter of choice (Jones-Correa 1998, Nagel 1994). The structural nature of race has meant that, for racial minorities in particular, an individual's racial identity structures that individual's life chances (see Sidanius and Pratto 1999, Dawson 1994). Identifying the existence of racial hierarchies, however, does not imply individuals necessarily lack agency to embrace or utilize their racial identity for their own purposes. Indeed, slogans such as "Black Power" have been used by subordinate groups to forge positive collective identities and demand social change (Marx 1998).

In politics, scholars are most interested in how a racial identity is perceived as a group identity. Racial group consciousness is understood as the key psychological variable that converts individual concerns into political action. According to Miller et. al.:

> Participation is not simply a reflection of the social conditions that people experience. How people perceive and evaluate their position is an important link between the experience of certain social situations and political participation. If the experience is politicized through group consciousness and assessments of social justice, it can indirectly motivate political action. The critical element in this process, however, is the translation of personal experience into collective action through evaluation of the group's relative position in society and the development of systemic rather than a self-directed explanation for one's current status (1981: 503).

As an individual adopts a sense of group consciousness, that individual begins to realize that her individual life chances are interrelated with those of her group. This consciousness becomes politicized when a racial minority begins to attach the social and political problems of the group to systemic causes that require political action in order to be resolved.[3] For African Americans, racial group consciousness has been found to be a powerful factor that predicts political participation. Verba and Nie (1972) identified racial group consciousness among African Americans to be critical in encouraging political participation despite their relatively low standing in terms of socioeconomic resources.

At the same time, objective group membership or even simple group identification does not automatically lead to a politicized group consciousness (Conover 1984, Miller et. al. 1981). Individuals must attach the problems they face with structural conditions, and identify the state as a mechanism for dismantling those inequalities. Verba and Nie (1972) posited that African Americans form racial group consciousness on the basis of their shared status as a deprived group. Dawson (1994) elaborated on this idea by identifying what he calls the "black utility heuristic." According to Dawson, African American collective unity has resulted as a response to the historical aspects of racism, where they understand that their life chances are overdetermined by their race. In this view, history has shown African Americans that their race defines their

[3] See also Conover (1988) for a discussion of how schemas influence political participation and attitudes.

social and political opportunities, and by following group cues, African Americans look out for their own individual interests when they engage in collective identification.

In addition to the psychological explanations, minorities who engage in group-based activities are also perceived to be engaging in rational behavior. Racial minorities are more likely to be found in lower in socioeconomic classes with fewer material resources than non-Hispanic whites. As such, scholars have argued that in order to compensate for their share of resources, it is rational for racial minorities to work together as a group in order to pool resources and distribute information and ease the burden of participating (Uhlaner 1989). Moreover, in a winner-take-all electoral system, racial minorities can also compensate for their lack of resources using the force of their numerical size (Leighley 2001). By acting as a collective bloc, marginalized members can gain political leverage as a key member of a political coalition. By being the deciding vote, a minority group can force the political discourse in a direction that best addresses their needs. In these ways, then, it is rational for minorities to mobilize and act collectively as group.

Nearly all of what we know about racial group consciousness and ethnic identity emanates from the scholarship in minority politics on African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Groundbreaking studies such as Dawson's work on "linked fate" (1994) and political ideology among African Americans (2003), Tate's work on black electoral behavior (1993), de la Garza et. al.'s pioneering study of Latino political behavior (1992), and DeSipio's work on Latino ethnicity and voting (1996) have laid much of the groundwork for how we think about the role of racial identification in influencing political behavior and public opinion. In addition, there is a growing body of scholarship in the study of Asian American politics utilizing similar survey methodologies, most notably the work of Pei-te Lien and colleagues analyzing the Pilot National

Asian American Political Study (Lien 2001; Lien et. al. 2004). These studies reveal a great deal about the relationship between ethnic and racial identity and political behavior and attitudes among blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Taken together, the data demonstrate the relationship between racial identification and political activity is not uniform across groups, and that the contours and strength of group membership vary both over time as well as between ethnic subgroups of the larger racial categories. However, these studies tell us less about the dynamics of racial politics among groups in relation to one another.[4] Variations in sampling frames, mode of interview, question wording, and the different times at which the data were collected, limit the validity of comparisons across groups in distinct data collections. With the exception of the present study and one other, there are no studies sharing the same time period, sampling frame, and questionnaire combining interviews with or observations of whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans.[5]

In theory, it would seem that racial identity would be a key explanatory variable for minority political participation. However, the link between racial group consciousness and political action has increasingly come under question as applicable to racial and ethnic minority groups other than African Americans. Likewise, as the category of "black" has become complicated by international migration to the U.S. from the Caribbean and Africa (see Rogers 2006, Waters 2000), further questions arise as to the applicability of models of racial consciousness to political behavior more generally. This is particularly the case for Asian

[4] There are a few exceptions including Leighley's 2001 analysis of African Americans and Latinos, Leighley's and Vedlintz's 1999 analysis of participatory patterns among Anglo-whites, blacks, Mexicans, and Asian Americans in Texas, in which they find no statistically significant effects of racial group identity (measured as closeness to groups); the study by Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewitt (1989) of minority political behavior in California, Verba et. al.'s (1999) comparison of whites, blacks, and Latinos with a U.S. sample, Junn (1999) using the Verba et. al. screener data to examine differences in participation between the four groups, and Lau's 1989 comparison of group consciousness with data from the U.S. population.

[5] Vincent Hutchings, James Johnson and Cara Wong of the University of Michigan have new data with interviews from large populations of whites, blacks, Afro-Caribbeans, Latinos and Asian Americans.

Americans, and empirical evidence linking racial group consciousness and political participation is inconsistent for both Asian Americans and Latinos (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996, Lien, Conway and Wong 2004, Stokes 2003). This has led some to conclude African Americans are the exceptional case because they have a history of enslavement in the U.S. (Sears et.al 1999). Asian Americans in particular demonstrate relatively high levels of economic, residential, and social integration, and may not feel uniform negative stigma attached to their racial identity. As a result, Asian Americans may be less prone to feel connected with others in their respective racial group, and group identity may not be as important a factor in the politics of minority groups other than African Americans.

It is clear racial identities resonate differently among Americans in various racial groups, and relying on the explanation of perceived shared experience with slavery and discrimination is too simplistic to apply across the board for other racial minority groups in the United States. What remains unclear, however, is the process by which group identities are contextualized and activated. One must go beyond the simple assumption that racial group consciousness exists, and instead, investigate the circumstances under which group identity influences political behavior. In the next sections, we traverse this gap by analyzing the identities of Asian Americans in order to begin to uncover the complex nature of racial group consciousness.

Rethinking Asian American identity

Only recently have political scientists begun to be interested in and attempt to understand political participation among Asian Americans. As a group, Asian Americans are diverse in terms of country of origin and generation of immigration, and do not demonstrate uniform political behavior patterns (Lien 2001, Lien, Conway and Wong 2004, Tam 1995). As such, it is

difficult to distinguish Asian American participation and attitudes as a product of a distinctive racial group identity, and some have interpreted these findings as evidence that Asian American racial identity is not relevant in politics. At the same time, however, there have also been important political movements utilizing claims to politicized racial group identity that have mobilized Asian Americans.

There are number of ways in which scholars have attempted to reconcile the state of ambiguous political identities among Asian Americans. One contention is that Asian American racial identities are currently not framed in a negative and stigmatizing manner, and as a result, Asian Americans do not believe they are part of a deprived group.[6] Deprivation or other forms of negative identity are understood as key psychological components that help individuals convert group identification into a more politicized group consciousness (Conover 1984, Miller et. al. 1981, Verba and Nie 1972). Though "Asian" is considered a non-white racial group, one of the most common images attached to Asian Americans is the "model minority" stereotype (Kim 2000) that frames Asian Americans as hard working, smart, and successful.[7] The term model minority is applied to Asian Americans as a whole, but is perceived as an individual-level trait (Lowe 1996; Tuan 1996). To the extent Asian Americans perceive themselves to embody these characteristics there would be less need to solicit help from others in their racial group and band together as a group. So while Asian Americans might connect their racial identity with a

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[6] If we use a longer historical lens, however, negative racial frames have been used to stereotype Asian Americans at other times. In the late nineteenth century, for example, the Chinese were referred to as "coolies" or a type of slave laborer (Chan 1991). Similarly, the long history of Asian exclusion laws characterizing U.S. immigration and naturalization policy in the 19th and 20th Centuries provides important testimony to state-sanctioned racial discrimination against Asian Americans (Takaki 1989; Ngai 2004; Tichenor 2002).

[7] The term "model minority" originated in print in a 1966 *New York Times* article on Japanese Americans by William Peterson. Peterson praised the group for what he saw as cultural values and a work ethic that contributed to them not becoming a "problem minority." The popular media picked up on the "model minority" term, applying it to Chinese Americans, and then to Asian Americans more generally. Since the 1980s, some argue the term has been appropriated and promoted by political conservatives to demonize the individual-level pathologies of other racial minorities in order to assign blame for not working hard enough to get out of poverty.

particular set of stereotypical characteristics, the positive and more individualistic frame of their identity as a model minority provides fewer motives to form group racial identity. Similarly, if Asian Americans believe they have greater opportunities and hold higher status than others in society, there may be less reason to engage in group solidarity to achieve political ends (Chong and Kim, forthcoming).

Another prominent argument is that Asian Americans have other primary allegiances that exert a stronger pull than a racial identity. As Nagel (1994) notes, ethnicity has multiple layers, and Asian Americans must choose between national origin and ethnic attachments versus pan-ethnic racial attachments. By attaching one all-encompassing racial identity to Asian Americans, we lump together a very diverse set of people, which may be problematic for Asian Americans themselves who perceive clear distinctions by national origin (Espiritu 1992, Lien 2001, Lien Conway and Wong 2004, Tam 1995, Cho 2001). Indeed, as Figure 1 indicates, Asian Americans are highly diverse, with no one national origin group predominant. More than 6 distinctive groups are combined as Asian American, including Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese along with an "other" category. Like moving from kin to nation, Asian Americans must understand the symbolic link created through shared race which requires an additional set of loyalties that may not always be so clearly understood (Espiritu 1992, Nagel 1994). It is possible that for Asian Americans, feelings of closeness with national origin eclipse a sense of group pan-ethnic racial identification. It is important to underscore that racial formation and the definitions applied to racial categories in the U.S. are uniquely American constructs, and thus new categories to immigrant Asian Americans. Since nearly 70 percent of the Asian American community is foreign born, American notions of race may not resonate with new

entrants to the U.S. system. Expecting pan-ethnic racial identities to override national origin identities may therefore be an unreasonable assumption about Asian American identity.

Figure 1 here [Composition of the Asian American Population in the U.S., 2000]

Finally, Asian Americans demonstrate relatively high levels of social and residential integration. Demographic patterns show that, regardless of their largely immigrant status, Asian Americans are more likely than their African American, Latino, and Afro-Caribbean counterparts to be economically integrated. In particular, high levels of formal education among U.S.-born Asian Americans and immigrant Asian Americans alike drives a similarly high degree of occupational status and income earnings.[8] Taken together, these resources produce a population that is less likely to reside in ethnic enclaves and more likely than other minority groups to live in racially integrated neighborhoods and attend racially diverse schools (Lai and Arguelles 2003). To the extent classic assimilation models are correct this level of economic and residential integration suggests Asian Americans will more quickly become incorporated into American society (Dahl 1961, Gordon 1964). These assimilation models also suggest that along with structural incorporation, individuals begin to lose the ethnic attachments of their immigrant pasts, and while ethnic identities may not be completely lost, they instead become symbolic, perceived as optional identities (Waters 1990).

We could posit this set of contextual characteristics – the relatively positive racial images of model minority in which Asian Americans are framed, the differences related to the pan-ethnic and heavily immigrant nature of the community, and the high level of economic and residential integration – are all reasons that would deter the formation of collective racial identity

[8] While high socioeconomic standing is an average across all people classified as Asian American, it is important to note that the distribution of educational and income resources within the Asian American community is bi-modal. Southeast Asian and many new Chinese immigrant Asian Americans occupy the lower end of the economic spectrum.

among Asian Americans. While these challenges are in many ways real, they are only partially correct. In addition to the frames of the stereotypical model minority, Tuan (1996) finds that a more enduring stereotype of Asian Americans is that of the "forever foreigner." While cast on the one hand as diligent and successful, Asian Americans continue nevertheless to be perceived as perpetual outsiders. The image has the effect of a glass ceiling, preventing Asian Americans from full social integration. Tuan contends that the forever foreigner stereotype serves as a common racialized connection Asian Americans share, regardless of national origin or generation of immigration. Numerous other studies document evidence of a sense of shared racial identity among Asian Americans (Kibria 2002, Portes and Rumbaut 1990, Lien Conway and Wong 2004). In addition, evidence of a distinctively Asian American racial experience can be found in public opinion data, where Asian American respondents are more likely to feel that they have been discriminated against as compared to whites and in some cases, Latinos (Chong and Kim forthcoming, DeSipio 1996, Lien Conway and Wong 2004, Washington Post 2001).

Not only is there evidence to demonstrate Asian Americans share a sense of racial identity, there are important instances where politicized Asian American racial group consciousness was mobilized into political action. Among the most significant Asian American movements was the 1960s mobilization of college students of various Asian national origins. These students organized in protest against the California higher education system and fought to institutionalize Asian American studies programs in the universities. Although Espiritu (1992) labels this movement as a pan-ethnic effort, the common bond connecting the students was their shared racialized experience as Asian American. In the late 1980s, Asian Americans formed a social movement in response to the beating death of a Chinese American man in Detroit, Michigan. This hate crime and the lenient punishment handed down to the perpetrators

galvanized Asian Americans across the nation, serving as a catalyst for the development of organizations devoted to the protection of Asian American voting rights. Over the last twenty years, Asian Americans have formed organizations to lobby on behalf of Asian American interests and coordinated voter mobilization drives among other efforts (Lien 2001).

Our reading of the evidence suggests Asian Americans neither lack a coherent racial identity nor the ability to perceive a politicized racial group consciousness, but they do not automatically link their racial identity with politics. In contrast, African American political opinions and worldviews are clearly linked with their race as blacks, and the "black utility heuristic" described by Dawson (1994) is consistent across a number of studies. In this regard, African Americans utilize racial group interests as a proxy for their individual choices (Tate 1994). But for Asian Americans, racial group identity must be first elicited. A particularly interesting example is discussed in Lien, Conway and Wong's (2004) work on Asian American identity, using data from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS). When Asian American respondents were first asked to describe their identity, the largest proportion (64%) selected a national origin identity. But when asked if they use the identity as Asian American, respondents were then much more willing to identify with the racial group category. These data provide a clue that it is not until Asian American respondents are prompted with a racial group identity that they claim a broader identification.

What it means to be Asian American – responses from a California sample

Given our contention that Asian American racial identity may be constructed differently than that for African Americans, we first began our study by conducting semi-structured interviews with Asian American youth in California. We selected a number of racial group consciousness

and political participation questions that have been asked in previous public opinion surveys (see Appendix A). Through these interviews we observed how Asian American respondents answered these questions, which informed the development of survey items and analysis in the following section. We also used the in-depth interviews to provide a sense of the words and ways in which respondents describe their racial identities and how they feel their identities are related to politics. While the data are exploratory inasmuch as they do not emanate from a randomly selected sample of the populations in the locales in question, the responses from these Asian Americans provide a clear window into the power of that identity. Despite the complexities and the hesitations respondents often express in claiming a racial group identity as Asian American, a sense of racial consciousness clearly exists.

We found three major patterns in the in-depth interview data. First, our Asian American respondents began by describing their racial identity in cultural terms. In response to the range of linked fate and group similarity questions, our respondents provided cultural reasons to describe how Asian Americans are different from whites, including examples including food or their experiences with their parents. From this initial vantage point, our Asian American respondents did not appear to see that their racial identities were connected with political consequences. This may provide some explanation why previous studies on Asian American political behavior have failed to find a clear connection between racial group identity and political participation. General questions relating to group connectedness and linked fate may have the immediate effect of cueing a cultural identity rather than a political identity.[9]

Although the first half of our structured interviews may have led us to believe that Asian American identity may be more cultural as opposed to political, when we turned to questions regarding electoral politics we found respondents revealed a sense of racial attachment.

[9] See Guinier and Torres 2003 for an argument for the use of "political race" identity as a more relevant distinction.

However, this racial attachment, like their answers to the racial identity questions, had many caveats. Our Asian American respondents understood the importance of descriptive representation but also perceived consequences of that attachment:

> I'd like to say I would be more prone to vote for [an Asian American candidate]. But I would probably say that I would be more critical of them. Just because I think that they would be a huge role model and all the attention would be on them. And even if they were the most Americanized person ever, I think people would still associate their Asian background and just use that as a reason why they made a certain decision or not (Erin, fourth generation Japanese).

For our respondents, racial attachment in politics was explicitly linked with promoting a positive Asian American image. Not all of our respondents felt their racial identity played a role in their political beliefs, but those who did use racial attachment in their political choices perceived the benefit of showing not only other Asian Americans but also whites that Asian Americans are qualified to be in politics.

Second, our Asian American respondents describe an identity that is dependent on the context. Asian American respondents took into consideration their surrounding social environment before describing their identities. In response to the question, "What term would you call yourself – American, Asian, Asian American or by national origin?" one respondent explained:

> I think it depends on who I'm talking to. If I was talking to a white person and they ask me what I am, I guess I would say I'm Vietnamese-Chinese. But I think they label me as Asian. But I think of myself as Vietnamese-Chinese (Tiffany, second generation).

Our Asian American respondents also took into consideration how racial group lumping influences how they are labeled. In response to a question on perceptions of linked fate this respondent answered:

> Yes, because people in California – because I don't know about other states – but people in California label anyone who looks Asian as Asian and nothing else. You're not considered Japanese, you're considered Asian, so when things happen to one specific Asian everyone just automatically assumes it's going to happen to you too (Erin, fourth generation Japanese).

As a general pattern, our Asian American respondents identify that there are differences by national origin group, but they also were cognizant that others do not understand these differences. This awareness led our Asian American respondents to make certain caveats when they answered our racial identity questions. So while we find that our respondents feel a clear sense of racial and cultural difference from mainstream white society, their personal experiences with racial group lumping have led them to hesitate before describing their racial identity to others.

Third, our Asian American respondents were very open with what they considered a lack of "Asian" qualities. These respondents felt that their personalities and preferences paralleled more closely with their white peers as opposed to those from Asia. Their acceptance of what has been labeled as "whitewashed" racial identities may lead some to claim that Asian American youth lack a racialized identity and have fully assimilated into a white culture. However, upon deeper examination, these Asian American youth do not necessarily equate their "whitewashed" identities with being white. In fact, in our interviews, many who openly identified as "whitewashed" were also those who evoked a politicized racial identity. To define the term "whitewashed," one respondent provided the following testimony:

> Yes, oh my gosh, these jeans are from American Eagle, this shirt is Abercrombie. I would definitely attest to that [being whitewashed]. Me and Ben, he's Vietnamese and completely fluent in Vietnamese. But he sports Hollister. He calls himself a twinkie, yellow on the outside, white on the inside or a banana. I was going to say that all my Asian friends act white but my three Asian roommates don't act white, at all. [Interviewer: "What makes them Asian?"] Superficially, where we shop

> alone. [I shop at] Abercrombie. But it sucks because Abercrombie does not like minorities in their image. So I've stopped shopping there but I'm going to use their perfume up. [Interviewer: "Did you stop shopping there?"] Yeah, I did, it didn't seem right, they're not being American. Being a part of the boycott seemed welcoming (Lourdes, second generation Filipino).

Within the context of defining her own whitened identity, this respondent revealed how she evoked a politicized identity in her decision to join the boycott. The clothing company she describes here had recently been sued by a former Asian American employee who had been fired, she maintained, due to her racial background. Interestingly, although this respondent claimed a "whitewashed" identity, she also demonstrates a willingness to act on behalf of an Asian American cause. So although this respondent did not describe political qualities to her racial identity, she still realized that her individual life choices are linked with her racial group. Interestingly, this was not our only respondent whose description of their identity did not match many of their social and political preferences.

From the interviews, we identified three patterns about Asian American racial identity. First, Asian Americans do perceive a racial identity, but there are many dimensions to this identity. What could be considered very simple questions regarding group commonality or identity descriptor are not so simple in the minds of Asian Americans. In our in-depth interviews, Asian Americans view their identities through multiple sets of dichotomies: national origin vs. racial, immigrant vs. native born, Americanized vs. Asian. Thus, Asian American racial identity is complex and is perceived by Asian Americans as having multiple, interrelated layers. Second, Asian American racial identity is relevant to political behavior. Asian Americans understand that there are social and political consequences attached to their racial identity and are willing to take into account those consequences in their political decisions. Finally, Asian American racial identity must be activated through contextual frames. Although we believe Asian American

racial identity to exist, we observed our Asian Americans respondents as hesitant to immediately evoke their racial identities. Asian American racial identity must first be primed and, more importantly, substantiated before Asian Americans are willing to assert their racial identities in their social and political choices. Therefore, unlike African Americans, whose politicized racial identities are more of a given, Asian American racial identities need to be activated before they can be used as a tool for political action.

Activating Asian American racial consciousness: group pride

If Asian Americans perceive a racial identity but that identity must be activated, then *how* does that identity become ignited? Group pride may be one effective way of priming a racial group identity among minorities, in particular Asian Americans, who tend to be more ambiguous about their racial identity. Group pride is the notion that shared characteristics – race, language, native homeland, history, religion, culture, economic status, colonial domination, phenotypic features – invite feelings of solidarity, familiarity, and self-esteem. Described in this way, group pride sounds almost subconscious and primordial. In many ways it is, operating as a powerful heuristic in processing information about people, and leaving much to assumptions of similarity embedded in the short-cuts. The notion of descriptive or symbolic representation by legislators (or agents) in terms of racial identity is consistent with this notion.

While more intricate than the simple heuristic described above, normative arguments regarding descriptive political representation have roots in group pride.[10] Hanna Pitkin discussed one of the roles of descriptive and substantive representation to be the effect it has on those being represented: "But symbol-making need not be a matter of working on the symbol; it seems rather

[10] There is a growing literature in political theory addressing these issues, but even perspectives as diverse as those articulated by Mansbridge 1999, Dovi 2002, and M. Williams 1998, emanate from notions of shared group identity.

to involve working on the minds of those who are to be represented or who are to be the audience accepting the symbolization" (Pitkin 1967:111). In a recent article in the *American Political Science Review*, Jane Mansbridge goes further in promoting descriptive representation, arguing that in cases of historical subordination of groups, descriptive representation serves a greater purpose in promoting trust and democratic deliberation in a polity. Similarly, Melissa Williams and Anne Phillips emphasize the benefits of a group basis for representation beyond the purpose of role models.

The family of empirical claims emanating from the group pride hypothesis are among the more current and controversial issues in the study of race and politics, including research on the impact of descriptive representation in terms of race on political behavior and attitudes, with the work of Bobo and Gilliam (1990), Gay (2001 and 2004), Baretto et. al. (2004), and Swain (1995), among prominent attempts to uncover the dynamics of racial group identification in participation and public opinion.[11] Work in women and politics also emphasizes the significance of female political role models in encouraging interest in politics among young women (e.g., Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006).

To test this idea of racial identity activation, we utilize data from the 2004 Ethnic Politics Pre-election survey, a new data collection of a U.S. sample of whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Surveys are self-administered *via* the Internet, and respondents are selected for the Knowledge Networks panel using standard methods of random digit dialing. Hence, the resulting interview data are based on random probability samples. The U.S. sample in this study also included a small oversample of young adults between the ages of 18 and 25. Equal numbers of survey respondents (around 400) in each of the four groups were interviewed

[11] Much of the newest work in this area is concentrated on the use of ethnic and racial heuristics in vote choice. See, e.g., DeFrancesco 2004; Baretto 2004; Ramakrishnan 2003. See also Michelson 2003 for a fascinating study of the efficacy of co-ethnic get-out-the-vote mobilization efforts.

during the Presidential election campaign in October 2004.[12] In this analysis, we first analyze patterns of racial group consciousness for Asian Americans, and compare their responses to those of African Americans by examining the influence of an experimental frame designed to manipulate a sense of racial group pride on degree of racial group identification.

We adopt a relational strategy in comparing African American and Asian American respondents. A study designed to collect comparative cross-sectional data from individuals in various ethnic and racial groups is not a magic bullet; it suffers from the same inferential limitations as any synchronic set of observations. Yet a study built on a relational imperative provides analytical leverage in a different way, allowing for the examination of the same measures of structural conditions of the experiences of individuals (i.e., demographic characteristics and indicators of socioeconomic status), racial identifications and other psychological orientations, and behavioral and attitudinal self-reports across racial groups. The imperative of a relational strategy goes beyond the simple but useful act of comparing marginals across the racial groups. Instead, the interpretation of inferential findings is rooted in the recognition of the different structural locations of these groups in society. The perspective requires both an appreciation of the historical specificity and unique experiences of each group's construction as racially distinctive, as well as sensitivity to the malleability of those identities in different contexts. In this regard, different forms and degrees of racialization among blacks and Asian Americans in U.S. politics is critical variance to exploit in identifying contextual frames that are salient to the activation of racial identification. Identities are not created equally, and what is important about context is the interaction between particular environments and the manifestation of racial identifications.

[12] The data were collected by Knowledge Networks of Menlo Park, California. The results reported here do not account for the disproportionate share of youth in the sample. Respondents were selected for the study on the basis of a series of racial self-classification questions collected by Knowledge Networks in a demographic profile.

Before proceeding to the analysis of racial identification, we provide some background information on the composition of the Asian American sample in the data used in this paper. Table 1 presents basic demographic information on the Asian Americans interviewed for this survey. As seen in Table 1, the characteristics of the Asian American sample population for this survey are similar to the demographic patterns found by the 2000 Census. The survey sample has a slightly larger proportion of native-born respondents (42%) than the actual Asian American population (31%). The Asian American survey sample, like the national population, is well educated; most having at least some college education. Similar to findings from other surveys of Asian Americans, this survey population leans Democratic and is comfortable using English.

Table 1 here (Characteristics of Asian American Sample)

To test the group pride motivation for racial identification, a set of experimental stimuli were developed. The objective of the manipulation was to observe whether brief exposure to photographs of political figures of the respondent's racial group would prime racial group identification and consciousness. Split-halves of each of the racial group samples were exposed to the frames, and the other half acted as the control group. The stimulus group was exposed to a visual image of U.S. Presidential cabinet officials – Ronald Brown and Rod Paige for blacks, and Norman Mineta and Elaine Chao for Asian Americans, and introduced with the text: "Both President Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have included diverse Americans in their cabinets." Underneath the photographs was identifying information about the cabinet official, and a description of their position. For example, the caption under Elaine Chao's picture read, "Elaine Chao, the first Asian Pacific American Secretary of Labor, serves under President George W. Bush." The appendix includes an image of the prime received by a random half of the African American and Asian American sample. The images were balanced to include side-by-side

headshot photographs of both a Republican and a Democratic appointee, and a follow-up question on the importance of diversity in government was asked of respondents as a manipulation check. The logic of the frame was to reinforce positive images of African Americans and Asian Americans as legitimate and powerful actors in U.S. national politics in order to stimulate group pride.

Six distinctive measures of racial identification and consciousness were included in the 2004 Ethnic Politics Pre-election survey, including several previously developed questions tapping group identity, and some new instrumentation. Of the former, the first measure is the classic "close to" questions, most familiar from the American National Election Study. These items are the most common measures of group identity in the study of political behavior, whether as measures of racial, gender, or other group affinity.[13] In addition, the "linked fate" question introduced in the study of African American political behavior was also included on the survey. Complementing these two standard measures was a new question asking respondents about how important their race is to their ideas about politics, and a question asking which ethnic or racial descriptor is most important to be (e.g., "Asian American," "Chinese" or "Chinese-American"), requiring a forced choice between racial, ethnic, and hyphenated terms. In addition, a series of questions on the importance of cultural homogeneity were included on requiring children to study an African or Asian language, the desirability of marrying others of the same racial group, and the importance of learning about the history and culture of one's race. Finally, a new item asking respondents to enumerate their racial background in terms of points to sum to a score of 10 was included.[14] To measure political participation, the survey includes a number of questions

[13] See, e.g., Miller, Gurin et. al. 1981; Conver 1984; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Tolleson Rinehart 1992.
[14] Question wordings are reproduced in the Appendix. The politicized racial identity question was created anew for this survey. The "sum your race to 10 points" item is a new question developed by Taeku Lee (UC-Berkeley). The last item was located at the end of the questionnaire, and not directly after the group pride experimental

regarding both electoral and other political activities including contacting government officials, signing petitions, protesting, and boycotting.

Contextual influences on racial identification: priming Asian American political identity

On the basis of previous research on racial group consciousness, we tested several hypotheses for the experimental manipulation. If racial identity were a long-term disposition, we would expect it would be hard to move with primes such as these. In this regard, groups with strong and deeply held racial consciousness and those with low levels of racial identity should be the least likely to demonstrate change as a function of the stimuli. Alternatively, groups with weaker identity should be more susceptible to the frames. Groups may also differ in terms of the efficacy of the group pride prime as a function of the degree of internal perceptions of racial homogeneity. Thus, while African Americans exhibit the strongest degree of racial political identification, the already high degree of group consciousness among African Americans may mean relatively small magnitudes of changes as a function of the stimulus. Our hypotheses for Asian Americans are distinctive, and combined with the interview data collected from Asian American youth in California, we expect the group pride frames to have a positive influence in activating a sense of politicized racial group consciousness.

What difference did viewing the faces of U.S. cabinet officials have on the extent to which Blacks and Asian Americans express racial group identifications? The results are presented in Table 2, pairing the marginal distributions for the measures of racial identification for the control and treatment groups. Any differences can be attributed to the efficacy of the stimulus, and statistically significant relationships are highlighted by shaded cells in the table.

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manipulation, thus we do not analyze the variability on this item as a function of random assignment to the stimulus or control group.

The direction of the effects for all groups in the hypothesized direction, with assignment to the condition reflected in stronger racial identifications, particularly among Asian Americans.

Table 2 here (Racial Identification Measures with Group Pride Prime)

Results for African American respondents conform to our expectations of the importance of symbolic frames of group pride for two of the measures of racial group identification. Blacks viewing the U.S. cabinet official headshot photographs are more likely to say they feel close to other African Americans, though the difference between groups is not statistically significant (at the .05 level). However, feelings of linked fate are significantly influenced in a positive direction when respondents view the photographs of black officials. Interestingly, racial political identity is unaffected by the prime, as are designations of racial description, as well as the measures of black cultural identity.

Asian Americans show strong results from the experimental manipulation, demonstrating substantial malleability from exposure to the racial group pride stimulus. There are strong and statistically significant differences between the treatment and control groups for all three measures of closeness to other Asians, linked fate, and racial political identity. In addition, Asian Americans viewing the stimulus were more likely to say it was most important to be a specific ethnic group and American (i.e., “Chinese American”) or Asian American, thereby including “American” in their self-categorization. Alternatively, there are no differences in the measures of racial cultural identity. The greater comparative efficacy of the racial group pride prime for Asian Americans is surprising inasmuch as the existing literature on Asian American political behavior demonstrates a similarly high degree of ethnic heterogeneity in terms of country of origin and native language compared with Latinos, which would predict lukewarm affinity and low salience of group pride claims for pan-ethnic racial identification as Asian American.

Indeed, a higher proportion of Asian Americans in the U.S. (and in this sample) are immigrants than Latinos. Alternatively, one could argue that immigrant "outsider" status and comparatively small numbers of Asian Americans in politics could highlight the salience of the strategic importance of a pan-ethnic racial identification for this population. Yet the relatively high educational attainment and economic resources of Asian Americans combine with the potential for activating racial group identity to foreshadow mobilization of political participation among Asian Americans in the future.

Asian American pride or ambiguous identities?

Does racial identification influence the political activity of African Americans and Asian Americans? There are distinctive patterns among African Americans and Asian Americans in both the degree of racial group identification, as well as the extent to which identities are susceptible to manipulation by group pride frames. Blacks are most strongly racially identified, and their perceptions of group identification can be positively, though modestly, influenced by this set of group pride frames. Asian Americans follow closely both in terms of the degree to which they claim closeness to other Asian Americans, assess linked fate, and see race as important to their ideas about politics. Similarly, the effect of visual representations of group pride in increasing these measures of racial identification among Asian Americans is stronger and more consistent than that for blacks.

Asian American political identity, far from being an oxymoron, is alive and well but often hidden. Unlike African Americans, for whom race is an overdetermining factor in many aspects of social and political life, Asian Americans' racial identity is cued and activated under certain contextual circumstances. When not rooted solely in discrimination, deprivation, or

unambiguously negative terms, racial and ethnic identity for non-black Americans is tied instead to a specific construction of otherness. It is clear Asian Americans and Latinos have mobilized as racial groups. Both have the potential to exploit their racial identification further in politics, yet what remains for future study is when and why Asian Americans and Latinos use ethnic and racial group cues in some instances but not in others.

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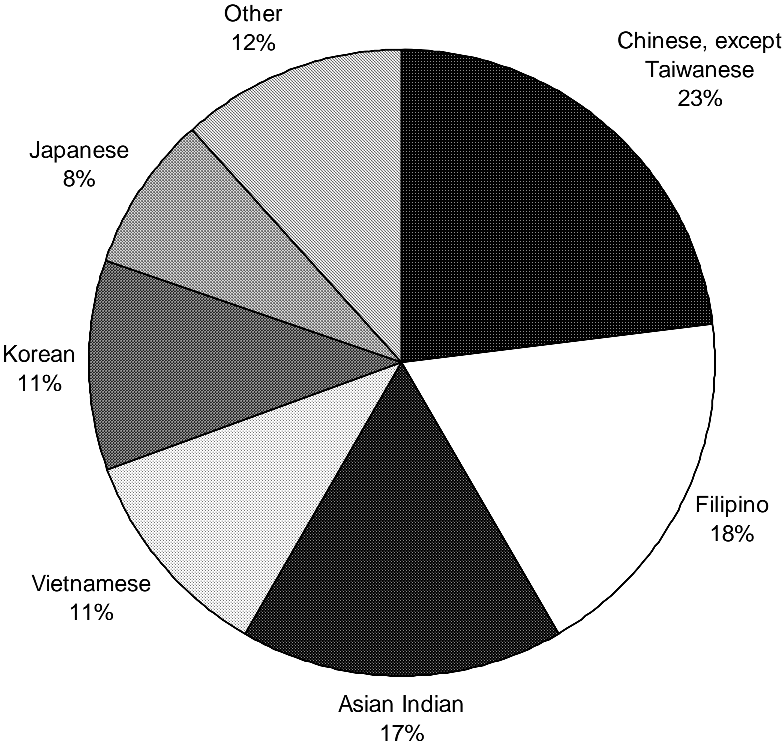
Figure 1: Composition of the Asian American Population in the U.S., 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 1.Characteristics of Asian American Sample (%)

	% of Asian Americans
Born in U.S.	42
U.S. citizen	84
Ethnicity*	
Chinese or Taiwanese	30
Philippines	23
India	17
Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia)	11
Korea	9
Japan	8
Education	
No high school	3
High school graduate	8
Some college	29
College graduate	35
Graduate degree	25
Language spoken at home	
English	51
Mix of English and other language	35
Other language	14
Racial makeup of neighborhood/town	
Mostly white	37
Mostly black	3
Mostly Latino	6
Mostly Asian	47
Currently working for pay	72
Party affiliation	
Republican	21
Democrat	39
Independent	29
Something else	10
Gender	
Male	51
Female	49
Age	
18-24	9
25-34	25
35-44	26
45-54	21
55-64	12
65-74	5
75+	3
N	354

* National origin information was collected only from immigrants and second-generation Asian Americans.

Source: 2004 Ethnic Politics Pre-election Study

Table 2. Racial Identification Measures with Group Pride Prime (%)

		Black	Black	Asian American	Asian American
	Prime: Yes or No	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**
1	**Close to** Close to own racial group	79	84	67	78
2	**Linked fate** Strongly agree & agree	56	64	46	56
	Neither	31	28	44	39
	Strongly disagree & disagree	13	7	10	6
3	**Racial political identity** Very important	50	47	16	16
	Somewhat important	30	35	38	49
	Not at all important	18	17	44	34
4	**Most important to be** Black	11	8		
	Both black and American	56	61		
	American	31	29		
	Most important to be Specific ethnic group			6	2
	Asian			8	6
	Specific ethnic & American or Asian & Am			46	56
	American			40	34
5	**Racial cultural identity** B/A children study African/Asian language	32	34	60	60
	B/A marry other B/A	24	21	10	14
	Learn B/A history and culture	97	94	88	88
	N	208	208	174	180

Source: 2004 Ethnic Politics Pre-election Study
Statistically significant relationships are highlighted by shaded cells

Appendix A. In-depth Interview Sampling and Questionnaire

Description of Sample

We selected two sites at two universities in California: the University of California, Irvine in Irvine, California and the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California. Two sites were selected with the intent to vary the surrounding social environment. UC Irvine is a public university which is located in a wealthy suburb in Southern California. Most students that attend this school are originally from the surrounding Los Angeles area. The University of the Pacific is a private school located in a large city in California's Central Valley. The surrounding area is largely agricultural and blue-collar. Students that attend this school come from a variety of areas both inside and outside of California but most students are originally from the Central Valley or the San Francisco Bay area.

Interviews were selected using a snowball sampling methodology through contacts in the Political Science department at UC Irvine and the Dean's office in the Pharmacy School at the University of Pacific. In total, we conducted a total of 14 personal interviews. The final sample ranged between the ages of 19-26. Respondents were overwhelmingly children of immigrants and all were fluent in English. Explicit attempts were made to collect a sample of diverse national origin backgrounds. All interviews were conducted in person between August and November of 2004.

Each interview lasted approximately one hour long. Before the interview, each of the respondents were asked to fill out a demographic questionnaire. The interviews were semi-structured using the interview questions provided below. We tape recorded all interviews and the Asian American interviews were fully transcribed for the purpose of the paper here. At the end of the interview, respondents were paid $20 for their participation.

Interview Questions

1. People think of themselves in different ways. In general, do you think of yourself as an American, an Asian American, an Asian, a [R's ETHNIC GROUP] American, or a [R's ETHNIC GROUP]?

2. When a form or survey asks for your race, what do you put down?

3. Some say that people of Asian descent in the U.S. have a great deal in common culturally, others disagree. Do you think groups of Asians in America are culturally similar?

4. Do you think what happens generally to other groups of Asian in this country will affect what happens in your life?

5. What about the [R's ETHNIC GROUP] people in America, do you think what happens generally to ethnic group Americans will affect what happens in your life?

6. How closely have you followed news stories and other information of Asians in the United States?

7. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, and Independent, or of another political affiliation?

8. How would you describe your views on most matters having to do with politics? Do you generally think of yourself as liberal, middle-of-the-road, or conservative?

9. How interested are you in politics and what's going on in government in general?

10. The political parties and candidate organizations, as well as other political groups, try to contact as many people as they can to get them to vote for particular candidates. During the past four years, have you received any letter, e-mail, or telephone call from a political party or candidate organization or other political group about a political campaign?

11. In the past four years, did someone you know try to request you to vote, or to contribute money to a political cause, or to engage in some other type of political activity?

12. What language do you usually speak when home with family?

13. What language do you usually use to conduct personal business and financial transactions?

14. What kind of activities that you are involved in involve Asian American issues or other Asian Americans?

15. Compared to your usage of the English media, how often do you use [R's ETHNIC GROUP's] language media as a source of entertainment, news, and information?

16. How would you feel if someone in your family married a person of a different ethnic background than ours? Would you approve or disapprove?

17. How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic makeup is pretty evenly mixed?

18. Thinking for a moment of blacks, whites, Latinos and other Asians, do you yourself know any person who belongs to these groups when you consider a close personal friend? Do you have a lot in common?

19. Have you ever personally experienced discrimination in the United States?

20. In your opinion, was it because of your ethnic background?

21. If you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is Asian American, would you be more likely to vote for the Asian American candidate if the two are equally qualified?

22. If you were to have children, are there things you would tell them about their heritage?

23. How do you think your children will identify?

24. What does it mean to you to be an American?

25. Do you know of any Asians who act white?

26. Has anyone ever said that about you?

27. How did that make you feel?

28. What did they do to make you think they are acting white?

29. What are the traits of Asian Americans/Latinos?

30. Do you perceive any differences between Asians from Asians and American born Asians?

31. What do you think people think you are?

32. Why (or why not) do you want people to recognize your ethnicity?

Appendix B. Question Wording for Racial Identification and Group Pride Manipulations

1. Racial Identification Measures

Q15. Here is a list of groups. Check ones you feel particularly close to, indicating the group is made up of people who are like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.

Democrats
Republicans
Men
Women
Hispanics / Latinos
Blacks / African Americans
Asians / Asian Americans
Whites
Gays and Lesbians

Q16. How strongly do you agree with the following statement, "as things get better for [WHITES; BLACKS / AFRICAN AMERICANS; HISPANICS / LATINOS; ASIANS / ASIAN AMERICANS] in general, things get better for me."

Strongly agree
Agree
Neither
Disagree
Strongly disagree

[IF BLACK]
Q17. Which is most important to be?
Black
Both black and American
American

[IF BLACK]
Q18. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
Black children should study an African language.
Blacks should marry other blacks.
It is important that blacks learn about black history and culture.
Black people should shop in black owned stores whenever possible

[IF ASIAN]
Q21. Which is most important to be?
Specific ethnic group (e.g., Chinese)
Specific ethnic group and American (e.g., Chinese American)
Asian
Asian and American
American

[IF ASIAN]
Q22. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:
Asian / Asian American children should study an Asian language.
Asians / Asian Americans should marry other Asians / Asian Americans.
It is important that Asians / Asian Americans learn about Asian / Asian American history and culture.

Q23. Now, thinking about your political identity, how important is being [WHITE; BLACK / AFRICAN AMERICAN; HISPANIC / LATINO; ASIAN / ASIAN AMERICAN] to your ideas about politics?

Very important
Somewhat important
Not at all important

Q49. In identifying a person's racial background, we often use just one racial or ethnic category. Sometimes, however, more than one category applies. Imagine if our race and ethnicity could be described by using a 10-point system to allocate as we see fit to whichever racial and ethnic categories that we think accurately describes a person. For example, if you think of someone as half-white and half-Asian, you might allocate 5 points to each. Or if you think of someone as mostly black but with some Hispanic heritage, you might allocate 9 points for African American and 1 point for Latino. Now suppose you are asked to describe your own racial background in this way. How would you describe your race and ethnicity using this 10-point system?

points
________ White or Anglo
________ Black or African American
________ Asian American
________ Hispanic or Latino
________ Native American or American Indian
________ Other race ____________________ (please specify)
Total = 10 points

2. Group Pride Frames

[IF BLACK AND RANDOM HALF=1]
[IF WHITE AND RANDOM HALF=1]
Q10. Both President Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have included diverse Americans in their cabinets.

[PHOTO OF RON BROWN ON LEFT SIDE OF SCREEN (brown head shot.gif) WITH CAPTION BELOW]
Ron Brown, the first African American Secretary of Commerce, served under President Clinton.

[PHOTO OF ROD PAIGE (paige head shot.jpg) ON RIGHT SIDE OF SCREEN WITH CAPTION BELOW]
Rod Paige is the Secretary of Education, serving under President George W. Bush.

Q10a. How important is diversity in government?

Very important
Somewhat important
Not at all important

[IF ASIAN AMERICAN AND RANDOM HALF=1]
Q12. Both President Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have included diverse Americans in their cabinets.

[PHOTO OF NORM MINETA ON LEFT SIDE OF SCREEN (mineta head shot.jpg) WITH CAPTION BELOW]
Norm Mineta, the first Asian Pacific American Secretary of the Commerce Department, served under President Clinton and is now the Secretary of Transportation under President George W. Bush.

[PHOTO OF ELAINE CHAO ON RIGHT SIDE OF SCREEN (chao head shot.jpg) WITH CAPTION BELOW]

Elaine Chao, the first Asian Pacific American Secretary of Labor, serves under President George W. Bush.

Q12a. How important is diversity in government?

Very important
Somewhat important
Not at all important

Appendix C. Pearson's Correlation Coefficient Among 6 Indicators of Racial Identity

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Support Asian culture						
2. Close to Asians	.09					
3. Linked fate	.23**	.11*				
4. Racial political identity	.28**	.21**	.28**			
5. Most important to be Asian + something	.27**	.23**	.22**	.34**		
6. Points assigned to Asian in racial enumeration	.16**	.21**	.16**	.06	.05	

* sig at 0.01; ** sig at 0.50