

**The Mosaic of Asian American Politics:  
Preliminary Results from the Five-City Post-Election Survey**

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## I. Description of Purpose

In this paper, we present preliminary findings from the first-ever multi-city, multi-ethnic, and multi-lingual survey of Asians in the United States, the Pilot Study of the National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS).<sup>1</sup> Among the questions that we seek to answer in this pilot study are the extent to which Asian immigrants have adapted to U.S. society and culture, the forms of ethnic and panethnic identity and consciousness that Asian Americans express, the views that Asian Americans hold about the U.S. political system, and the participatory habits, political partisanship, and policy preferences of Asians in the United States. One of our primary motivations for this study was to collect a randomly drawn large sample of Asians in America in order to systematically examine prevailing (mis)conceptions about Asian Americans as a politically apathetic, ethnically fragmented, socially unassimilable group that is unencumbered by social inequities and unneeded government services. As political scientists interested in issues of race and ethnicity, we also wish to fill a void in the study of minority political behavior by addressing the many controversies in political behavior from the perspectives of Asian Americans.

PNAAPS is, to our knowledge, the first endeavor of its kind. While studies of African American and Latino politics are enhanced by the availability of surveys that focus exclusively on these communities of color, few opinion surveys exist that allow us to gauge the political attitudes and behavior of Asian Americans.<sup>2</sup> The studies that do exist, moreover, suffer from the following limitations: (1) they are either regionally sampled (usually, from Los Angeles or Southern California); (2) or, where samples are drawn from the nation, contain either a limited number of questions or too few respondents to conduct robust multivariate analysis; (3) or monolingual surveys that fail to include Asian respondents of poor English proficiency or include them at peril of inviting response bias and measurement error.<sup>3</sup> PNAAPS overcomes

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<sup>1</sup> The term “Asian Americans” is used interchangeably with “Asians” throughout the report. Except where noted, we also use “Chinese,” “Japanese,” “Vietnamese,” “Koreans,” “Filipinos,” and “South Asians” to stand for “Chinese Americans,” “Japanese Americans,” “Vietnamese Americans,” “Korean Americans,” “Filipino Americans,” and “Asian Indian/Pakistani Americans,” respectively. We use “immigrants” to refer to those respondents born in Asia.

<sup>2</sup> The 1984 and 1988 National Black Election Study (see Tate, 1993 and Dawson, 1994), the 1993-94 National Black Politics Study (see Dawson, 2001), and the 1989 Latino National Political Survey (see de la Garza et al., 1992) are especially pioneering in this regard.

<sup>3</sup> Most of our existing knowledge about Asian Americans come from the following multiethnic surveys: a 1984 survey

these limitations by surveying a broad spectrum of social and political attitudes and activities across six major Asian American groups who reside in the five major population hubs of the Asian American community. Respondents are interviewed in English or in Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese, Korean, and Vietnamese, according to their preferences.<sup>4</sup>

As a final prefatory note on this preliminary report on a pilot study, readers will observe that the empirics of this paper are almost purely descriptive. Readers will also almost surely observe that our descriptive results beg for some more systematic analysis – on the dynamics of Asian immigrant adaptation and acculturation, ethnic and panethnic group expression, and political orientation and policy preferences. This need is not lost on the authors. It is, rather our explicit goal to work towards a more rigorous and nuanced account of our data in our future work – both through multivariate analyses of our survey data and through the selective incorporation of other data sources on Asian Americans.

## II. Description of Sampling and Interviewing Methods

A total of 1,218 adults of Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Filipino, and South Asiandescent residing in the Los Angeles, New York, Honolulu, San Francisco, and Chicago metropolitan areas were randomly selected and interviewed by phone between November 16, 2000 and January 28, 2001. Telephone households in these five metropolitan areas—chosen for their large Asian ethnic populations, geographic location, and concentration of particular ethnic groups—were sampled using a dual-frame approach consisting of random-digit dialing at targeted Asian zipcode densities and listed-surname frames. Only telephone households occupied by adults self-identified as belonging to one of the six major Asian

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from the Institute of Governmental Studies at University of California at Berkeley (Cain, Kiewiet, and Uhlaner, 1989; Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewiet, 1989; Uhlaner, 1991; Lien, 1994; Cho, 1999; Uhlaner, 2000); the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey (Bobo et al., 1994; Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996); the 1993 *Los Angeles Times* survey (Lien, 1997; Lee, 2000); the 1993-94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality (Bobo, et al, 2000; Oliver and Wong, 2001; Wong, 2001); and the 1995 *Washington Post*/Kaiser Foundation/Harvard University poll (Hughes and Tuch, 2000; Lien and Conway, 2000). There have been some exit polling of Asian American voters in the last two presidential elections by the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (in California) and the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (in New York), but these surveys are very limited in the questions they allow us to examine. Also, there is a growing number of media polls of specific Asian ethnic groups by the *Los Angeles Times* the *Orange County Register*, and the *San Jose Mercury News*. See, e.g., Asian Pacific American Legal Center (1998, 2000), and Collett (2000).

<sup>4</sup> We were unable to offer our South Asian and Filipino respondents a non-English language-of-interview due to limited resources. It is our intention, however, to conduct multi-lingual surveys of these populations in the full version of the National Asian American Political Survey.

American ancestries were included in this study. For our New York and Chicago samples only the listed-surname approach was used. Within each sampling area, the selection probability for each ethnic sample was approximate to the size of the ethnic population among Asian Americans according to the 1990 Census. The Vietnamese and South Asian samples were oversampled to generate a sufficiently large sample size. Within each contacted household, the interviewer would ask to speak with adult 18 years of age or older who most recently had a birthday. To increase the response rate, multiple call attempts were made at staggered times of the day and days of the week, with break-offs and refusals re-contacted.

This sampling design yielded a final sample of 308 Chinese, 168 Korean, 137 Vietnamese, 198 Japanese, 266 Filipino, and 141 South Asians or an average of 200 completed interviews from each Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) and an additional 217 interviews from the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area. Based on the English proficiency rate of each Asian subgroup and practical cost concerns, English was used to interview respondents of Japanese, Filipino, and South Asian descent; respondents of Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese descent were interviewed in their language of preference. Among the Chinese, 78% chose to be interviewed in Mandarin Chinese, 19% in Cantonese, and 3% in English. Close to 9 out of 10 Koreans (87%) chose to be interviewed in Korean. Nearly all Vietnamese respondents (98.5%) chose to be interviewed in Vietnamese. The average interview length is 27 minutes for interviews conducted in the respondent's non-English language and 20 minutes for interviews conducted in English. The average incidence rate for interviews drawn from the listed surname sample is 41%, with a range from 14.5% for the Filipino sample to 81% for the Chinese sample. The incidence rate for RDD interviews is 15%, which ranges from 4.6% for Korean to 24% for Japanese sample. The average refusal rate is 25%, with 34% in the listed sample and 3.5% in the RDD sample.

II.A. Limitations of the Survey. The margin of sampling error for this survey is plus or minus 3 percentage points. The margin of error is higher for certain subgroups. In addition, our sampling design (using the listed surname frame) may omit households with unlisted telephone numbers or persons who do not bear identifiable surnames in the targeted study areas. Samples generated with the RDD frame may not allow coverage of households located in zipcodes that rank below the top ten ethnic density areas or with less than 10% ethnic density for a targeted Asian subgroup in each zip code.

II.B. Limitations of the Survey Approach: The responses we see in opinion surveys are not always

a reflection of “true” opinion due to the multiple contingencies that are known to influence survey response.<sup>5</sup> For example, because PNAAPS was fielded between mid-November and late-January, respondents’ views on the 2000 election may be affected by events in Florida. More generally, survey response is notoriously susceptible to interviewer effects, question wording and order effects, systematic biases in survey response, and the shades of meaning that are be lost in the translation of a survey instrument.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, while every effort has been made to generate data that is as valid and reliable as possible, the data may still suffer from response bias and measurement error due to the various practical difficulties associated with taking any survey of public opinion.

II.C. Specific Limitations of the PNAAPS. While this is by no means an exhaustive list, we wish to underscore five limitations to the PNAAPS: (1) the sample size remains modest for certain subgroups, in particular, Vietnamese, South Asians, and Koreans; (2) our multi-lingual interviews are not available for Filipinos and South Asians; (3) the PNAAPS only surveys the opinions of Asian Americans, and the implications of our findings vis-a-vis interracial politics and race relations would be improved with samples of African Americans, Latinos, and whites; (4) our sample draws from five major population centers, which obviously limits our ability to draw inferences about Asians in the United States writ large; (5) finally, the allocation of ethnic quotas in our sampling design is based on information in the 1990 Census, and likely to be outdated. These are shortcomings that we hope to address in a more comprehensive National Asian American Political Study.

### III. Description of Sample

To assess how representative our sample is of the APA population, we compare the percentage distribution of selected demographic variables in the PNAAPS to those reported by the U.S. Census (see Tables 1 and 2). Overall, the APA population in the five MSAs surveyed accounts for 37% of the APA population in 1990. Although direct comparison is not possible because of differences in the population base of the two data sources, we find that the demographic characteristics of our sample generally approximate the API

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<sup>5</sup> For a general account of survey response, see Zaller (1992) and Feldman (1995).

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Schuman and Converse (1971), Bradburn and Sudman (1988), Singer and Presser (1989), Finkel, et al (1991), Brehm (1993), Davis (1997), and Lee (2001).

population structure found in the 1990 Census. Typical of opinion surveys, our adult-only sample is better educated, older in age, and has a higher percentage of the foreign-born than in the Census. There's an underrepresentation of females among the South Asian and Vietnamese samples. Importantly, except for the Japanese, our sample respondents do not necessarily have higher family income than found in the 1998 Current Population Survey among adults of the first two immigration generations. However, the distribution of ethnic group makeup in each MSA and the rank orderings of ethnic groups in educational achievement, family, income, citizenship, and immigrant naturalization are similar in both data sources.

III.A. Who Participated in the Survey? A Profile of Respondents: The survey respondents are of multiple Asian ethnic origins and from five major cities of the Asian American population around the nation. One-third reside in Los Angeles, the rest are equally distributed in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Honolulu. About one-fourth of the respondents are of Chinese descent; of them, about seven out of ten can trace their ancestral homes to mainland China, about two out of ten originated from Taiwan, and about one-tenth were from Hong Kong. Over one-fifth of the respondents are of Filipino descent; one-sixth are of Japanese descent, and the rest are of Korean, South Asian, and Vietnamese descents. Most of Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipino respondents reside in the Los Angeles area. About six out of ten Chinese respondents reside in either Los Angeles or San Francisco. Close to half of all Japanese respondents reside in Honolulu and 39 percent of South Asians reside in the Chicago area.

**Nativity and Immigration Generation.** The majority of the respondents were born in Asia (76%), 14 percent of all respondents are U.S.-born but with Asian-born parents, another 10 percent were, along with their parents, born in the U.S. However, less than one-fourth (22%) of the Japanese respondents were born in Japan and over four out of ten among them are of the third or more generation. In addition, the Filipino sample was the only other group that included 10% or more third generation respondents. (

**Length of Local Residence.** The respondents lived an average of 12.8 years in their present city or town. The average length for the Japanese is significantly higher at 26.7 years and significantly lower for South Asians at 7.9 years and for Koreans at 8.8 years. Besides the Japanese (47%), both Filipinos (16%) and Chinese (12%) also include a significant proportion of the respondents who have lived in the local area for 21 or more years.

**Age and Sex.** The average respondent age is 44, but a typical South Asian respondent is

significantly younger at age 36 and a person of Japanese descent is older at age 49. The sample is equally divided between male and female respondents, but more males than females are represented in the Vietnamese and South Asian subsamples.

**Education.** About half of the sample has a college or more advanced degree. The educational achievement among South Asian respondents is especially astonishing with over one-fourth holding a post-graduate degree. Even among the respondents reporting the lowest levels of educational achievement the Vietnamese, one-third report having a college degree or more. With the exception of the Japanese sample, the majority of respondents in each ethnic group received education mainly outside of the United States. An even percentage of Filipinos received education in and outside of the United States.

**Income.** Many respondents were reluctant to report income. However, among those who reported their income, the results defy an image of overall affluence. Respondents in each ethnic group differ somewhat in terms of the “most common” categories of family income they indicated. For example, the most common category for the Chinese is “between \$10,000 and \$19,999”. The average income category for Japanese and Filipinos is “between \$40,000 and \$59,999”. The two most common categories for Koreans and South Asians are “between \$40,000 and \$59,999” and “over \$80,000”. However, for the Vietnamese, the two most common categories are “between \$10,000 and \$19,999” and “between \$30,000 and \$39,000”.

**Religion.** The respondents also differ greatly in religious belief. Close to seven out of ten (68%) Filipinos are Catholic and a similar proportion of Koreans are Christians. Close to half (49%) of Vietnamese respondents are Buddhist and 46 percent of South Asians are Hindu. However, over one-fourth of Japanese (26%) and close to 40 percent of Chinese respondents do not have a religious preference.

#### IV. Attachments and Adaptation

The racial and ethnic landscape of the United States is undergoing a tectonic shift – in which Latinos now appear to be the largest non-white minority in the U.S., in which almost seven million Americans identify with more than one racial category in the 2000 Census, and in which whites are estimated to be a racial minority sometime in the middle of this century. What’s more, our everyday racial and ethnic identities increasingly are taking on forms that are interracial, multicultural, panethnic, transnational and that intersect

with other identities constructed around gender, class, sexual orientation, religion, generation, and the like.<sup>7</sup> PNAAPS sheds some new light on the ethnic ingroup, national, and transnational attachments that Asian Americans form and the adaptations and acculturation they exhibit over time in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

We examine the strength of Asian Americans' attachment to people and culture in their countries of origin with the following indicators: news attention to events happened in Asia, frequency of contact with people in the home country, most recent visit to the home country, and language used at home and to conduct business transactions. We examine Asian Americans' adaptation to American life through by their degree of integration into the American multiracial social network through close friendship, shared neighborhood, and attitudes toward interracial marriage and their interracial marriage patterns. Finally, we examine Asian Americans' adaptation to the U.S. political system by their rates of U.S. citizenship and voting turnout, their levels of political interest, and by their participation in activities beyond voting.

**Following News.** Over half of our respondents (56%) reported paying very close or fairly close attention to news events that happened in Asia. This attention to Asian news is particularly high among Korean (80%) and Chinese (68%) respondents. Japanese respondents (38%) were the least likely to follow news and current events related to Asia. It is interesting to note that, except for the Vietnamese and Filipinos, respondents were just as likely or even more likely to follow news events about Asian Americans as they were to keep up on stories about events in Asia. A much higher percentage of the Vietnamese reported having paid very close or fairly close attention to news events that happened to people in Asia than to Asians in the United States.

**Maintaining Contact.** Most of the Asian Americans who took part in the survey maintained strong social ties with people in their countries of origin. For example, a quarter of the Asian-born sample had contact with people in their country of origin (by mail, phone, or in person) at least once a week. Among South Asians, 44% were in contact with someone in their country of origin at least once a week. Among the other ethnic groups, a slightly lower proportion were in frequent contact with people in their countries of origin. For instance, 20 percent of Filipino immigrants and 22 percent of Chinese and Korean immigrants maintained contact with people in their countries of origin at least once a week. A large majority of those in

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<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Espiritu, 1992; Lowe, 1996; Cohen, 1999; Bobo, Oliver, Johnson, and Valenzuela, 2000; Nobles, 2000

<sup>8</sup> On immigrant attachments and adaptation generally, see Pedraza and Rumbaut, 1995; Lowe, 1996; Portes, 1996; Portes

every ethnic group category were in contact with individuals in their country of origin at least once a month.

**Language Usage.** Among all respondents, 26 percent used English, 48 percent used a language other than English, and 24 percent used a mix of English and another language in the household among their family members. Outside of the home, English use was much higher. Among all Asian American respondents, almost two-thirds (71%), used English to conduct personal business and financial transactions, for example. English language use also varied greatly across different Asian American ethnic groups. English language use in the home was lowest among Vietnamese (2%), Chinese (4%), and Korean (10%) samples. However, when it came to conducting personal business and financial transactions, a much higher percentage of Koreans (71%), Vietnamese (59%), and Chinese (33%) relied on the English language.

**Social Networks.** Most respondents in the survey were part of an interracial social network. About one-third reported that they had a close personal friend who was white. This proportion was consistent across ethnic groups, with the exception of the Vietnamese sample, among whom only 6 percent claimed to have a white friend. At least one-third of Filipino (33%), South Asian (42%), and Japanese (44%) respondents reported that they had a close personal friend who was African American, compared to 20 percent of Korean, 17 percent of Chinese and 6 percent of Vietnamese respondents. A quarter of those interviewed also had Latino friends. However, almost half of those from every ethnic group claimed that one of their close personal friends was another Asian American.

**Intermarriage.** Few respondents expressed disapproval of having someone in the family marrying outside of one's ethnicity. The highest disapproval rate of 24% is found among Koreans. The lowest disapproval rates are found among Japanese (4%), Filipinos (5%), and Vietnamese (7%). In fact, close to three quarters of the respondents from these three groups either approved or strongly approved of intermarriage. However, 90% of the married respondents reported having an Asian spouse; only 6% overall had a Caucasian spouse. The percentage of having a Caucasian spouse is highest among Japanese (14%) and Filipino (12%) respondents.

**Residential Integration.** Only one-fifth of the respondents reported residing in mostly Asian neighborhood. Close to half of the respondents reported living in pretty evenly mixed neighborhood. A quarter of the respondents reporting having mostly white neighbors, but less than 5% reported having mostly

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and Rumbaut, 1996; Tuan, 1998; Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, 2000.

black or mostly Latino neighbors.

**Citizenship.** Over two-thirds of our respondents are U.S. citizens (68%). Most of the non-citizens plan to become citizens in the future (72%). Respondents of Japanese descent differed significantly from other Asians in this orientation. Just 31 percent of Japanese immigrants who were not citizens at the time of the survey planned to become U.S. citizens compared to, say, 83 percent of Filipino and 91 percent of Vietnamese non-citizens. Non-citizens of Japanese descent were also more ambivalent about their future citizenship plans: 23 percent were unsure, compared to an average of 7 percent among other ethnic groups in the survey. It should be noted, however, that a higher percentage of Japanese respondents are currently citizens than any other Asian American group.

**Voting and nonvoting.** Only 44 percent of the respondents reported voting in the November 2000 presidential election. Japanese respondents voted at the highest proportions (63%), compared to, say, Filipinos (47%), the next highest group in voting turnout. Koreans had the lowest turnout rate at 34 percent. Non-citizenship was the most commonly-cited reason for nonvoting. This was mentioned by nearly six out of ten respondents who failed to cast a vote in the presidential election. Not having registered to vote was the second most commonly-cited reason, mentioned by a quarter of the non-voters. Other reasons for nonvoting mentioned included: being too busy working or attending schools (3%), lack of interest in politics or elections (3%), and not receiving an absentee ballot (1%). There were significant inter-ethnic group differences in this. For example, 80 percent among South Asians cited non-citizenship, 39 percent of Vietnamese citizens failed to register, and 14 percent of Japanese attributed their nonvoting to a disinterest in politics. When the voting rate is calculated only among eligible voters (citizens who are registered), 82 percent of Asians reported voting. The turnout rate was highest among South Asians (93%), followed by the Vietnamese (91.5%). The turnout rates for Koreans and Filipinos were lower at 71 percent and 76 percent respectively.

**Political Interest.** Participants in the PNAAPS were asked how interested they were in what goes on in government. The proportion reporting that they were very interested or somewhat interested ranged from 52 percent among Vietnamese respondents to 72 percent among South Asians. Overall, 61 percent of those interviewed indicated they were either very interested or somewhat interested in what goes on in government.

**Participation beyond voting.** In addition to participation in the formal political process, a small

segment of Asians also participated in other political activities. The most common form is working with others in the community to solve a problem (21%), followed by signing a petition for a political cause (16%), and attending a public meeting, political rally, or fundraiser (14%). A higher percentage of South Asians than other Asians reported having written or phoned a government official (17%), contacted media (14%), or worked with others to solve a community problem (36%). A higher percentage of Japanese than other Asians had donated money to political campaigns (20%), attended political gatherings (22%), and signed a petition (24%). About a quarter of Koreans also reported having signed a petition in the previous four years. And a higher percentage of Vietnamese participated in political protest and demonstration (14%) than other Asian groups.

#### V. Ethnic and Panethnic Identity

One of the thorniest questions about Asians in America is whether such a thing as a pan-ethnic identity (as “Asian American”) actually exists. While Asian Americans may be viewed as homogenous by outsiders, there is a tremendous level of heterogeneity and hybrid formations within the Asian American community writ large as well as within each constituent ethnic Asian group. Language, religion, class, generation, geography, culture, and political mobilization are just a few of the multiple cleavages that threaten to render the idea of an “Asian America” incoherent.<sup>9</sup> The PNAAPS gives us some striking new insights into this question by asking a set of questions on (pan)ethnic self-identity, perceived shared culture, and (pan)ethnic shared fate.

**Ethnic Self-identity.** The first vantage into this issue is self-identification. Given a choice between identifying oneself as American, Asian American, Asian, ethnic American (e.g., as Chinese American), or simply in terms of one’s ethnic origin (e.g., as Chinese), respondents were most apt to indicate an ethnic-specific identity. Among all respondents, 34 percent chose to identify as ethnic American and 30 percent by ethnic origin alone. The prevalence of ethnic American identification is fairly consistent across all groups, with Filipino American (40%) the most common and Japanese American (26%) the least common. Ethnic-only identification varies considerably more, with Chinese (42%), Vietnamese (42%), Korean (41%) respondents much likelier to identify ethnically than Filipino (21%), Indian (21%), and Japanese (12%)

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<sup>9</sup> Uhlaner (1991), Espiritu (1992), Lowe (1996), Lien (1997), Kibria (2001), Lai (2000).

respondents. Only three percent of all the respondents were not sure of how to answer this question.

**Panethnic Self-identity.** Among the other categories, there is a fairly consistent minority of respondents in all groups – ranging from 12 percent of Chinese respondents to 23 percent of South Asians – who identified as Asian American. The degree of identification simply as “American” is astonishingly varied across groups. On the high end, more than 40 percent of Japanese respondents identify as American, with roughly one in seven Filipinos and Indians in the middle, and almost no Korean, Chinese, or Vietnamese identifying as American (3%, 1%, and 1%, respectively). The relative absence of identification as Asian Americans, importantly, results from asking respondents to choose just one out of multiple possible identities. When respondents who did not choose “Asian American” are asked to indicate if they *ever* think of themselves as Asian American, more than half of respondents report such a panethnic consciousness. This panethnic consciousness was most strongly felt among South Asians and least strongly among Koreans and Japanese.

**Perceived Common Culture.** We also examine panethnicity or pan-Asian group identity as a sense of shared culture. In the full sample, only about one out of every ten respondents agreed that different Asian groups in America are “very similar” culturally. Four out of ten respondents (41%), however, believed that different Asian groups in America are somewhat similar culturally. There is a remarkable uniformity across all ethnic groups on this question. Nevertheless, over half of Koreans (59%) and South Asians (53%) believed that groups of Asians differed somewhat or very much in cultural outlook. Between 11 percent (Japanese respondents) and 1 percent (South Asians) were not sure of their views on this question.

**Panethnic Shared Fate.** A third window into panethnic identity is a sense of a common destiny. Cumulatively, about half of respondents (49%) believed that “what happens generally to other groups of Asians in this country will affect what happens in your life.” But there is a great deal of variation across groups. Although Koreans were least likely to believe that Asians share a common culture, they were most likely to perceive a general linked fate (61%). Filipinos (54%) and South Asians (53%) also exhibited high levels of linked fate. Less than half of Chinese and Japanese and only 36% of Vietnamese viewed Asians as sharing a common destiny. Again, the Japanese were most uncertain about this question (12%). Groups also differ in how strongly this sense of shared panethnic destiny was felt. For example, a third of Vietnamese, but only 4 percent of Koreans, who believed that they shared the same fate with other Asians

thought that they were not very much affected by issues and events happening to other Asians.

**Ethnic Shared Fate.** Individuals felt somewhat more strongly about *ethnic shared fate* (55%) than about *panethnic shared fate*. Again, there is a significant variance across ethnic groups. Koreans again were most likely to perceive ethnic identity (76%) and Vietnamese again were the least likely to do so (38%). With Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and South Asians alike, roughly three out of every five respondents believed an ethnic shared fate. Groups differ widely, once again, in how strongly this shared ethnic fate was felt across groups. For example, more than four out of ten South Asians (42%) but only less than three out of 10 Chinese and Japanese (27%) who believed that they shared the same fate with their co-ethnics thought that they were very much affected by issues and events happening to other individuals in their own ethnic groups.

## VI. Political Orientations

Intimately linked to the question of whether or not Asian Americans constitute a coherent “panethnic” community are questions about the degree of political cohesiveness within a putatively pan-Asian American community.<sup>10</sup> Do Asian Americans share common political orientations? Some scholars have noted that Asian Americans are strategically situated to be “swing” voters in electoral politics; others speculate that the nativist, anti-immigrant, Sinophobic climate of recent racial politics in the United States is likely to push Asian Americans toward a more Democratic partisan profile; and yet others contend that Asian Americans are such a fledgling political community that questions about enduring partisan attachments must be built from the bottom-up, through the strengthening and mobilization of an indigenous organizational base.<sup>11</sup> PNAAPS is uniquely situated to begin parsing through some of these contentious claims about Asian American political orientations, as well as link them to current events such as the Wen Ho Lee affair and the 80-20 Initiative. We first examine this question in terms of political ideology, party identification, and candidate choice. Then, we look at their attitudes toward the U.S. political system.

**Political Ideology.** Do Asian Americans consider themselves to be liberal, middle of the road, or conservative? Overall, 8 percent classified themselves as very liberal, 28 percent as somewhat liberal, 32

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<sup>10</sup>Cain, Kiewiet, and Uhlaner (1989), Ong and Nakanishi (1996), Lien (1997), Lai (2000), Wong (2001).

<sup>11</sup> Cain, Kiewiet, and Uhlaner (1989), Nakanishi (1991), Lien (1997), Wu and Nicholson (1997), Lee (1998), Cho and Cain

percent as middle of the road, 18 percent as somewhat conservative, and 4 percent as very conservative. Ten percent were not sure where to place themselves. Chinese (42%), Vietnamese (47%), and Japanese (37%) were more likely to classify themselves as middle of the road. Filipinos (40%) and South Asians (61%) were more likely to identify themselves as very liberal or somewhat liberal than were the Chinese (30%), Koreans (33%), Vietnamese (22%), and Japanese (34%). Thirty-four percent of Filipinos placed themselves in one of the conservative categories, as did 31 percent of the Koreans and 24 percent of the Japanese. Only 17 percent of South Asians, 13 percent of the Chinese, and 9 percent of the Vietnamese considered themselves to be conservative.

**Party Identification.** Political party identification is traditionally the most reliable and important measure of one's political orientation. When asked about their party affiliations, 36 percent of our respondents identified as a Democrat, 14 percent as a Republican, and 13 percent as an Independent. Nevertheless, overall 20 percent did not think of themselves in partisan terms and 18 percent were either uncertain about their party identification or refused to give a response. To put it another way, half of Asian Americans in the survey did not identify with a major political party. Among independents, a higher percentage leaned toward the Democratic party (32%) than the Republican party (21%); again, close to half refused to think in partisan terms.

Group differences exist in patterns of party affiliation. Between the two major parties in the United States, Japanese (40 percent to 9 percent), Chinese (32 percent to 8 percent) and South Asians (44 percent to 13 percent) are most likely to affiliate with the Democratic Party over the Republican Party. Filipinos and Koreans favor the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by a two-to-one margin. Only Vietnamese identify with as Republicans more frequently than as Democrats (15 percent to 12 percent). The proportion of respondents identifying as Independents ranges from a high of 23 percent for South Asians and 20 percent for Japanese to a low of 3 percent for Chinese. More than half of our Vietnamese and Chinese respondents either did not think in terms of a party affiliation or were not sure with which party they would identify.

**Presidential Vote Choice.** We assess the direction of candidate choice with two questions. One, presidential vote choice among voters in the November 2000 election. In this historic election, 55 percent

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(2000), Nakanishi (2000), Watanabe (2000).

of Asian American voters reported casting a vote for Al Gore, 26 percent for George Bush, and 1 percent for Ralph Nader. Eighteen percent of respondents either refused to report their vote choice or were not sure. The percentage of voters favoring Gore ranged from as high as 64 percent among the Chinese to as low as 44 percent among Koreans. Nevertheless, Gore received a higher proportion of the presidential vote than Bush in every ethnic group. Vietnamese voters gave the highest percentage of support for Bush (35%), which was almost 20 percentage points below the group's support for Gore (54%). The unusual situation in Florida following the election may account for the 18% of respondents who either refused to report or were uncertain about the vote they cast for. Among respondents who reported their vote for president, two-thirds preferred Al Gore to George Bush. Support for Gore was highest among Japanese and Chinese Americans, who favored Gore to Bush by more than a three-to-one margin.

**Support for Asian American Candidate.** All the respondents, voters or not, were asked of this hypothetical question: 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? Sixty percent answered affirmatively; support was especially high among the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Korean respondents. These respondents were asked if they would vote for the Asian American even if he or she is less qualified, only a quarter answered affirmatively to this and support was particularly low among the Vietnamese. This suggests that, for Asian Americans, ethnicity may be an important factor but candidate quality may be an even more important consideration.

## VII. Attitudes Toward the U.S. Political System

The general attitudes of Asian Americans toward the U.S. political system can be studied by their expressed trust and self-efficacy as well as perceived government responsiveness, both before and after immigration. It is also assessed by their attitude toward the electoral system.

**Political Trust.** Since the mid-1960s, national surveys have found low levels of trust in government generally and in public officials among U.S. residents. The PNAAPS permits us to assess patterns of political trust among Asian Americans. When queried about the extent to which they trusted local government officials, 7 percent indicated that local government officials can be trusted just about always, 30 percent most of the time, 44 percent some of the time, and 8 percent indicated they cannot be trusted at all.

Levels of trust varied among Asian American groups, with Korean Americans (43%), Filipino Americans (41%) and South Asian Americans (41%) indicating local officials could be trusted just about always or most of the time and the members of other groups reporting lower levels of trust.

An interesting comparison is the extent to which Asian Americans born in Asia feel they can generally trust U.S. government officials compared to government officials in their country of origin. Asked if they could trust the U. S. government officials more, about the same, or less than in the home country, 55 percent said more, 26 percent indicated about the same, and only 6 percent indicated less than in the home country. Response patterns varied greatly by country of origin. The proportion of each group reporting they could trust U.S. officials more than officials in the home country ranged from 72 percent for Koreans and 67 percent for Vietnamese to 39 percent among Chinese and 29 percent among Japanese. Japanese immigrants were more likely than any other group to report that U.S. officials could either be trusted about the same as those in the home country (46%) or less than in the home country (15%).

**Government Responsiveness.** The study also measured perceptions of government officials' responsiveness to citizen complaints. Survey participants were asked if they took a complaint to a local public official, whether the local official would pay a lot of attention, some attention, very little attention, or no attention to that complaint. Nine percent thought the local officials would pay a lot of attention and 33 percent thought they would pay some attention. Perceptions of government responsiveness (paying a lot of attention or some attention) were highest among South Asian Americans (55%), Filipino Americans (54%), and Japanese Americans (43%). Less than one-third of Chinese Americans and Korean Americans expected that local government officials would pay either a lot or some attention to their complaint.

Respondents born in Asia were also asked if they felt they could generally influence decisions made by U.S. government officials more, about the same, or less than those made by government officials in their home country. Overall 39 percent believed they have more influence over decisions made by U.S. government officials, 24 percent about the same as they could influence government officials in their home country, and 17 percent less. Nineteen percent were not sure in which country they could have more influence over government officials' decisions. Again, the responses varied greatly by country of origin, with 59 percent of the Koreans, 56 percent of the Vietnamese, 44 percent of the Filipinos, 38 percent of the South Asians, 32 percent of the Japanese, but only 19 percent of the Chinese saying they would have more influence over decisions made by U. S. officials. A majority of Asian-born Chinese either believed they

would have less influence over decisions made in the United States or were not sure in which country they would have more influence.

**Attitudes Toward the Electoral System.** Do Asian Americans support change in the electoral system? The 2000 Florida election debacle gives us a unique opportunity to examine this question. We asked our respondents first about their familiarity with the process of electing the U.S. president. An overwhelming majority (79%) reported being either very or somewhat familiar with the process. South Asians scored the highest at 93 percent and the Vietnamese scored the lowest at 65 percent. Of these respondents, a large majority (65%) favored seeing a change in the system to award the presidency only to the candidate who received the highest number of votes. Groups differed little in this orientation.

### VIII. Public Policy Concerns

Another way to examine if Asian Americans can be considered as a cohesive political community is to ask if Asians in America speak with one voice or with multiple, cross-cutting, perhaps even contradictory tongues on political and policy issues. The PNAAPS includes several questions on community issue concerns and salient public policy debates that may shed light on this question. On public policy debates, the PNAAPS surveys Asian American opinion on language policy, immigration, affirmative action, and campaign contributions.

**Community Problems.** When asked about the most important problem facing the respective ethnic community, respondents in each group appeared to have a different list of priorities in mind. For Chinese, the top community issues include language barriers, racial and ethnic relations, and unemployment or inadequate job opportunities. For Koreans, many also shared the concern over language, but they were also concerned about the lack of cohesion inside the community and problems dealing with teenagers. Vietnamese respondents prioritized, gangs, drugs, employment, and housing opportunities. At least four out of ten Japanese (49%), South Asians (47%), and Filipinos (41%) did not see any problem facing their respective ethnic community. Furthermore, at least one out of five respondents in these ethnic groups were unsure if there was a problem. When a problem was reported, the most frequent mentioned among the Japanese was discrimination; for Filipinos, language barrier and breaking down of family structure; for South Asians, unemployment or job opportunities.

**Experiences of Hate Crimes and Discrimination.** Although our English-speaking respondents of Japanese, Filipino, and South Asian descent were much less likely to identify community problems, they were not less likely to report being a victim of hate crimes. Between 15 to 19 percent of respondents in these three communities had been verbally or physically abused or had properties damaged due to racial- and ethnic-based discrimination. By contrast, only 9 percent of Vietnamese reported being a victim of a hate crime. Neither were the three ethnic groups less likely to report ever being personally discriminated in the U.S. An average of 4 out of 10 respondents in every ethnic community had experienced discrimination; the figure for the Vietnamese is significantly lower at 13 percent.

When asked to identify the source of their experience with discrimination 92 percent of respondents singled out their ethnic background. Close to half (48%) mentioned their accent or perceived accent, ranging from 60 percent of Chinese and only 20 percent Japanese respondents. Roughly one out of five respondents also identified gender as a basis for discrimination; that percentage is higher among South Asian, Filipino, and Vietnamese respondents. When inquired about the context in which the discrimination took place, the most frequently mentioned context for all Asians is when dealing with strangers in a public place, followed by dealing with a business or retail establishment, and by getting jobs or promotion. However, there is some variation across ethnic groups. For example, more Vietnamese mentioned being discriminated while getting jobs or promotion and in dealing with neighbors than in other categories. About the same number of Filipinos mentioned being discriminated in business transactions as by strangers in a public place.

**Language Policy.** An overwhelming proportion (73%) of Asians in America supported government provision of social services and public information to immigrant communities in English as well as in the immigrants' native language. Fifty-four percent believed this strongly. Japanese and South Asians were least likely to support bi-lingual materials, but even here, more than two-thirds were supportive. Close to 90 percent of Vietnamese supported such bi-lingual materials, with Koreans (78%), Filipinos (78%), and Chinese (71%) in between. An average of 6 percent Asians did not have an opinion on this, but Japanese had the highest rate of no opinion at 11 percent.

**Legal Immigration Quota.** A plurality of Asian Americans (45%) supported a quota on legal immigration to the United States, with a strong minority who either opposed such limits (25%) or held no preference on the matter (18%) and another 12 percent who did not have an opinion on this issue. There is

a great deal of overlap across ethnic groups on this question, with the exception of Korean Americans: a plurality of Koreans (37%) opposed limits on immigration, with only one in four favoring it.

**Campaign Contributions for Permanent Residents.** In the realm of electoral politics and campaign finance reform, respondents were asked whether or not legal permanent residents (non-U.S. citizens) should be allowed to make monetary contributions to political campaigns. About half of the all respondents (49%) supported and only one out of five respondents (21%) opposed such a participatory role for permanent residents. This support is fairly consistent across ethnic groups, with 62 percent of Indians at the high end and 41 percent of Vietnamese at the low end of support. Twenty-six percent of Vietnamese, however, did not express an opinion on this issue—a higher figure than the Asian average of 17 percent.

**Affirmative Action.** Respondents were asked three questions about affirmative action policy: one's general views on affirmative action, support for targeted job training and educational assistance programs, and support for race-based hiring and promotion. In the most general formulation, Asian Americans were overwhelmingly supportive of affirmative action. Of respondents who held an opinion on affirmative action, 72 percent believe it is a “good thing” while only 7 percent believe it is a “bad thing” and 22 percent who believe that affirmative action does not affect Asian Americans. Comparing across groups, Vietnamese (95%), Koreans (81%), and Chinese (79%) were most supportive of affirmative action, with Filipinos (68%), Indians (60%), and Japanese (52%) less supportive.

One of the most consistent findings in public opinion on affirmative action is that support varies wildly depending on how the question is framed. Asians are not different in this regard. Support for special programs in job training and educational assistance mirrors general support for affirmative action: 62 percent of all respondents favored it, 14 percent opposed it, and 18 percent neither favored nor opposed it. Vietnamese (86%) were much more favorable toward such programs than other groups (where levels ranged from 40% to 68%). Support for race-based preferences in employment decision, however, is drastically lower: only 37 percent of all respondents supported such “special preferences,” while 32 percent opposed them and 22 percent neither favored nor opposed. Here again, Vietnamese (74% supported) preferences are starkly distinct from other Asian groups. Japanese (19%) and Chinese (27%) are least supportive of such targeted affirmative action, while Koreans (44%), Filipinos (38%), and Indians (36%) are more moderate on this question.

## IX. Summary and Implications

The PNAAPS provides unprecedented opportunities to help settle some of the most controversial debates in political behavior about Asian American and other ethnic American communities. This preliminary report only scratches the surface by presenting some of the descriptive findings. One critical issue area is the perennial debate between assimilation and ethnicity among immigrant Americans. Our survey provides convincing evidence that, for Asian Americans, the two are not in conflict with each other. We await further analysis to see if the two are independent of or in correlation with each other—for Asian Americans as a panethnic group and for each of its major subgroups. The other critical issue is the existence of panethnicity among Asian Americans. Although there is no one clear answer, our report suggests support for the idea of panethnicity being situationally shaped and socially and politically constructed. Importantly, despite our many differences, there are clear signs of the possibility of building cross-ethnic alliances.

On a related matter, it has been a spectator's sport to comment on the presence of the ethnic bloc vote among Asian Americans. The findings, both on the majority Democratic orientation among Asian Americans and the simultaneous ambivalence toward partisan attachments, should send both encouragement and precaution. Furthermore, our findings provide a resounding NO to the "alien" or "perpetual foreigner" question. Asian Americans are very interested in political matters. They are becoming adapted to the U.S. political system and are concerned about the process and influence of the American political process. Last but not least, we urge caution in interpreting results. Because of the small sample size in some of the subgroups, the apparent percentage points differences may not be statistically significant. To better address the critical issues sketched above, we need substantial research support to increase the sample size and to expand the racial group coverage beyond Asian Americans. In addition, we advocate the collection of complementary qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews and focus group research.

**Table 1: Sampling Information for the Pilot Study of National Asian American Political Survey**

	<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>New York</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>San Francisco</b>	<b>Chicago</b>
Total Asian/Pacific Islander households in Metropolitan Statistical Area (1999 estimates) <sup>a</sup>	354,522	234,766	162,591	131,346	101,077
% Asian/Pacific Islander households in Metropolitan Statistical Area (1999 estimates) <sup>a</sup>	11.1	7.2	56.8	18.8	3.5
% of total Asian/Pacific Islander households in the U.S. (1999 estimates) <sup>a</sup>	13.2	8.8	6.1	4.9	3.8
% of Asian alone or mixed race Asian population in Metropolitan Statistical Area (2000) <sup>c</sup>	13.1	10.1	61.6	24.5	5.1
% Asian ethnic make-up in Metropolitan Statistical Area, 1990 <sup>b</sup> (2000) <sup>d</sup>					
Chinese	26.7 (29.0)	45.1(44.0)	15.2 (13.2)	52.8 (52.3)	17.2 (17.8)
Filipino	24.0 (22.4)	9.3 (7.6)	28.6 (30.8)	27.1 (25.6)	25.3 (21.3)
Japanese	14.2 (9.8)	5.0 (3.5)	47.8 (40.0)	7.5 (5.8)	7.6 (4.6)
Indian	4.5 (5.3)	18.0 (22.6)	<1.0 (0.3)	3.3 (4.4)	22.7 (30.0)
Korean	15.5 (16.4)	13.8 (11.0)	5.4 (5.4)	3.7 (3.4)	14.5 (11.9)
Vietnamese	6.6 (6.9)	1.7 (1.4)	1.3 (1.8)	<1.0 (2.6)	2.9 (4.2)
% of completed interviews in the PNAAPS					
Chinese	22.3	41.2	6.7	47.0	11.0
Filipino	21.6	7.8	28.7	25.5	26.2
Japanese	15.3	3.9	49.2	7.0	8.9
Korean	18.0	18.1	6.7	4.5	16.8
South Asian	8.4	20.1	-	5.0	27.2
Vietnamese	14.4	8.7	8.7	11.0	9.9
Total N	417	204	195	200	202

Source: <sup>a</sup> Population Detail Report provided by Survey Sampling, Inc. using Claritas, Inc, 2000 databank; <sup>b</sup> 1990 U.S. Census tape STF1A; <sup>c</sup> 2000 U.S. Census Table DP-1, figures are for Asian alone or combined race; <sup>d</sup> 2000 U.S. Census Table DP-1, figures are for Asians reporting only of one race.

**Table 2: Comparing Distribution of Demographic Characteristics Across Major Asian American Groups Between the 1990 Census and the PNAAPS**

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>
N(x1000)	1,649	1,419	866	797	787	593
Median Age	32 (44)	31 (36)	37 (49)	29 (44)	29 (33)	26 (43)
% Female	50 (54)	54 (48)	54 (56)	56 (56)	46 (41)	47 (36)
% Citizen	61 (61)	70 (79)	76 (86)	57 (55)	50 (50)	54 (66)
% Foreign-born	69 (91)	64 (68)	32 (21)	73 (94)	75 (86)	80 (98)
% Education (among persons 25 years old and over)						
<9th Grade	17 (9)	10 (1)	6 (1)	10 (6)	7 (1)	20 (7)
9th-12th Grade	10 (6)	7 (2)	7 (5)	10 (2)	8 (1)	19 (15)
High School Grad.	15 (20)	16 (16)	26 (16)	25 (18)	12 (6)	18 (33)
Some College	18 (13)	27 (28)	27 (27)	21 (10)	15 (18)	26 (11)
<sup>3</sup> Bachelor's Deg.	41 (50)	39 (45)	35 (44)	35 (59)	58 (69)	17 (33)
% Earned Family Income, 1997*						
<\$20k	21(20)	12(10)	21(7)	18(20)	13(14)	22(34)
\$30k-39,999	9(15)	16(15)	15(18)	20(16)	7(11)	9(25)
\$40k-59,000	17(12)	25(33)	16(29)	10(17)	23(27)	28(14)
>60k	37(28)	35(31)	33(35)	34(31)	50(39)	30(19)

*Source:* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (1993). *1990 Census of Population, Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States*, Tables 1, 3-5.

*Note:* Entries in parenthesis are those of the adult respondents of the PNAAPS, 2000-01.

\*Reported by adults of the first two immigration generations in the *Current Population Survey: Voter Supplement File, 1998* [Computer file]. ICPSR version. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 1998.

## Section IV Tables: Attachments and Adaptation

### Following News

9. How closely have you followed news stories and other information about what happened in Asia such as a story from Japan, Korea, China, India, Vietnam, and the Phillippines—very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Very Closely	20	27	10	9	22	22	18
Fairly Closely	48	53	31	29	28	33	38
Not Too Closely	26	20	42	49	35	33	34
Not At All	3	1	16	14	14	11	9
Not Sure	3	-	2	-	2	1	1

### Maintaining Contact

29. How much contact either by phone or by mail or in person do you have with people in [R'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN] during the past 12 months? Is it at least once a week, 2 or 3 times a month, once a month, once several months, once a year, or none?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Once a Week or More	22	22	25	24	20	44	25
2 or 3 times a Month	20	22	16	7	22	16	19
Once a Month	19	18	7	22	18	16	17
Once a Year or Less	9	8	8	2	12	9	9
None	12	10	24	32	14	7	14

### Language Usage

47. What language do you usually speak, when at home with family?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
English	4	10	2	79	39	21	26
Something Else	82	72	79	8	15	30	48
Mixed between English and Other	13	17	20	11	42	48	24
Not Sure	-	1	-	1	2	-	1
Refused	1	-	-	1	3	1	1

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

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
English	33	71	59	91	92	94	71
Something Else	35	16	12	2	2	1	13
Mixed between English and Other	29	11	22	2	2	2	12
Not Sure	3	2	7	2	2	1	2
Refused	1	-	1	2	3	1	1

## Social Network

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38. Thinking for a moment of blacks, whites, Latinos and other Asians, do you yourself know any person who belongs to these groups whom you consider a close personal friend or not? [IF YES] What ethnic groups do they belong to? Any others? Any other group? [CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
No Close Friend	22	31	12	25	22	26	23
Yes, White	33	29	6	39	35	38	31
Yes, Black	17	20	6	44	33	42	27
Yes, Latino	18	29	6	38	34	32	26
Yes, Other Asian	56	45	23	47	44	45	46
Other	1	5	38	3	4	4	7
Not Sure	7	1	15	4	2	2	5
Refused	1	1	2	1	2	1	1

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## Intermarriage

39. How would you feel if someone in your family married a person of a different ethnic background than yours? Would you strongly approve, approve, neither approve nor disapprove, disapprove, or strongly disapprove? [TREAT "DOESN'T MATTER" AS "NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE"]

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Strongly Approve	5	5	15	21	20	14	13
Approve	24	26	58	53	52	41	41
Neither Approve/Disap.	46	43	15	15	18	26	29
Disapprove	11	17	7	2	4	11	8
Strongly Disapprove	4	7	-	2	1	6	3
Not Sure	8	2	6	6	3	2	5
Refused	1	1	-	2	3	1	2

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## Residential Integration

40. 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?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Mostly White	32	31	16	20	19	28	25
Mostly Black	2	1	2	3	2	3	2
Mostly Latino	4	9	4	2	7	4	5
Mostly Asian	37	16	14	16	16	8	20
Pretty Evenly Mixed	21	41	64	56	52	56	45
Not Sure/Refused	2	2	-	3	3	1	2

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## Expected Citizenship

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11c. Are you planning to apply for U.S. citizenship or to become a U.S. citizen?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
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Yes	63	78	91	31	83	73	72
No	31	17	4	46	9	20	21
Not Sure	6	4	4	23	7	7	7

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### Voting

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11. *Thinking about the November 2000 presidential election when Al Gore ran against George Bush, did you vote in the election?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Yes	41	34	40	63	47	36	44
No	59	66	61	36	52	63	55
Not Sure/Refused	-	-	-	1	1	1	1

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### Non-Voting

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11b. *For what reason were you not able to vote? Were you not a citizen, citizen but not registered to vote, or something else?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Not a Citizen	64	68	55	36	39	80	58
Citizen, not registered	23	11	39	29	32	16	25
Don't like Candidates	1	1	-	1	2	-	1
Busy Working/School	1	3	2	3	6	2	3
Don't believe in Electoral College	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
Sick/Illness in Family	1	2	1	3	1	-	1
Not Interested in Politics/Elections	-	2	-	14	8	-	3
Out of Country	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Didn't Receive Absentee Ballot	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Other	1	3	-	7	2	-	2
Not Sure	7	4	2	4	6	1	5
Refused	1	6	-	3	1	-	2

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### Political Interest

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10. *How interested are you in politics and what's going on in government in general? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, only slightly interested, or not at all interested in politics and what goes on in government?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Very Interested	18	28	21	21	24	38	24
Somewhat Interested	46	43	31	38	29	34	37
Slightly Interested	24	24	27	25	26	16	24
Not At All Interested	10	4	18	16	20	11	13
Not Sure	2	1	3	1	1	-	1

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### Participation beyond voting

13. During the past 4 years, have you participated in any of the following types of political activity in your community? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS) [Yes responses shown]

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
a. Written or phoned a government official	6	4	7	15	17	17	11
b. Contacted an editor of a newspaper, magazine, or tv station	4	7	6	5	9	14	7
c. Donated money to a political campaign	8	7	12	20	12	12	12
d. Attended a public meeting, political rally or fundraiser	7	8	14	22	19	20	14
e. Worked with others in your community to solve a problem	16	11	12	27	23	36	21
f. Signed a petition for a political cause	10	23	7	24	17	16	16
g. Served on any governmental board or commission	2	2	4	1	2	2	2
h. Taken part in a protest or demonstration	5	7	14	7	7	9	7
i. Worked for a Political Campaign	-	1	-	3	-	1	-
j. Other	1	2	-	1	2	1	2

#### IV. Ethnic and Panethnic Identity

##### Ethnic Self-identity

45. 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]?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
American	1	3	1	41	14	14	12
Asian American	12	15	13	15	16	23	15
Asian	4	5	7	2	4	3	4
(R's Ethnic Group) American	34	33	34	26	40	33	34
(R's Ethnic Group)	42	41	42	12	21	18	30
Not Sure	4	1	3	2	2	7	3
Refused	1	2	1	2	3	2	2

##### Panethnic Self-identity

46. (Asked of those who did not self-identify as an "Asian American" in Q45) Have you ever thought of yourself as an Asian American?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Yes	43	41	56	50	59	48	49
No	41	56	34	46	32	43	41
Not Sure	9	2	8	1	4	5	5
Refused	7	1	2	3	4	3	4

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### Perceived Common Culture

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1. *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 very similar, somewhat similar, somewhat different, or very different?*

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>S. Asian</b>	<b>All</b>
Very similar	9	9	12	7	8	8	9
Somewhat similar	45	29	45	39	46	37	41
Somewhat different	29	36	35	26	24	29	29
Very different	11	23	3	17	19	24	16
Not Sure	6	3	4	11	3	1	5

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### Panethnic Shared Fate

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2. *Do you think what happens generally to other groups of Asians in this country will affect what happens in your life?* [PROBE, IF ANSWER "IT DEPENDS"]

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>S. Asian</b>	<b>All</b>
Yes	44	61	36	44	54	53	49
No	47	33	58	43	37	37	43
Not Sure	8	5	7	12	9	10	9

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2a. [IF YES IN Q2] *Will it affect it a lot, some, or not very much?*

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>S. Asian</b>	<b>All</b>
A lot	18	23	29	16	22	32	22
Some	63	72	29	62	47	51	56
Not Very Much	17	4	33	21	24	15	18
Not Sure	3	1	10	1	6	3	4

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### Ethnic Shared Fate

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3. *What about the [R's ETHNIC GROUP] people in America, do you think what happens generally to [R's ETHNIC GROUP] Americans will affect what happens in your life?* [PROBE, IF ANSWER "IT DEPENDS"]

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>S. Asian</b>	<b>All</b>
Yes	54	76	38	54	50	57	55
No	36	22	55	38	40	37	37
Not Sure	10	2	7	8	9	6	8

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3a. [IF YES IN Q3] *Will it affect it a lot, some or not very much?*

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>S. Asian</b>	<b>All</b>
A lot	27	30	36	27	31	42	31
Some	57	65	36	56	50	45	54
Not Very Much	11	4	17	14	17	6	11
Not Sure	5	2	10	3	2	6	4

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## VI. Political Orientations

### Political Ideology

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

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Very Liberal	4	4	12	9	8	18	8
Somewhat Liberal	26	29	10	25	32	43	28
Middle of the Road	42	28	47	37	18	16	32
Somewhat Conservative	11	27	5	20	29	14	18
Very Conservative	2	4	4	4	5	3	4
Not Sure	15	8	21	4	6	6	10

### Party Identification

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

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
No, do not think in these terms	33	8	31	18	13	6	20
Republican	8	21	15	9	20	13	14
Democrat	32	43	12	40	40	44	36
Independent	3	12	15	20	14	23	13
Not Sure	23	15	27	11	10	10	16
Refused	1	1	1	4	3	4	2

22b [IF INDEPENDENT IN Q22] *Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Republican	25	10	10	15	24	36	21
Democrat	50	25	5	46	42	21	32
No, do not think in these terms	25	40	55	28	18	24	30
Not Sure	-	25	30	10	16	18	17

### Presidential Vote Choice

11a. *Which candidate did you vote for?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Al Gore	64	44	54	56	54	49	55
George Bush	21	32	35	18	30	31	26
Ralph Nader	1	-	-	2	2	2	1
Other	-	-	-	-	2	-	-

Not Sure	3	2	4	6	4	-	4
Refused	11	23	7	18	9	18	14

### Support for Asian American Candidate

15. 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?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Yes	71	66	75	42	57	44	60
No	7	24	10	34	27	34	22
Not Sure	22	10	15	23	15	22	18

### Attitudes toward the U.S. Political System

#### Political Trust

18. Next, I have a few questions concerning your view of U.S. government officials: How much of the time do you think you can trust your local and state government officials to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or none at all?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Just About Always	2	10	15	4	9	4	7
Most of the Time	28	33	23	28	32	39	30
Some of the Time	35	44	45	54	45	48	44
None at all	10	5	6	8	8	5	8
Not Sure	25	8	11	6	6	5	11

27. Do you feel you can generally trust US government officials more, about the same, or less than government officials in your home country?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
More	39	72	67	29	58	60	55
About the Same	33	18	13	46	22	30	26
less	7	2	2	15	11	6	6
Not Sure	21	7	18	10	7	5	13
Refused	-	-	-	-	2	-	-

#### Government Responsiveness

9. If you had some complaint about a government activity and you took that complaint to a local public official, do you think that he or she would pay a lot of attention to what you say, some attention, very little attention, or none at all?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
A lot	6	6	12	7	14	10	9
Some	25	25	23	39	40	45	33
Very Little	20	42	34	30	25	23	27
None at all	18	21	8	13	14	10	14

Not Sure	31	5	23	12	7	13	16
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28. Do you feel you can generally influence decisions made by US government officials more, about the same, or less than those made by government officials in your home country?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
More	19	59	56	32	44	38	39
About the Same	24	18	13	46	25	33	24
Less	25	12	4	20	19	18	17
Not Sure	32	11	25	2	12	11	19
Refused	1	-	2	-	-	-	1

### Attitudes Toward the Electoral System

12a. How familiar are you with the current process of electing the U.S. president? Are you very familiar, somewhat familiar, or not familiar at all?

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Very Familiar	17	17	23	27	30	45	25
Somewhat Familiar	56	59	42	61	53	48	54
Not Familiar	26	24	19	11	16	6	18
Not Sure	2	1	16	1	1	1	3

## VII. Public Policy Concerns

### Community Problems

4. What's the most important problem facing [R's ETHNIC GROUP] people in the United States today? Is there another problem which is almost as important? (ACCEPT UP TO TWO REPLIES) [PROBE IF THE RESPONDENT REPLIES "DISCRIMINATION"] "Can you please be more specific?"

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
There are no Problems	16	2	9	49	41	47	28
Crime/Street Violence	1	2	13	1	2	-	3
Gangs/Graffiti	2	2	23	2	2	1	4
Problem Teenagers/ Young People	2	12	10	2	2	1	4
Drugs	2	5	23	1	-	-	4
Police Brutality/ Lack of Police Protection	1	-	2	1	-	1	1
Recession/State of the Economy	6	4	2	-	1	-	2
Unemployment/Inadeq. Job Opportunities	16	4	20	3	9	12	11
Taxes	-	-	6	1	2	1	1
High Cost of Living	5	1	12	-	2	1	3
Homelessness/ Poverty	1	-	2	-	-	1	1
Affordable Housing	5	-	18	1	2	-	4
Poor School/ Inadeq. Education	2	2	12	1	3	6	3

Cutbacks in Public Services/ Govt Social Programs	1	2	2	1	-	1	1
Govt Insensitivity/ No Political Representation	12	8	-	2	6	6	6
Inadequate Public Transportation/ Too Much Traffic/Congestion	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
Health Care/ Affordable Health Care	2	1	12	-	1	1	3
Environment/Air and Water Pollution/Smog	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Too Many Immigrants Community Overcrowded	1	-	-	1	2	6	2
Moral Decline	2	4	4	2	9	3	4
Family Structure Breaking Down	1	1	1	2	12	4	4
Losing Culture	7	-	5	8	11	9	7
Lack of Community Spirit/Too Much Infighting	8	14	1	1	2	4	5
Too Many Fractions among Asian Groups	3	2	-	2	3	4	3
Race/Ethnic Relations	27	13	2	9	4	11	12
Don't Speak English Well/Lack of Acculturation	46	36	2	5	13	11	22
Discrimination	3	8	-	10	6	4	5
Immigration Services	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Stereotyping	-	-	-	2	-	1	1
Others	-	-	1	5	1	1	1
Not Sure	17	26	5	35	21	18	21
Refused	3	27	3	1	-	2	5

### Experiences of Hate Crimes and Discrimination

41. *Have you ever been the victim of a 'hate crime,' that is, have you had someone verbally or physically abuse you, or damage your property, specifically because you belong to a certain race or ethnic group?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Yes	14	17	9	19	15	17	15
No	84	82	90	78	82	82	83
Not Sure/Refused	1	1	1	3	3	2	2

42a [IF YES IN Q42] *In your opinion, was it because of your...* [yes responses shown]

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Ethnic Background	92	94	83	92	93	91	92
Gender	18	13	28	18	28	30	21
Accent, regardless of whether you have it or not	60	55	39	20	49	52	48

Other	2	17	6	18	18	26	14
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43.[IF YES IN Q42] *In which of these ways, if any, have you experienced discrimination in...*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
a. Getting jobs or promotion	55	13	56	28	43	54	40
b. Getting Education	18	11	39	14	10	22	16
c. Getting Housing	19	13	39	15	13	15	16
d. Dealing with a government agency	32	25	28	9	15	28	22
e. Dealing with a business or retail establishment	40	42	28	40	52	46	43
f. Dealing with your neighbors	24	38	50	14	17	33	25
g. Dealing with strangers in a public place	58	59	33	54	51	63	56
Other	1	8	6	11	19	6	9
Don't Know	17	6	22	10	8	7	11
Refused	-	-	6	-	2	-	1

### Language Policy

32. *Government should provide public information and services important to the immigrant community in English as well as in the immigrants' native languages.*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
No Opinion	8	4	4	11	4	4	6
Strongly Disagree	5	1	3	8	4	11	5
2	2	1	-	4	3	4	2
3	3	2	1	7	2	4	3
Neither Agree/Disagree	12	14	6	10	8	12	10
5	10	7	7	20	14	14	12
6	8	5	8	8	4	7	7
Strongly Agree	53	66	72	32	60	45	54

### Legal Immigration Quota

33. *Congress should pass laws limiting the number of legal immigrants admitted each year into this country.*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
No Opinion	13	10	17	13	11	7	12
Strongly Disagree	11	26	15	8	18	22	16
2	4	6	7	4	3	3	4
3	2	5	4	9	4	8	5

Neither Agree/Disagree	20	28	18	16	15	12	18
5	11	6	11	17	14	16	12
6	5	2	4	7	6	11	6
Strongly Agree	33	17	26	26	29	22	27

### Campaign Contribution for Permanent Residents

34. *Non-U.S. citizens who are legal permanent residents should be permitted to make donations to political campaigns.*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
No Opinion	18	15	26	13	17	11	17
Strongly Disagree	8	8	12	13	20	11	12
2	2	2	3	10	4	2	4
3	4	3	4	8	3	6	5
Neither Agree/Disagree	15	24	14	12	9	8	14
5	14	13	4	18	14	14	13
6	5	5	9	6	8	15	8
Strongly Agree	34	30	28	21	24	33	28

### Affirmative Action

35. *Affirmative action refers to any measure, policy or law used to increase diversity or rectify discrimination so that qualified individuals have equal access to employment, education, business, and contracting opportunities. Generally speaking, do you think affirmative action is a good thing or a bad thing for Asian Americans, or doesn't it affect Asian Americans much?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
A Good Thing	67	74	86	44	59	52	63
A Bad Thing	3	6	2	8	7	9	6
Doesn't affect Asian American Much	15	11	4	31	22	27	19
Not Sure	15	8	7	14	10	11	11
Refused	-	1	2	2	3	1	1

36. *Some people feel that because of past disadvantages there are some groups in society that should receive special job training and educational assistance. Others say that is unfair. What about you? Do you strongly favor, favor, neither favor nor oppose, oppose, or strongly oppose special job training and educational assistance for Asian Americans?*

	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese	Filipino	S. Asian	All
Strongly Favor	25	19	65	12	22	23	26
Favor	35	40	21	28	46	40	36
Neither Favor/Oppose	22	23	5	26	10	17	18
Oppose	8	10	2	21	12	11	11
Strongly Oppose	1	3	-	4	3	5	3
Not Sure	8	5	7	6	4	3	6

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Refused	1	1	-	2	2	1	1
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37. *Some people feel that because of past disadvantages, there are some groups in society that should be given preferences in hiring and promotion. Others say that is unfair. What about you? Do you strongly favor, favor, neither favor nor oppose, oppose, or strongly oppose special preferences in hiring and promotion to Asian Americans?*

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Japanese</b>	<b>Filipino</b>	<b>S. Asian</b>	<b>All</b>
Strongly Favor	8	12	55	4	12	11	15
Favor	19	32	19	15	26	25	22
Neither Favor/Oppose	31	29	12	21	13	19	22
Oppose	22	14	2	35	30	26	23
Strongly Oppose	6	5	2	13	12	13	9
Not Sure	13	5	10	10	5	5	8
Refused	1	2	1	2	2	1	1

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