

Impact of Pan-Ethnic Identity Appeals on Asian American and Latino Political Behavior

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is to my parents: Chang Young and Sun I Chong

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Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	xvii
List of Figures	xix
List of Appendices	xxii
Abstract	xxiii
Chapter 1 A Landscape of Identity Appeals in Contemporary American Politics	1
Introduction	1
Theoretical and Empirical Problem	4
Literature Review	7
A Theory of Identifying with Racial Group Identity	12
Becoming Racialized through Lived Experiences	14
Summary	21
A Look Ahead: Overview of the Chapters	22
Chapter 2 A Survey Examination of Asian American and Latino Pan-ethnic and National Origin Identities on Political Behavior	24
Introduction	24
Summary of the Theory	25
Survey Evidence: Identity Distribution among Asian Americans and Latinos	26
Political Consequences of Identity	39
Conclusion	46
Limitations	47

Next Steps	48
Chapter 3 An Experimental Study of Identity Appeals on Candidate Vote Choice	49
Introduction	49
Summary of the Theory and Hypotheses	50
Methods and Procedures	53
Condensing the Data and Manipulation Check Question	60
Results: Average Treatment Effects	62
The Effect of Acculturation and Identity Appeal on Vote Choice	65
Identity Strength, Discrimination, and College Education in the U.S. on Vote Choice	69
Qualitative Evidence of Rejecting the Pan-ethnic Identity: a Case Study of Asian Americans	70
Conclusion	72
Chapter 4 Identity Appeals and their Consequences for Civic Engagement	74
Introduction	74
A Landscape of Identity Appeals in Non-Electoral Context	75
The Role of Organizations on the Civic Life and Political Engagement of Immigrants	78
Summary of the Theory and Hypotheses	79
Methods and Procedures	81
Results: Average Treatment Effects	86
Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status	92
Other Heterogeneous Effects: Identity Strength on Willingness to Volunteer	96
Perception of Discrimination toward the National Origin and Pan-ethnic Group	97
Conclusion	102
Chapter 5 Understanding the Limits of Pan-ethnicity on Political Behavior	105
Introduction	105
Theory	106
Summary of Findings	107
Conclusion	110
Limitations	110
Unanswered Questions and Directions for Future Research	114
Implications of Identity Appeals for American Politics in the Age of Immigration	120
Bibliography	195

List of Tables

Table 2.2 Distribution of Demographic Factors by Self-identification (Asians)	29
Table 2.2 Distribution of Demographic Factors by Self identification (Latinos)	31
Table 2.3 Predicting Preference for Pan-ethnic Identity (Latinos)	33
Table 2.4 Predicting Preference for Pan-ethnic Identity (Asians)	36
Table 2.5 Probability of Voting for a National Origin Candidate (Asian)	41
Table 2.6 Probability of Voting for a Pan-ethnic Candidate (Latino)	45
Table 3.1 Experimental Design using the Latino Victory Project 2017	56
Table 3.2 Experimental Design using the Asian American Candidate Experiment 2018	59
Table 4.1 Experimental Conditions	85
Table 4.2 Expectation on Participant’s Willingness to Volunteer with <i>One America</i>	87
Table 4.3 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions	88
Table 4.4 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status	91
Table 4.5 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Years in the U.S. (Foreign-born Asian Respondents)	94
Table 4.6 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Strength of Identity (National Origin)	97
Table 4.7 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (East Asian)	99
Table 4.8 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (Latinos)	100

Table 4.9 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (Mexican)	101
Table B.1.1 Predicting Preferences for Pan-ethnic identity among Latinos (Table 2.3)	162
Table B.1.2 Predicting Preference for Pan-ethnic identity among Asians (Table 2.5)	163
Table B.1.3 Predicting Preference for National Origin Candidate among Asians (Table 2.4)	164
Table B.1.4 Probability of Voting for a Pan-ethnic "Latino" Candidate (Table 2.6)	165
Table B.2.1 Main Treatment Effect on Vote Choice (Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4)	166
Table B.3.1 Willingness to Volunteer by Treatment and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (East Asians Table 4.7)	167
Table B.3.2 Willingness to Volunteer by Treatment and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (Latinos Table 4.8)	168
Table B.3.3 Willingness to Volunteer by Treatment and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (Mexicans Table 4.9)	169
Table C.1 Results for Spanish Language and Vote Choice	173
Table C.2.1 Willingness to Volunteer for One America by Experiment Conditions (Mexicans)	176
Table C.2.2 Willingness to Volunteer for One America by Experiment Conditions (East Asians)	177

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Distribution of Self-identification among Asian Americans.....	27
Figure 2.2 Distribution of Self-identification among Latinos	28
Figure 2.3 Probability of Preferring the Pan-ethnic Identity by Nativity Status (Latinos).....	34
Figure 2.4 Probability of Preferring the Pan-ethnic Identity by Language (Latinos).....	35
Figure 2.5 Probability of Preferring the Pan-ethnic Identity by Place of Education (Foreign-born Asian Respondents)	37
Figure 2.6 Probability of Preferring the National Origin Candidate by Self-identification (Asians)	42
Figure 2.7 Probability of Preferring the National Origin Candidate by Discrimination Index (Foreign-born Asian Respondents).....	43
Figure 2.8 Probability of Preferring the National Origin Candidate by Self-identification (Foreign-born Asian Respondents).....	44
Figure 3.1 Vote Choice across each Experimental Condition (Latinos)	61
Figure 3.2 Vote Choice across each Experimental Condition (Asians).....	62
Figure 3.3 Predicted Probability on Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions (Latinos)	63
Figure 3.4 Probability of Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions (Asians)	64
Figure 3.5 Probability of Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Latino)	66

Figure 3.6 Probability of Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Asians)	67
Figure 4.1 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions (Latinos)	89
Figure 4.2 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions (Asians)	90
Figure 4.3 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Latinos)	92
Figure 4.4 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Asians)	93
Figure C.1 Strength of Pan-ethnic Identification by Experimental vs. National Samples	170
Figure C.2 Strength of National Identification by Experimental vs. National Samples	171
Figure C.3 Treatment Conditional upon "Latino" Pan-ethnic Identity Strength on Vote Preference	172
Figure C.4 Treatment Conditional upon National Origin Identity Strength on Vote Preference	172
Figure C.5 Treatment Conditional upon Asian National Origin Identity Strength on Vote Preference	173
Figure C.6 Treatment Conditional upon Asian Pan-ethnic Identity Strength on Vote Preference	174
Figure C.7 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions by Spanish Language on Vote Choice (Latinos)	175
Figure C.2.1 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions on Vote Choice (Mexicans)	176

Figure C.2.3 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions on Vote Choice (East Asians)

.....178

List of Appendices

Appendix A Full Wording of Survey Questions	123
Appendix B Complete Version of In-text Tables	162
Appendix C Additional Analysis	170
Appendix D Experiment Conditions	179
Appendix E Identity Appeals through Candidates' Personal Websites	194

Abstract

Political scientists have long documented the ways in which racial group identities matter for the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities. Yet when it comes to national origin identities, with some exceptions (Lien 2010; Wals 2011), none have compared the relative effectiveness of pan-ethnic and national origin identities on political behavior. I argue, however, that national origin identities should influence Asian American and Latino political behavior given that a large proportion of the members of these populations prefer their national origin identities (Fraga et al. 2011; Wong et al. 2011). In particular, I consider lived experiences as factors that inform who identifies and responds to pan-ethnic and national origin political appeals. These include nativity status, length of years in the U.S., and dominant language usage. Using two national political surveys of Latinos and Asian Americans and four original survey experiments conducted among national samples of Asian Americans and Latinos, I provide evidence that relative to pan-ethnic appeal, national origin appeals do influence candidate vote choice, and willingness to volunteer at an organization. In particular, national origin appeal is significantly more meaningful for foreign-born individuals. Lastly, I find that U.S.-born Latinos respond favorably to the pan-ethnic identity appeals whereas U.S.-born Asian Americans either reject such appeals or are indifferent to them. The findings of this research suggest that pan-ethnic appeals when used in political campaigns and interest group outreach are not as effective as previous scholars have found.

Chapter 1

A Landscape of Identity Appeals in Contemporary American Politics

Introduction

Asian Americans and Latinos are the fastest growing racial groups in the American electorate. According to a 2015 Pew report, Asian Americans will increase from 6% to 14% and Latinos will increase from 18% to 24% of the American population by 2065.¹ CNN's exit polls from the 2004 to 2016 presidential elections show that there has been a 27% growth in the Latino voting population and about a 50% growth in the Asian American voting population.² While Asian Americans and Latinos are the fastest growing proportion of the American electorate, we know little about the factors that motivate their political engagement and preferences, nor do we understand how elites may successfully appeal to these voters.

To what extent are pan-ethnic appeals effective at activating political participation among voters who belong to the pan-ethnic group?³ That is, how useful is it for politicians to mobilize

¹ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/10/05/future-immigration-will-change-the-face-of-america-by-2065/> (last accessed August 27, 2016).

² CNN 2004 presidential election poll results reported that Asian Americans made up 2% and Latinos made up 8% (N=13,660), Asian Americans made up 2% and Latinos made up 9% (N=17,836) in 2008, Asian Americans made up 3% and Latinos made up 10% in 2012 (N=26,565), and Asian Americans made up 4% and Latinos made up 11% (N=24,558) of the American electorate in the 2016 presidential race. I used these percentages to calculate the overall increase in percentages of Asian American and Latino electorates from 2004 to 2016 presidential elections.

³ By pan-ethnicity, I mean a supra-identity that combines country-of-origin groups from Latin American and Asian countries. I define the Latino/Hispanic pan-ethnic identity to include individuals from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South American countries. Similarly, I define the Asian American pan-ethnic identity to include individuals from China, India, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and Southeast Asian countries.

members of the Asian American and Latino groups by their Asian American and Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic identity label? Do these appeals trigger their participation and influence their vote choice?

One could turn to elections at each level of government to find numerous examples of politicians strategically reaching out to the Asian American and Latino electorates by appealing to their pan-ethnic identities. For instance, former Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and former President Barack Obama courted the Asian American and Latino vote by appealing to their pan-ethnic identities during their recent political campaigns. Clinton explicitly campaigned using slogans that said, “Latinos for Hillary” or “Asian Americans and Asian Pacific Islanders for Hillary.” Clinton’s competitor, Donald Trump, in a somewhat different vein, appealed to religious and national origin identities by employing messages such as “we love the Hindus, we love the Indians” to mobilize Asian Indian Americans.⁴ Similarly, elected officials in congressional, state, and local elections clearly employ pan-ethnic identity appeals to mobilize members of their broader community. For example, Judy Chu, a congresswoman of Chinese descent from the 27th district of California, publicized herself as someone who advocates for all Asian Pacific Islanders. Joaquin Castro, a congressman of Mexican descent from the 20th district of Texas, has also attempted to mobilize Latinos broadly by appealing to their pan-ethnic identity.

⁴ Trump’s 30-second campaign advertisement appealing to the Asian Indian American community: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=III-bNj7UjY&feature=youtu.be> (last accessed: March 12, 2017). Trump’s 2016 political campaign is interesting because he employed both pan-ethnic and ethnic appeals. Additionally, he attributed both positive and negative messages associated with each type of appeals such that positive messages were associated with appeals about the group he intended to mobilize while associating negative messages with appeals about groups he intended to marginalize. Unlike Mendelberg’s research on implicit racial cues in campaign research, most of Trump’s campaign was centered on explicitly derogating groups to mobilize his political base. However, for the purposes of this project, I focus on positive appeals across campaigns rather than explaining Trump’s campaign tactics.

Despite politicians' frequent use of these pan-ethnic identity appeals, there is little systematic evidence demonstrating whether or why they are effective. Moreover, there is little evidence for how well and effective these appeals are relative to the national origin identities that are, for many, their preferred identities. The dissertation fills that void by examining the effects of pan-ethnic and national identity appeals on Asian American and Latino political behavior. I address two specific questions in this research: (1) If politicians frequently appeal to pan-ethnic identities, to what extent are pan-ethnic and national identity appeals effective at influencing political behavior? Specifically, how appealing is the Asian American identity label as opposed to national/ethnic (e.g., Chinese American, etc.) labels on voting decisions of constituent members of those groups? Similarly, how influential are Latino and Hispanic identity labels relative to national/ethnic labels (e.g., Mexican American, etc.) on voting decisions among those constituent groups? Secondly, who among these groups is most likely to be receptive to pan-ethnic appeals? I investigate the relative effectiveness of pan-ethnic to national identity appeals on vote choice and civic engagement across Asian Americans and Latinos.

The findings of this research have implications for mobilizing two pivotal populations in the American electorate. While Asian Americans and Latinos are the fastest growing proportion of the American electorate, we know little about how elites may successfully appeal to these voters. As such, the findings of the research will be relevant to scholars, policy makers, interest groups, and political candidates.

Second, findings of this research will shed light on how immigrants become racialized and adopt pan-ethnic identities. As I argue in my theory, pan-ethnic identities are American constructs that are learned and adopted through various experiences in the United States. As such, responding to pan-ethnic appeals will depend on familiarity and identification with these

labels. Understanding how one identifies with the racial group is important because identifying with the racial group defines his or her stakes in the American political system.

Lastly, the comparative framework of this dissertation provides an opportunity to investigate the effectiveness of the pan-ethnic identity appeals across two distinct groups. There are reasons to expect differing responses. Using two national surveys in Chapter Two, I demonstrate that Latinos, more than Asian Americans, prefer their pan-ethnic identities. Thus, on average, we can expect pan-ethnic identity appeals to resonate more closely among Latinos compared to Asian Americans. I expand on this point in the theory section of this chapter.

Theoretical and Empirical Problem

Many politicians and interest groups see pan-ethnic appeals directed at the Latino and Asian electorates as an effective political strategy because these terms are meant to be inclusive of all subgroups from the greater continent of Asia and Latin American. Thus, it may be logical for politicians to employ these labels to yield as many votes as possible. However, the origins of these identities provide weight to the idea that pan-ethnic identities might not be an effective way to mobilize many individuals in these groups. In 1977, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) administratively introduced the “Hispanic” label into the U.S. Census with the intention of consolidating individuals of Latin American descent into one ethnic category, regardless of how these individuals might prefer to identify (Espiritu and Ong 1994; Gibson and Jung 2002; Prewitt 2006; Hattam 2007). The same directive also created the broad “Asian” identity category.⁵ From that point, bureaucratic organizations, politicians, civic organizations, and the news media began to use these identities to refer to members of Asian and Latino communities.

⁵ OMB Statistical Policy Directive No. 15

These identity categories may have limited influence within the target population given the relatively recent introduction of these identity categories.⁶

The strategic use of pan-ethnic identities provides additional reasons to question the effectiveness of these appeals to all segments of the Asian American and Latino populations. Political elites and grassroots organizers have worked to promote the development of pan-ethnic identities among Latinos and Asian Americans (Mora 2014; Mora and Okamoto 2014). For instance, community elites encouraged Asian Americans to rally around a pan-ethnic “Asian American”⁷ identity in response to the murder of Vincent Chin in 1982.⁸ Chin’s murder convinced many Asians in the U.S. that they had an incentive to consolidate despite their ancestral differences in order to protect the interests of the pan-ethnic community (Espiritu 1992). The politicized outcome of the Asian American identity from the murder of Vincent Chin should be viewed as evidence that pan-ethnic identities have been engineered by community elites rather than emerging from rank-in-file members. While those who were born or have resided in the U.S. may be familiar with these terms, it is possible that newer immigrants in these communities will be reluctant to embrace these terms.

Additionally, the respective pan-ethnic identities are relevant in the American mainstream discourse. The term Latino and Hispanic are used to describe people who speak Spanish and have Latin American and/or Spanish ancestral background living in the U.S. Thus, the label is a tailored identity situated in the American racial schema in relation to Whites,

⁶ Some scholars argue that the Asian pan-ethnic identity (e.g., Asian American) is politically relevant (Lien 2004; Rim 2010 *unpublished dissertation*). Some compare the political effectiveness of self-identified identity labels (national origin, pan-ethnic, American) on political participation (Lien et al. 2004). They find that these identifiers are correlated with political participation. However, since their study relies on survey data, their study does not directly test whether the elites’ appeal to pan-ethnic identities influence political behavior.

⁷ Unlike the “Latino/Hispanic” identity, the “Asian American” identity label does not exist in bureaucratic forms like on the U.S. Census.

⁸ Mistaken for a Japanese American, a Chinese American man was murdered by two white autoworkers in Detroit, Michigan, who reacted out of their resentment toward the prevalence of the Japanese automobile industry in the U.S.

Blacks, Asians, and Native Americans. Furthermore, the Asian American identity label is also specific to the American context as it involves labeling people whose ancestry can be traced back to the Asian continent writ large.⁹ Therefore, newer immigrants may be unfamiliar with the label Asian American that is intended to describe them. Moreover, the Asian migration history may contribute additional reasons for the undesirability of the Asian pan-ethnic identity. The 1965 Hart-Cellar Act ultimately lifted the national origin quota system as part of American immigration policy. Since 1965, newer Asian national origin groups in addition to East Asians added to the demographic composition of the Asian American population. Thus, the increase in diversity through constant Asian migration could render the term unfamiliar to newer Asian immigrants from various countries.¹⁰

Given their relatively recent introduction, it is perhaps not surprising then that there is considerable variation in the extent to which Asian Americans and Latinos embrace their pan-ethnic identities. Previous scholars have shown that many members of both groups prefer to identify primarily with their national origin identities, though these identities are not mutually exclusive of one another (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996; Fraga et al. 2009; Wong et al. 2011). As it will be further demonstrated in Chapter Two of the dissertation, 63% of the Asian respondents prioritized some version of their ethnic identities (Ramakrishnan et al. 2008). The comparable figure for Latinos respondents is about 41%, with about 40% prioritizing their pan-ethnic identity (e.g., Latino and Hispanic).

⁹ Before 1965, migration from Asia was mostly from East Asia (e.g., China or Japan) and India. Therefore, the Hart-Cellar Act shifted the demographic composition of who is considered Asian American. As such, it is even more conceivable for the Asian American identity label to be tenuous.

¹⁰ It is still the case that ethnic enclaves persist within Asian American and Latino communities. These examples include but are not limited to: Little Saigons, Chinatowns, Koreatowns, Little Tokyos, Little Havanas, etc. There still do exist Little Italy's where many of these ethnic enclaves are around food and culture.

The empirical disjuncture between Asian Americans' and Latinos' preferred forms of identification and the identities to which elites often appeal raises concerns about the quality of political representation and engagement of America's growing electorate. We know politicians appeal to pan-ethnic identities when mobilizing the Asian American and the Latino vote, but few researchers have paused to examine how the content of mobilization matters for Asian American and Latino political participation. My dissertation addresses this empirical disconnect, examining whether and the conditions under which pan-ethnic appeals are effective in an electoral context. Specifically, I investigate how degree of acculturation moderates the adoption and responsiveness to identity appeals in politics.

Literature Review

Current findings in the literature tell us that sharing a pan-ethnic identity with a given candidate increases political participation among voters. Previous studies use voter registration and precinct level data demonstrate that having a pan-ethnic candidate on the ballot increases Latino participation and that a large share of the Latino vote is likely to favor the Latino candidate. These results point to the possibility that having a pan-ethnic candidate on the ballot boosts Latino political participation (Pantoja and Segura 2003; Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010; Sanchez and Morin 2011).

While the implications of these findings are optimistic about the role Latino candidates have on increasing Latino political participation, it is empirically difficult to tease out the mechanisms for why we might observe these outcomes. These studies (Pantoja and Segura 2003; Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010) do not make it clear whether the support for Latino candidates are from national origin groups other than their own. Results that are about Mexicans

voting for a Mexican candidate do not equate to support for a Latino candidate.¹¹ This is particularly a big concern given that many Latino and Asian individuals do not prefer to identify with their pan-ethnic identities. In short, it remains unclear what mechanisms drive the correlation between the presence of a pan-ethnic Latino and Hispanic candidate and increased participation among Latino voters. Therefore, the aim of this research is to explore the relative responsiveness of pan-ethnic appeals to national origin appeals, and for whom.

Building on work on descriptive representation and identity politics, this chapter attempts to specify for whom and when pan-ethnic appeals might be effective at mobilizing the two fastest growing racial groups in the U.S. The theoretical explanation for when pan-ethnic appeals might be most effective also deepens our understanding of how elite appeals influence political behaviors of lay-members of Asian and Latino electorates. Moreover, the findings of this dissertation will bring clarity to the mechanisms that underlie the outcomes that we observe from previous research on co-ethnic representation and voting.

Despite the lack of cohesion in embracing pan-ethnic identities by members of the pan-ethnic communities, scholars have found some evidence that these identities can be politically consequential. Specifically, current findings suggest that voters' shared identity with a politician increases political efficacy (Pantoja and Segura 2003; Sanchez and Morin 2011), turnout (Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010) and identification with in-group members (Junn and Masuoka 2008; McConnaughy et al. 2010; Sanchez and Morin 2011).¹²

Previous research on pan-ethnicity and voting may have overlooked the possible national origin differences on representation and mobilization. We have some sense for the political

¹¹ Other examples might be Puerto Ricans voting for a Puerto Rican candidate, etc.

¹² This entire body of work looks at only Latino appeals on Latino voters. With the exception of one work, Junn & Masuoka (2008), there is no research on the effects of Asian-American appeals on Asian-American voter participation.

influence of pan-ethnic identities on politics, but we know little about why these relationships exist. Some argue that shared culture among pan-ethnic identifiers mediates the relationship between the representative and the represented (Pantoja and Segura 2003; Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007; Junn and Masuoka 2008; Barreto 2010). Other studies have suggested that the benefits of shared pan-ethnicity are driven by a sense of political linked-fate individuals perceive toward members of their pan-ethnic community (McConnaughy et al. 2010). These authors experimentally examine the extent to which having a Latino candidate matters for Latino political participation and find that having a Latino candidate on the ballot increases participation among Latino voters.

There is much more to be addressed regarding the political impact of pan-ethnicities and appeals to them. Voters' motivation for voting for the pan-ethnic candidate is largely opaque. Although previous scholarship has made several valuable contributions, a critical oversight of these studies is that they do not indicate the extent to which there was national origin versus pan-ethnic voting occurring. Previous works (Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010) heavily rely on voter registration records and precinct level data to conclude that having Latino candidates on ballots increase Latino political participation. Though we know there is a positive association, there is little evidence for whether the voters favored the candidate because of their pan-ethnic identity or because of their national identity. Not knowing this information makes it difficult to distinguish whether the vote was driven by shared ethnicity or shared pan-ethnicity.

Furthermore, there may be reasons why we observe a positive participatory outcome in the presence of a pan-ethnic candidate on the ballot. There is still a possibility that voters preferred the pan-ethnic candidate in comparison to the identity of the competitor but would have preferred a co-national candidate if such an option had been presented to them. For example,

previous studies (Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010) of mayoral elections have looked at the possibility of Latino candidates' competition with Black or White candidates perhaps making the Latino candidate – even ones with different national origins from that of the Latino electorate – appear much more favorable for the Latino candidate over his/her competitor. In these electoral settings, pan-ethnic identity of the candidate may have been assessed relative to candidates of other ethno-racial group as opposed to pitting them versus ethnic candidates of the same pan-ethnicity. Respondents may have voted for the Latino candidate because the candidate may have been more favorable and relatable than the White or the Black candidate.

Even when there is a shared identity between identity of the candidate and the voter, the reason for this connection is ambiguous. It is possible that voting for the candidate with shared identity, as in the pan-ethnic or the national origin identity, occurs because the appeal of the shared identity itself that the voter might benefit for mutual understanding and goals of the candidate. Alternatively, it is also possible that the candidate, who shares identity with the voter, will tend to emphasize needs, priorities, and perspectives that are shared by the voter. The direction of how the shared identity works, and the reason for why it might increase turnout or vote choice remains unclear. Therefore, my theory of acculturation to racial group identity offers individual and structural explanation for why Asian Americans and Latinos might be responsive to either pan-ethnic or national origin identity appeals.

Though we know that there is a positive association between the pan-ethnic identity of the candidate and the political participation by members of the pan-ethnic community, it is unclear why cuing pan-ethnic identities boosts turnout. Previous works have claimed that the increased sense of efficacy or connection to politics from seeing a co-ethnic on the ballot drives greater turnout (Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010; Sanchez and Morin 2011). Increases in

participation might be due to the increased role of national origin organizations when such a candidate runs for office, however these studies do not test the mechanisms that influence the outcome. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile these findings with the empirical fact that some members of these two communities do not primarily identify with their respective pan-ethnic identities. To be precise, we know little about whether appeals to the pan-ethnic identity are politically consequential because of national origin identities or if the Latino candidate was the preferred option simply because he or she was evaluated in comparison to a Black or a White candidate.

In short, with one exception (Sanchez and Morin 2011), most studies have not distinguished the ethnic and pan-ethnic identity differences of the candidates and the receptivity of these identities as understood by members of the targeted communities (Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007; Junn and Masuoka 2008; Barreto 2010; Barreto and Nuño 2011). Sanchez and Morin (2011) find that there are notable and different effects on the political participation and efficacy of Latino voters when they share a national origin identity or a pan-ethnic identity with their mayors. The scholars thus distinguish among the pan-ethnic and ethnic differences, but their findings are based on observational data where the pan-ethnic and national origin candidate representation was coded from the researcher's judgment rather than the individual's perception of the match. Therefore, their findings are vulnerable to error if voters misperceive the identity of the candidate (or assume a shared identity that is not present). Moreover, the study does not examine individual differences based on the extent to which respondents embrace specific identities.

My investigation seeks to address a relative blind spot in the field in the relative contributions of national origin and pan-ethnic identities among Asian American and Latino

voters. Relative to studies on Asian American political identity (Junn and Masuoka 2008), considerably more work has been done in this regard on Latino politics. Research on Latino voting behavior focuses on how individuals whose ethnicity does not align with the candidate's ethnicity behave when exposed to a pan-ethnic appeal (Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010). My dissertation will put us in a better position to determine the extent to which voting is driven by shared national origin identity, shared pan-ethnicity, or merely a dislike for the competing candidate.

In pursuing this line of research, I also specify the conditions under which individuals might be especially responsive to pan-ethnic appeals. I focus on personal experiences with acculturation and the self-reported perceptions of discrimination. These conditions, I argue, are likely to predict which segments of the Asian American and Latino populations will respond favorably to their pan-ethnic or national origin appeals.

A Theory of Identifying with Racial Group Identity

For whom and under what conditions will pan-ethnic appeals be effective? I argue that lived experiences shape how one identifies, and these experiences shape one's response to identity appeals. In doing so, I offer a framework for explaining who will respond to either pan-ethnic or national origin appeals. I first surmise that becoming distinctively American is adopting an Americanized racial identity.¹³ In particular, I consider Latino and Asian American pan-ethnic identities as American racial identities. I conceptualize this process of socialization to pan-ethnicity by mapping out the way lived experiences contribute to the adoption of pan-ethnicity.

¹³ I consider "racial identity" and "pan-ethnicity" to be interchangeable, however, I default to using pan-ethnicity throughout the dissertation.

How does a Mexican or Chinese national start to think of him or herself as a Latino or as an Asian American, respectively? I argue that identifying with pan-ethnicity is learned in social situations and through human interactions. I define pan-ethnic identities as markers of acculturation to an American racial identity. The overarching premise of the “acculturation to racialization” hypothesis is based on the American inception of the Asian American and Latino pan-ethnic labels. Pan-ethnic identities have been constructed in the U.S. by various bureaucratic agencies and community elites in order to group disparate national origin groups (Okamoto 2003, 2014; Mora 2014; Mora and Okamoto 2014, 2019). Regardless of their intentions, the tacit imposition of these identities has become prevalent in the American lexicon. Given that pan-ethnic identities are American nomenclature of racial identity, lived experiences might influence individuals to identify with these labels. This research identifies mechanisms that shape the identification and responsiveness to pan-ethnicity. I argue that lived experiences are the best predictors of adopting and responding to identity appeals in the U.S.

I provide a framework that maps out the identification process of adopting a racial identity. The following components indicate the degree of acculturation to American way of life and influence whether or not one adopts the pan-ethnic identity. I examine their birthplace as venues for being exposed to, becoming familiar with, and accepting American racial categories. Moreover, I consider immigrants to adopt an American racial group identity over a significant period of time in the U.S. (Cain et al. 1991; de la Garza et al. 1992; Lien et al. 2001, 2004; Wong 2005; Fraga et al. 2011). I also examine dominant spoken language as an indicator of Americanization versus persistence of national origin identities. Moreover, social institutions like schools, in particular, are places in which people are exposed to pan-ethnicity through curricula, interactions with the student body, and various student organizations. Coupled with individual-

level characteristics such as nativity status, time in the U.S., and language proficiency, experiences with marginalization and unfair treatment motivate minority group members to establish a sense of broader belonging in the U.S. as pan-ethnics (Masuoka 2006; Sanchez 2006). Lastly, I look at macro-level potential factors that facilitate the adoption of Asian American and Latino pan-ethnic labels. I describe each of these components in the next section.

Becoming Racialized through Lived Experiences

I examine individual-level characteristics that inform how voters self-identify. I first posit that place of birth shapes identification with and responsiveness to these identities. Data on these two communities reveal that those who are foreign-born, and Spanish or Asian language dominant, mostly identify with their national origin identities (LNPS 1989; PNAAPS 2000; LNS 2006; NAAS 2008). Beyond these data, research demonstrates that foreign-born individuals residing in the U.S. were likely to maintain their national origin identities (Rumbaut 1994; Lien et al. 2003; Masuoka 2008; Wong et al. 2011). These findings suggest that ancestral identity persists despite individuals having immigrated to a new country. Therefore, I hypothesize that foreign-born individuals and recent immigrants are more likely to identify with and respond to national origin rather than pan-ethnic appeals.

It is also the case that U.S.-born Americans also identify with some variant of their ethnic origin identities (Phinney 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993; Tuan 1998; Zhou and Lee 2007; Kao and Joyner 2004) despite being born in the U.S. However, given that immigrant generations and their U.S.-born counterparts experience society differently (Landale et al. 1999), it is plausible that U.S.-born individuals might be more exposed to pan-ethnic identities through peer groups, schools, and mainstream domestic media than their foreign-born counterparts. Others have demonstrated that generation status matters for policy preferences (Branton 2007). For example,

Branton finds that Latinos who are third generation or beyond are less likely to support general policies on immigration policies that support pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. Generation status seems to inform policy preferences. The findings of these studies suggest that concerns of national origin dissipate (Alba and Nee 2003) as more time is spent in the U.S., and their focus is replaced with more U.S.-centered concerns. Therefore, I hypothesize that U.S.-born Asians and Latinos are more responsive to their respective pan-ethnic identities.

In the same vein, I attribute more time in the U.S. among foreign-born individuals to mirror the behaviors of their U.S.-born counterparts. This proposition is supported by a finding that immigrants who come as children were no different in their earning mobility to their U.S.-born counterparts (Allensworth 1997). Thus, it is plausible that more time in the U.S. might facilitate the process of becoming more Americanized version of themselves. In particular, I consider age of arrival and duration in the U.S. as contributors to an acculturated life.

Acculturation has been hypothesized to influence adopting a U.S. party identity among predominantly immigrant communities (Cain et al. 1991). Hajnal and Lee (2011) propose a learning model positing that the recognition of American party labels increases the longer you have lived in the U.S. In the same way, it is plausible that more time in the U.S. might be associated with more exposure to and familiarity with pan-ethnic identities unique to the American experience. Therefore, I hypothesize that time in the U.S. will be correlated with responsiveness to pan-ethnic appeals.

Conversely, those who maintain their connection to their ancestry of origin through language are more likely to retain their national origin identity. I attribute language proficiency, either in English or the language of someone's national origin, as another marker that might be responsive to pan-ethnic appeals. Previous studies have theorized that native language

proficiency is correlated with national origin identities (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1990; Miller and Hoogstra 1992; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010). Specifically, speaking native languages—either as bilinguals or monolinguals—is correlated with maintaining national origin identities (Portes and Schauffler 1994; Hurtado and Gurin 1995; Bankston and Zhou 1995; Imbens-Bailey 1996). The notion underlying the relationship is that language makes salient the cultural practices, and memories associated with the given ancestral background. Predominantly English speakers are more likely to be familiar with pan-ethnic identity labels. It is likely that language access to English is a passage for more contact with the labels or with people of that identity. Similarly, I consider proficiency in one’s native language as a connector to national origin identities.¹⁴ Therefore, I hypothesize that those who speak English identify and respond to pan-ethnic appeals while native language speakers respond to their national origin appeals.

Taken together, I theorize that a number of individual-level factors might moderate the receptivity of pan-ethnic and national origin appeals. In essence, I posit that the ability to speak English—among those born in the U.S. and foreign-born individuals who have lived in the U.S. for a significant period of time—increases the likelihood of response to pan-ethnic appeals over those who rely more heavily on their native languages and who are recent migrants.

Hypothesis 1: Acculturated (e.g., English as a dominant language, U.S.-born, longer residency in the U.S.) individuals are more likely than non-acculturated (e.g., Spanish dominant speakers,

¹⁴ Asian languages spoken in the U.S. are Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese, Korean, Bengali, Hindi, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Bahasa, Nepalese, Thai, Khmer, and Malay. Though Brazilians predominantly speak Portuguese, I consider Spanish as the main language spoken by those labeled “Latinos” in American society. Brazilians constitute a vanishingly small proportion of Latino immigrants to the U.S. There are bilingual speakers in these populations. Though I don’t address bilingualism in the current study, it is possible that bilingual speakers are a good case study for exploring whether and when their ancestral versus Americanized racial identities become salient. Future studies should consider how bilingual abilities are related to preferred self-identity and the various contexts informing them.

foreign-born, recent immigrants) individuals to respond favorably to a candidate or organization that appeals to their pan-ethnic identity.

Racialization at the individual level and contributors to identity adoption

In addition to socio-demographic markers of acculturation, I expect interactions experienced in the American racial context to contribute to formation and responsiveness to identity appeals. Previous studies find experiences or perceptions of racial discrimination contributing to higher levels of pan-ethnic consciousness (Espiritu 1992; Masuoka 2006; Sanchez 2006).¹⁵ Specifically, pan-ethnic identifiers who perceive discrimination are more likely to register to vote than those who do not share that perception (Schildkraut 2005). Others have found that, rather than strictly perceiving or experiencing discrimination, it is the broader recognition of and individual's deprived status or marginalization as a racial group that activates the pan-ethnic consciousness relevant for politics (Stokes-Brown 2003; Masuoka 2008; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Masuoka and Junn 2016). Learning of their marginalized status and otherness in the American polity is an indication that they have been racialized, and this recognition might lead members of various national origin groups to identify with and respond to the pan-ethnic appeal.

Hypothesis 2: Those who perceive themselves to have been treated unfairly in the U.S. based on their national origin group identity are more likely to respond to pan-ethnic appeals.

¹⁵ In addition to pan-ethnic identities, others have found that “othering” rhetoric from a political party can influence party affiliation of a racial group (Kuo et al. 2017).

U.S. college campuses are another context in which individuals learn about the pan-ethnic identity. Previous studies have theorized and found that race is introduced in classrooms and particularly on college campuses (Umaña-Taylor 2004; Feliciano 2009; Tovar and Feliciano 2009; Reyes 2017). The mechanisms that shape one's identity in these social settings hinge upon the composition of student population, racial climate, and participation in student organizations on campuses. In the same vein, pan-ethnic identities are cultivated in professional schools (Pan 2015).¹⁶ Individuals establish a sense of belonging by identifying with the pan-ethnic identity when there is no critical mass of individuals from the same national origin group. In such environment, individuals gravitate toward the pan-ethnic group in highly specialized professions. These previous studies suggest that demographic compositions in learning environments can shape an individual's identity. Therefore, I hypothesize that U.S. higher education environments could expose and contribute to self-identification with and responsive to pan-ethnic identities.

Hypothesis 3: Individuals who have received college education in the U.S. are likely to respond favorably to pan-ethnic appeals.

Distinct trajectories to racialization at the macro-level

In the previous section, I provided a framework for when we might expect pan-ethnic and national origin appeals to be persuasive among Asian Americans and Latinos. I argued that responsiveness to either of these appeals is best explained by understanding the process to racialization through lived experiences. In this section, I zoom out and argue that lived

¹⁶ I do test for professionalization (4-year degree and professional degrees) on candidate vote choice in LNS, NAAS, and in my own study, but I do not find evidence for this. Therefore, I leave American college education as broad a possible, covering 4-year college education up to any professional degrees.

experiences of Asian Americans and Latinos differ, and differences in their experiences uniquely define their responsiveness to pan-ethnic appeals. Both communities have been exposed to the American nomenclature of racial group identities (Hattam 2007; Beltran 2010; Mora 2014; Mora and Okamoto 2019). And these pan-ethnic identities have become marked with foreignness and stereotypes associated with their race (Masuoka and Junn 2016). In turn, these stereotypes have influenced the ways American society has come to treat those individuals.

I consider the common Spanish language to lead to a greater likelihood of being receptive to the Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic appeal. There is already some suggestive evidence that a larger proportion of Latinos prefer their pan-ethnic identity labels than Asian Americans.¹⁷ Despite national origin differences, members of the Latino community have cultural similarities (e.g., Spanish language) that might lead to a greater likelihood of them being receptive to the pan-ethnic appeal.

While the Trump era may have heightened the disparaging rhetoric and stereotyping of Latinos, scholars have demonstrated that “illegality” and “criminality” have long branded Latinos (Hernández 2008; Mears et al. 2013; Armenta 2017; Flores and Schatcher 2017). As such, the continuous marginalizing rhetoric toward Latinos might lead for more in-group solidarity as pan-ethnics. In essence, the provocative rhetoric of the current administration and “...ongoing immigration and debates around immigration policy...” are the forces that continue to racialize the Latino community (Jones-Correa et al. 2018).

There is suggestive evidence that the Latino pan-ethnic label is mobilizing. A recent study has found that there is an increase in Latino turnout when voters receive pan-ethnic (i.e., Latino or Hispanic) identity label in GOTV messages, relative to the American label (Valenzuela

¹⁷ I present distributions of self-identification among Latinos and Asian Americans in Chapter Two. For the purposes of the discussion in the main text, a larger proportion of Latinos prefer their pan-ethnic identity labels than Asian Americans do.

and Michelson 2016). This particular effect might be much stronger among Mexicans as much of the president's more controversial rhetoric has targeted Mexican Americans (Garcia-Ríos et al. 2018). These studies bolster the proposition that the Latino pan-ethnic identity label may be politicized.¹⁸

Cultural diversity (e.g., language, culture, immigration history, level of assimilation, religion, and political distinctiveness) within the Asian community leads us to expect varying levels of receptivity toward a pan-ethnic appeal. Members of the Asian American community may perceive their own national origin groups to be distinct from other national origin groups, making the Asian pan-ethnic identity appeal less desirable. The greater diversity of language, religion, and culture within the Asian community may lead the pan-ethnic appeal to have a negative effect. When politicians appeal to all Asian Americans, members of national groups might perceive the appeal to be less credible if they believe there to be too much diversity in the Asian community for one politician to equally represent their group differences. If this is true, then unlike Latinos, Asian Americans might be less persuaded by the pan-ethnic appeal. As such, I expect pan-ethnic appeals to be more effective for Latinos and less effective for Asian Americans because of differences in their internal diversity and in the way the two groups have been racialized in U.S. society.

Similar to Latinos, Asian Americans have become racialized as model minorities while being excluded from belonging in American society as foreigners. The racial group's image as the model minority was created through selective immigration policies that characterized the group to be associated with a particular economic class (Kim 1999, 2001; Junn 2007; Kim 2007).

¹⁸ I define politicized identities to be identity labels that can be activated for political behavior under certain conditions. One example where politicized identity might become activated is when that identity is threatened (Klar 2013; Perez 2015; Garcia-Ríos et al. 2018).

The model minority stereotype permeates mass media, higher education, and American discourse generally (Taylor and Stern 1997; Rim 2007; Ochoa 2013; Park and Liu 2014; Poon et al. 2017; Park 2018). Though there have been concerted efforts by scholars to empirically demonstrate Asian American political power (Lien et al. 2001; Conway et al. 2004; Hajnal and Lee 2011; Wong et al. 2011), I argue that the dual racialized image as “model minorities” and “perpetual foreigners” dampens and diffuses the urgency of their role in the American political system. Therefore, I hypothesize that pan-ethnic labels might not be politicized for Asian Americans as it is for Latinos.

Hypothesis 4: Asian Americans may be less responsive to their respective pan-ethnic appeals than Latinos.

Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of why the interplay of pan-ethnic and national origin appeals is important for understanding contemporary American politics. I offered a theory of socialization to racial group identity, which lays out the conditions under which pan-ethnic or national origin appeals will be relevant for the political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. The theory highlights lived experiences as the best predictors for who might adopt and respond to identity appeals in politics. My main point is that Asian American and Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic identities are distinctive American racial identities, and the adoption and responsiveness to these identity appeals are based on varying degrees of acculturation to the U.S. Racialization is a process in which individuals adopt a distinct American racial identity. This process is important because the boundaries of racial groups define the stake and investment of

the identifiers in the American political system. The following three empirical chapters test the conditions under which pan-ethnic and national origin appeals are effective in shaping Asian American and Latino political behavior.

A Look Ahead: Overview of the Chapters

With the theoretical groundwork laid out in this chapter, I turn to Chapter Two to examine the contours and contents of self-identification among Asian Americans and Latinos. Using two national political surveys, I focus on varying degrees of acculturation to the U.S. as predictors for identification with pan-ethnic and national origin identities. Consistent with previous studies, I find that a significant proportion of the Asian American and Latino communities prefer their national origin identities (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996; Lien et al. 2001; Wong et al. 2011). Moreover, I show that factors indicating socialization to the American context are the best predictors for identifying with pan-ethnic identities. Moreover, these lived experiences inform vote choice of a political candidate.

From there, I move on to test experimentally the relationship between identity appeals and political behavior. I again pay close attention to how the degree of acculturation influences responsiveness to identity appeals. In particular, Chapter Three focuses on whether, and the conditions under which, identity appeals matter for candidate vote choice. In these original survey experiments of Asian Americans and Latinos, I find that both communities prefer the candidate who appeals to their national origin identities. Moreover, foreign-born Asian Americans and Latinos were the most supportive of the candidate with the national origin appeal. On the other hand, U.S.-born Asian Americans were significantly less likely to prefer the candidate with the pan-ethnic appeal than their foreign-born counterparts. These experimental

results are the first to demonstrate that pan-ethnic appeals are not as effective and that lived experiences matter for vote choice in both communities.

In Chapter Four, I further investigate the interplay of pan-ethnic and national origin appeals on civic engagement. Like political candidates, civic organizations appeal to identities—particularly pan-ethnic identities—to elicit volunteers and other forms of involvement in the community. Organizations facilitate the political incorporation of immigrant-dominated communities, therefore it is important to understand how identity appeals are received among the targeted populations. In this second set of original survey experiments, I demonstrate that appealing to the national origin identity is also more effective for eliciting volunteers. These foreign-born participants from both communities were largely responsible for driving these results. I find that U.S.-born Latinos are significantly more willing to volunteer with an organization appealing to their pan-ethnic identity.

In the final chapter—Chapter Five—I conclude the dissertation by comparing and contrasting the experimental results from the third and fourth chapters. I reevaluate the findings of these studies given the specifics of the experimental designs. In doing so, I draw attention to the limitations of my studies, raise new questions, and identify areas for future research. In particular, I consider additional experimental designs and suggest additional data collection efforts. Moreover, I explore the possibility of implementing a field experiment to strengthen the external validity of my findings.

Chapter 2

A Survey Examination of Asian American and Latino Pan-ethnic and National Origin Identities on Political Behavior

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter One, politicians and community elites appeal to the pan-ethnic identities to achieve political gains or to better the community. However, the problem lies with the fact that not all Asian American and Latino subgroups resonate with the pan-ethnic labels given that a large proportion of the population identifies with their national origin identities (Lien et al. 2004; Wong et al., 2014). This disconnect in the messaging of these groups is a concern for democracy as it suggests that political elites may be under mobilizing the largest and the fastest growing members in the American electorate. Despite the implication for public policy, this puzzle has been overlooked in the literature. While national origin identities play a major role in the lives of these populations, current literature does not examine the interplay of pan-ethnic and national origin identities on political behavior. My project looks at whether and under what conditions the pan-ethnic or national origin identities matter for politics. I argue that degree of acculturation to American construction of racial identity is the best predictor for who will be responsive to either the pan-ethnic or the national origin appeal.

In this chapter, I reevaluate the role that pan-ethnic identity has on political behavior. Specifically, I ask and answer two questions: what are the contours of pan-ethnic and national

origin identities? How do the contents of these identities shape Asian American and Latino political behavior? To this end, I examine the degree of acculturation through lived experiences that accompany the identification with the pan-ethnic and national origin identities. Moreover, I examine whether the contents of these identities influence vote choice. Using two national political surveys, we can see that those who identify with their national origin, pan-ethnic, and American identity are distinguishable by the synthetic process of Americanization. Additionally, I find that these processes do shape candidate vote choice.

The findings of this chapter reinforce my argument that lived experiences are related to the identity labels one adopts. The contours of identification with the national origin or the pan-ethnic identity are based primarily on where they were born, years lived in the U.S., whether they were educated in the U.S., language, and experiences with discrimination in the U.S. Each of these components are correlated with the identities they choose, and these evidences shed light on who might be more or less responsive to identity appeals in politics. Furthermore, I demonstrate that contents of identity may be correlated with candidate vote choice. Understanding how ethnic communities construct their identities through the synthetic process of Americanization may define their stake in the American political melting pot.

Summary of the Theory

The decision to identify with pan-ethnic or national origin identities, I argue, is motivated by the degree of acculturation. Given that pan-ethnic identity labels are American constructs of racial identities, I develop a framework for articulating the process of racialization and how these lived experiences might shape the identity one adopts. More importantly, the varying degrees of acculturation are the best predictors for who might be responsive to the identity appeals. To

summarize, my theory states that adopting a racial identity are accompanied by components of lived experiences at the individual level and their interaction with the American society.

Therefore, the theory predicts that individuals who have lived longer in, and have been exposed to, American life will be more responsive to the pan-ethnic appeal than those who have not.

Moreover, I consider identification with and responsiveness to pan-ethnic appeal to be attributed to experiences and perceptions of discrimination. Lastly, I distinguish the trajectories of racialization between the two communities that Latinos may be more responsive to pan-ethnic appeals than Asian Americans.

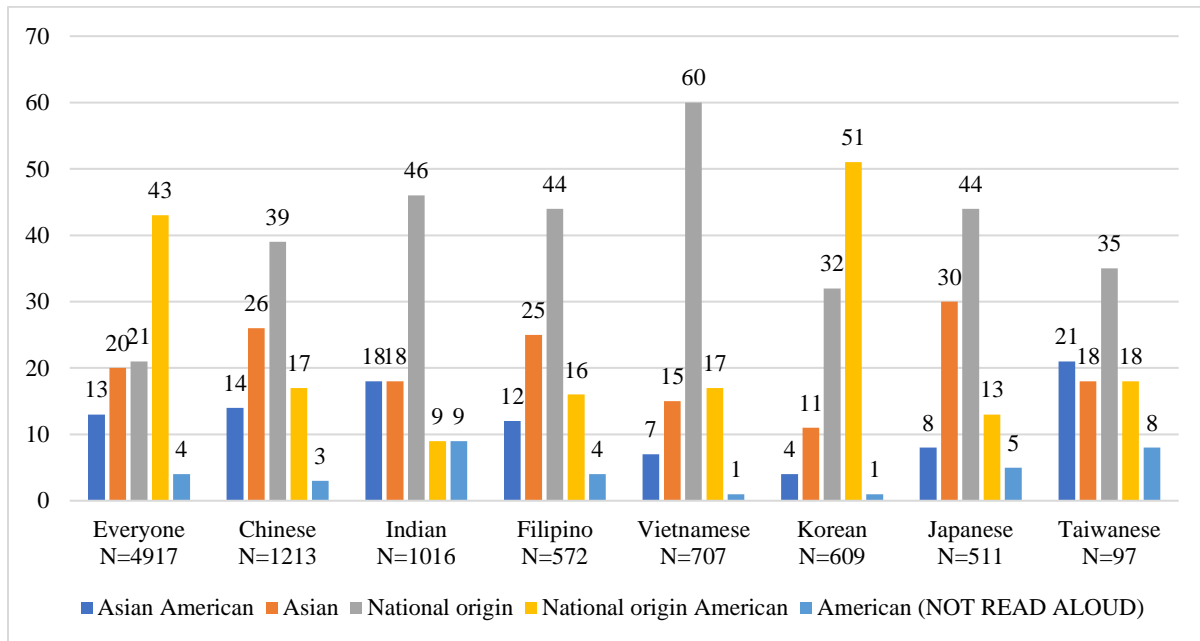
Taken together, I expect responsiveness to pan-ethnic, or national origin appeals to be conditioned upon degree of racialization in the U.S. I characterize the process of racialization in the following ways: place of birth, language, number of years lived in the U.S., place of formal education, and experiences with discrimination and unfair treatment.

Survey Evidence: Identity Distribution among Asian Americans and Latinos

I turn to the 2008 National Asian American Survey (NAAS) and the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS) to test the relationship between lived experiences with self-identification. The 2008 NAAS is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, national sample of Asian residents in mainland U.S. and Hawaii. A total of 5,519 adult participants of Chinese (24%), Asian Indians (21%), Vietnamese (14%), Filipino (12%), Korean (12%), Japanese (10%), rounded out by various groups of Southeast Asian participants were interviewed over the phone about their demographic traits, and their views on policy and government. The 2006 LNS is also a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual (i.e., English and Spanish), national sample of respondents of Latin American and Spanish speaking descent in both mainland U.S. and Puerto Rico. A total of 8,634 adult

participants of Mexican (66%), Puerto Rican (10%), Cuban (5%), rounded out by various other Central and South American origin participants. The NAAS and LNS sample are drawn from probability samples that mirror the national sample of Asians and Latinos at the time of data collection. The two surveys are largest national political survey most appropriate for this study (See Appendix A for additional information on sampling strategy).

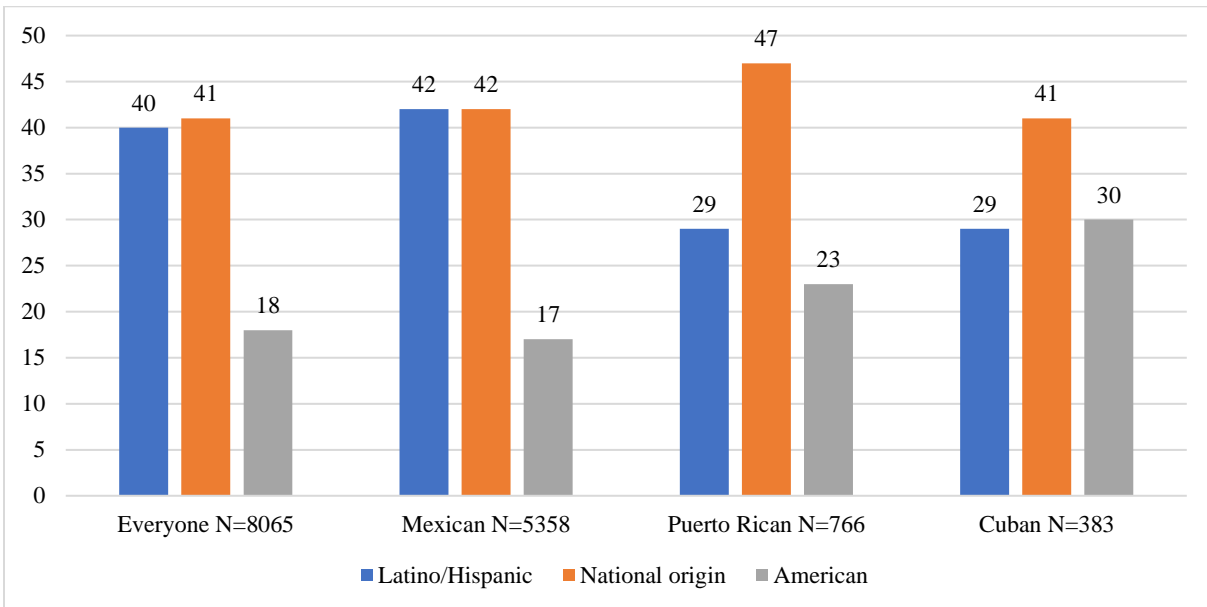
Figure 2.1 Distribution of Self-identification among Asian Americans



Source: 2008 National Asian American Survey (Ramakrishnan et al., 2008)

Note: Bars are percentages. Bars values within each row may sum up to over 100 percentages points because of the rounding of numbers in each cell. Each percentage were rounded up from the tenth decimal points. The columns labeled “National origin” and “National origin American” refer to various Asian ethnic groups such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, etc.

Figure 2.2 Distribution of Self-identification among Latinos



Source: 2006 Latino National Survey (Fraga et al., 2006)

Note: Cell entries are percentages. Cell values within each row may sum up to over 100 percentages points because of the rounding of numbers in each cell. Each percentage were rounded up from the tenth decimal points. The column labeled “National origin refer to various Latin American and Spanish speaking countries of origin such as Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, etc.

In Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2, we can see that a large proportion of Asian American and Latino respondents prefer their national origin identities. This is also true among self-reported registered Asian voters. Though national origin identification is not the preferred identity among majority Latinos, a significant proportion of the participants identify with their pan-ethnic identity. Furthermore, data seems to suggest that there is a greater preference to identify with a national origin identity regardless of one’s eligibility to vote. These distributions further raise the stakes for the need to study the interplay of national origin and pan-ethnic identities on Asian American and Latino political behavior.

Table 2.1 Distribution of Demographic Factors by Self-identification (Asians)

	Asian American	National origin	American
Nativity Status			
Foreign born N=3467	16	79	4
US born N=467	13	76	11
Language Proficiency			
English N=2517	14	84	4
Asian language N=1431	17	77	6
Mean number of years in the U.S.	23 years	21 years	25 years
Place of education			
Formal Education in US N=1381	18	75	7
Formal Education outside US N=2474	14	82	4
Mean of unfair treatment (foreign born) ¹⁹	0.15	0.12	0.15
Mean of unfair treatment (US born)	0.14	0.10	0.08

Source: 2008 National Asian American Survey (Ramakrishnan et al., 2008)

Note: Cell entries are percentages. Cell values within each row may sum up to over 100 percentages points because of the rounding of numbers in each cell. Each percentage was rounded up from the tenth decimal points.

I examine language proficiency measured by whether respondents completed the survey in English or in their preferred native language. Nativity status is measured by whether respondents were born in the U.S. or in some other country. Years in the U.S. are calculated by subtracting the day of arrival to the U.S. from 2006 (Latino sample) or 2008 (Asian sample). Formal education in the U.S. is derived from a question that asked whether respondents completed their highest education in the U.S. or elsewhere. Variables indicating experiences with discrimination were scaled across multiple dimensions from being unfairly treated by the law enforcement, denied public housing, getting fired from a job, and being denied a job promotion. I

¹⁹ 5-part question: scaled from “0” to “1” where “0” less experienced to “1” all 5 experienced. (police, job promotion, restaurant, housing, job fire). The 2008 NAAS separately asked discrimination questions to the U.S.-born and foreign-born individuals. That is why there is one column for U.S. born individuals and the other for foreign-born individuals.

examine these factors in both the LNS and the NAAS. The exact question wording is in Appendix A of the document.

In Table 2.1 and Table 2.2, we can see that identification with the national origin and pan-ethnic identities vary across markers of lived experiences in the U.S. In particular, Asian respondents who generally identifies with the Asian American identity label have resided in the U.S., on average, two years longer than those who prefer their national origin identities. This difference is not big, but it provides some suggestive evidence that Americanized racial group identity labels do get adopted over time. Moreover, more people who have received their formal education in the U.S. seem to identify with the pan-ethnic Asian American label than those who have not. Lastly, both foreign-born and U.S.-born individuals who indicate that they have been treated unfairly seem to prefer their pan-ethnic Asian American identity labels. Among Latino respondents, we can see that the American construct of pan-ethnic label Latino or Hispanic is more preferred by U.S.-born Latinos. Moreover, English speakers seem to identify with the pan-ethnic Latino or Hispanic label more than Spanish speakers.²⁰ Taken together, these individual demographic traits may influence how Asian Americans and Latinos might identify. I test this relationship in the next section.

²⁰ English proficient speakers in this context is defining those who completed the survey in English (vs. Spanish and Asian languages).

Table 2.2 Distribution of Demographic Factors by Self-identification (Latinos)

	Latino or Hispanic	National origin	American
Nativity Status			
Foreign born N=5784	43	49	9
US born N=2281	35	22	43
Language preference			
English N=3065	33	30	37
Spanish N=5000	45	48	7
Mean number of years in the U.S.	18 years	18 years	29 years
Place of education			
Formal Education in US N=4279	44	50	6
Formal Education outside US N=1505	39	46	16
Mean of experience with discrimination index	0.13	0.12	0.18

Source: 2006 Latino National Survey (Fraga et al., 2006)

Note: Cell entries are percentages. Cell values within each row may sum up to over 100 percentages points because of the rounding of numbers in each cell. Each percentage were rounded up from the tenth decimal points. Foreign born Latinos includes Puerto Ricans (non-mainland).

Contents of Identity

In order to understand whether the process of Americanization predicts self-identification, I use multinomial logistic regression models to test whether the socialization to racial identity predicts Asian American and Latino self-identification. The outcome variable contains three possible outcomes, pan-ethnic; national origin; and American, constructed from identity questions that asked respondents about how they generally think of (2008 NAAS) and describe themselves (2006 LNS).²¹ I made the national origin identity as the comparison category

²¹ The 2006 LNS asked this question (PRIMEID) once with three response options: 1) Latino/Hispanic 2) National origin 3) American. The 2008 NAAS asked the same identity question (QF101-QF106) six consecutive times randomized by six identity options: 1) Asian American 2) National 3) National American 4) Asian 5) American 6) some other identity. The order of randomization was not recorded at the time of the data collection process; therefore, I combined the six questions by the identity selection. I combine “National origin” and “National origin American” identities for the national origin identity category. I only include the “Asian American” as the pan-ethnic identity. This categorization of the identity is reflected in Tables 2.2 and 2.3.

so that the model predicts identification with the pan-ethnic relative to the national origin identity. In the same vein, the model predicts identification with the American identity relative to the national origin identity. I report results for identifying with the pan-ethnic identity. Refer to the Appendix B for the report of the full model, and coding of the covariates. I test the hypotheses stated in Chapter One.

Table 2.3 Predicting Preference for Pan-ethnic Identity (Latinos)

	Pan-ethnic Identity (vs. National Identity)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
US Born	--	--	0.80*** (0.09)	--
Years in US	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	--	--
English	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.22** (0.10)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.23** (0.10)
Education in US	-0.02 (0.10)	--	--	0.07 (0.09)
Discrimination Index	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)
Cuban (1=Mexican)	-0.18 (0.15)	-0.18 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.14)	-0.20 (0.15)
Puerto Rican	-0.46*** (0.13)	-0.46*** (0.13)	-0.51*** (0.10)	-0.39*** (0.12)
Constant	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.12)	0.00 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)
Observations	3842	3842	6022	4100

Source: 2006 Latino National Survey (Fraga et al., 2006)

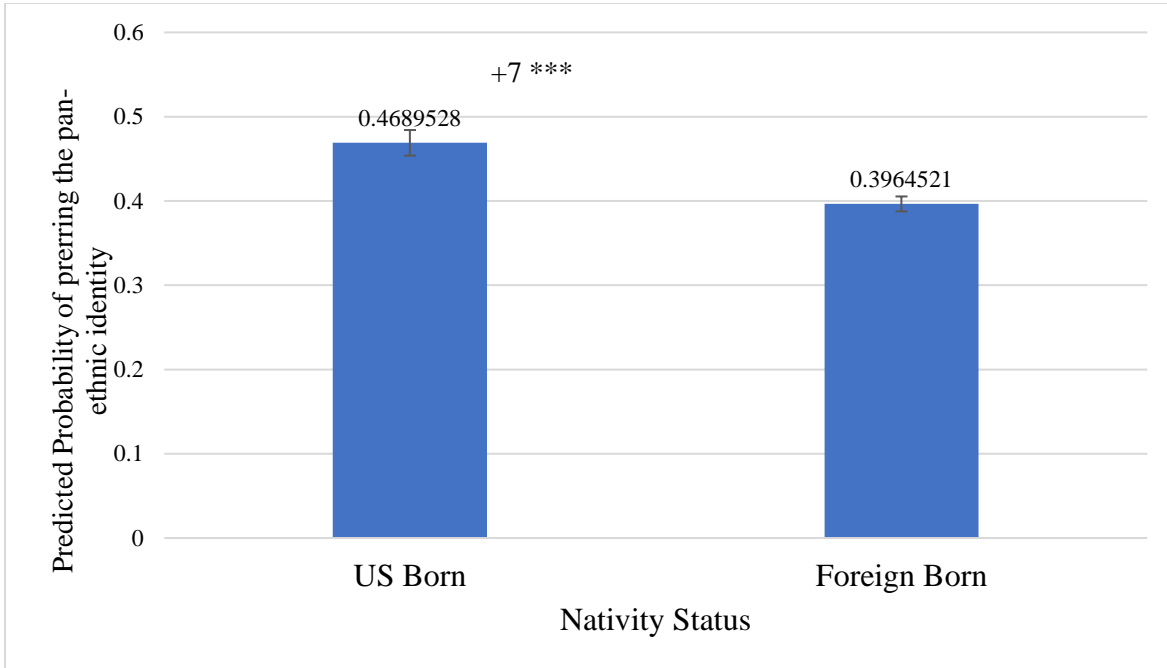
Note: These are log coefficients from multinomial logistic regressions and their respective standard errors. Dependent variable is either pan-ethnic, national origin, or American identity. However, I only report results for pan-ethnic vs. national origin identity. I control for national origin groups, gender, age, and education. Lastly, models (1) ~ (4) are all different models reporting socialization components separately because, for instance, “years in the U.S.” was collected only among foreign-born individuals, therefore I could not include both variables in the same model. I report full results in the Appendix B. The Cronbach alpha for the discrimination index is $\alpha=0.57$

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

According to Model (3) of Table 2.3, I find that U.S.-born Latinos prefer the pan-ethnic rather than the national origin identity label than foreign-born Latinos. The comparison between U.S.-born and foreign-born Latinos is statistically significant with a 7 point increase at $p < 0.01$. This finding supports my first hypothesis, which states that acculturation may influence individuals to identify along the American racial categories. This finding suggests that U.S.-born

– either as children of immigrants – might be accustomed to see their belonging in the country in terms of American racial categories.

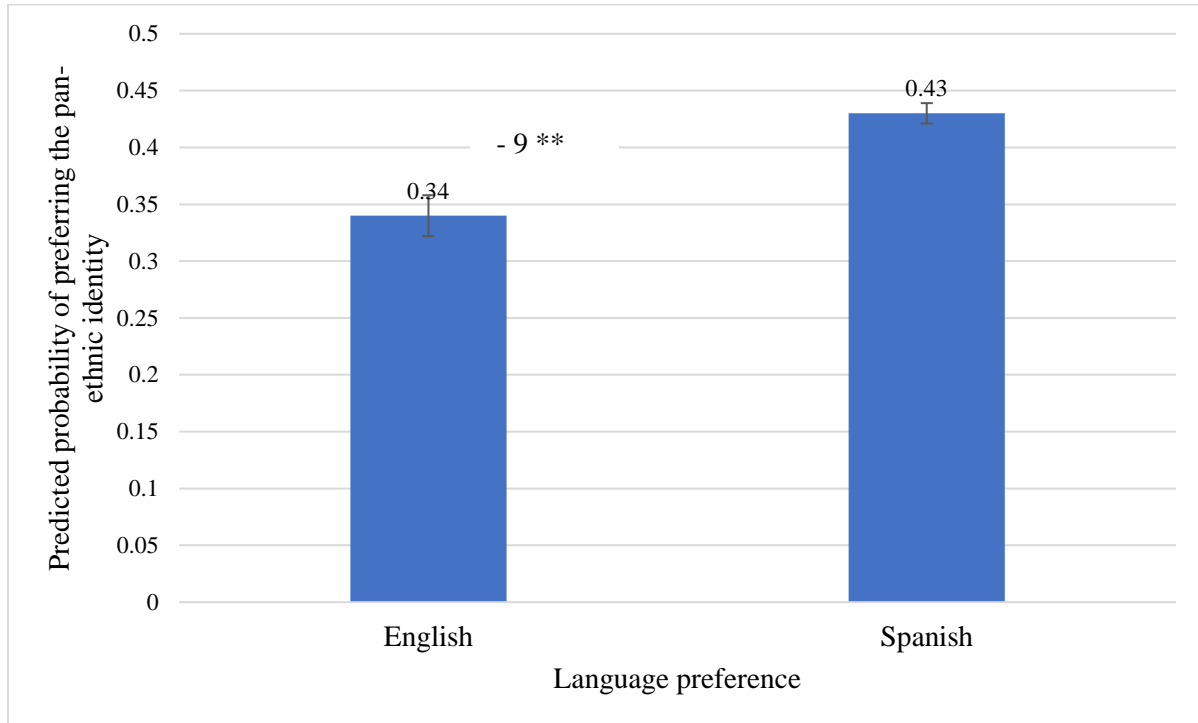
Figure 2.3 Probability of Preferring the Pan-ethnic Identity by Nativity Status (Latinos)



Note: Marginal effect of nativity status on preferring the panethnic identity vs. American identity from Model 3 of Table 2.3.
 * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

I find other measures of acculturation such as language, and perception of discrimination to influence identification with the pan-ethnic label. Contrary to Hypothesis 1, I find that English dominant Latinos are 9 points ($p < 0.05$) less likely to prefer the pan-ethnic label than their Spanish speaking counterparts. It is possible that English dominant speakers are defined mostly by a national origin group that do not prefer the pan-ethnic label. We learn from Figure 2.2 that Puerto Ricans are 10 points ($p < 0.01$) least likely to prefer the pan-ethnic label. A cross tabulation table of national origin groups and those who completed the survey in English further demonstrates that majority of Puerto Ricans (60.34%; N=496) are more likely to have completed the survey in English.

Figure 2.4 Probability of Preferring the Pan-ethnic Identity by Language (Latinos)



Notes: Marginal effect of language usage on preferring the panethnic identity vs. American identity from Model 4 of Table 2.3. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

I also find that those who report higher rates of experiencing discrimination are less likely to identify with the pan-ethnic label. This is contrary to Hypothesis 2 (+5 points marginal effect difference between “1” being the lowest to “5” being the highest reporting of discrimination; $p < 0.05$). There are studies in social psychology that find national origin identities can help individuals to cope with the stress of being discriminated (Mossakowski 2003; Yoo and Lee 2005). Perhaps, respondents are more likely to adopt their national origin than their pan-ethnic identity to which they are less likely to be familiar with. It is possible that the discrimination in the 2006 LNS is not accurately capturing how individuals experience discrimination. Previous studies have used perceptions rather than actual reporting of discrimination as best predictors for adopting pan-ethnic consciousness. Despite these results, I find supportive evidence that being

acculturated in the U.S., especially as Latinos born in the U.S. are more likely to identify with the American version of their racial identities.

Table 2.4 Predicting Preference for Pan-ethnic Identity (Asians)

	Pan-ethnic Identity (vs. National Identity)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
US Born	12.81 (850.73)	--	--	13.06 (983.93)
Years in US	--	--	0.02*** (0.01)	--
South Asian (1=East Asian)	-0.60 (0.47)	0.66*** (0.15)	0.65*** (0.15)	-0.63 (0.47)
Southeast Asians	-0.68 (0.49)	-0.13 (0.14)	-0.17 (0.14)	-0.59 (0.49)
English	0.22 (0.83)	0.06 (0.13)	0.02 (0.14)	0.30 (0.81)
Education in US	0.18 (0.66)	0.41*** (0.12)	0.27** (0.13)	
Discrimination Index (US born)	1.05 (0.76)	--	--	0.79 (0.79)
Discrimination Index (foreign born)	--	0.73*** (0.25)	0.68*** (0.25)	--
Constant	-14.61 (850.73)	-2.25*** (0.27)	-2.14*** (0.29)	-15.66 (983.94)
Observations	378	2596	2513	367

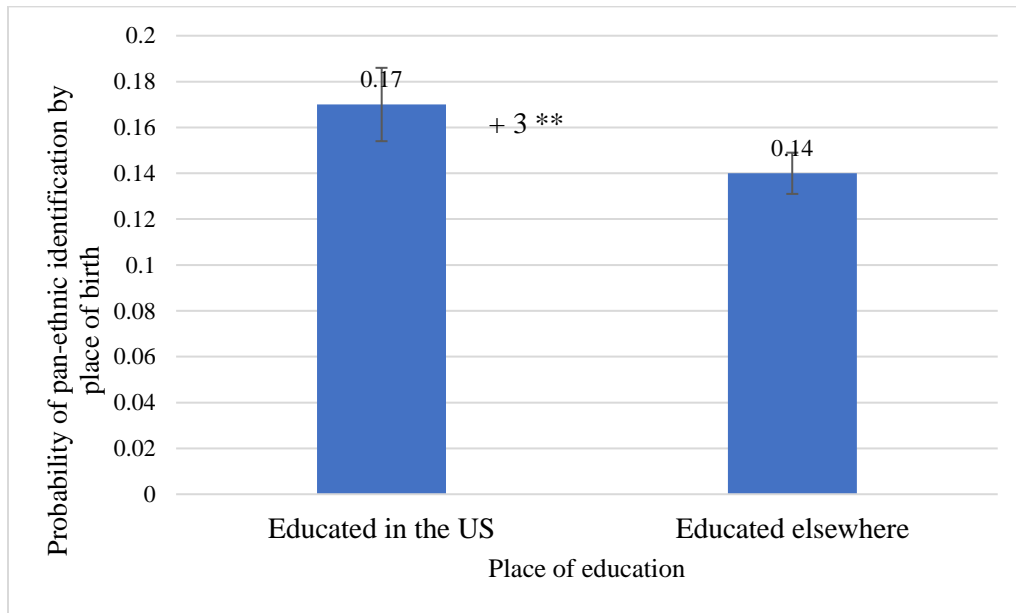
Source: 2008 National Asian American Survey (Ramakrishnan et al., 2008)

Note: These are log coefficients from a multinomial logistic regression. The values in the parentheses are t-statistics. I only report results for pan-ethnic vs. national origin identity from the multinomial logistic models. I report full results in the Appendix B. I control for national origin groups, gender, age, education. As noted previously, the same set of questions about the experiences with discrimination was asked separately for U.S.-born and foreign-born individuals.

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

I find that Asian Americans who acquired education in the U.S., and number of years in the U.S. are the best predictors for adopting the pan-ethnic identity label. According to Model (2) and (4) of Table 2.4, we can see that the coefficient for increased number of years in the U.S. and education completed in the U.S. are positive and statistically significant. Specifically, foreign-born Asian respondents educated in the U.S. are 3-points more likely to report identification with the pan-ethnic identity than those who were educated elsewhere ($p < 0.05$; see Figure 2.3).²² Moreover, longer years in the U.S. is positively correlated with preferring the pan-ethnic label than more recent immigrants ($p < 0.01$).²³ Unlike Latino respondents, it is not clear that U.S.-born Asian respondents in Model (1) and (4) prefer their pan-ethnic identities. The findings suggest that the degree of acculturation to American racial categories is learned and acquired among Asian immigrants only.

Figure 2.5 Probability of Preferring the Pan-ethnic Identity by Place of Education (Foreign-born Asian Respondents)



Notes: Marginal effect of place of education on preferring the panethnic identity vs. national origin identity from Model 3 of Table 2.4.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

²² It is important to note that the question about where respondents were asked only among foreign-born individuals.

²³ There is a 20-point increase between those who have resided in the U.S. less than a year to those who have lived in the U.S. for 84 years.

Unlike Latino respondents, I find that foreign-born Asian respondents who report experiences with unfair treatment in the U.S. are significantly positively correlated with adopting the pan-ethnic identity (+65 points marginal effect difference between “1” being the lowest to “5” being the highest reporting of discrimination; $p < 0.01$). This result supports Hypothesis 2.

Despite these results, question remains on whether and how racialization to adopting the pan-ethnic label happens for U.S.-born Asian Americans. To address this unanswered question, I report and explore themes from open-ended responses from my original survey data of how, and the extent to which, Asian American and Latino participants embrace their pan-ethnic identities in Chapter Three.

Summary of findings: Comparing factors contributing to Asians and Latinos self-identification

There seems to be suggestive evidence that degree of acculturation matters for self-identification. Among Asian American respondents, I find that longer years in the U.S., as well as receiving one’s education within the U.S., predicts identification with the pan-ethnic identity. For Latinos, I find being completely socialized in the U.S. as children of immigrants are more likely to identify with their pan-ethnic labels than their foreign-born counterparts. Moreover, fluent English-speaking Latinos seem to prefer the American label. This suggests that perhaps language is not a good indicator for identifying those who are racialized (i.e., embracing the pan-ethnic label). Future studies should consider bilinguals and examine how these subsets of populations navigate their racial and ethnic identities.

Counter to expectation, I find that experiences with discrimination do not predict pan-ethnic identification in both communities. While the experience may be valid and accurate, the experiences of marginalization might be related to action, or behavior that will bring some

systemic change through organizing as a racial group rather than simply adopting those identities. It is also important to note that pan-ethnic identity labels are learned through acculturation for Asian American respondents and not for Latinos. This suggests that perhaps there are different trajectories of becoming racialized in these two communities.

Political Consequences of Identity

Political consequences of lived experiences

Indeed, identification with the pan-ethnic and national origin labels are distinctly accompanied by factors that capture their lived experiences. But less is known about whether these lived experiences are correlated with a political outcome. To find out, I turn to candidate vote choice questions in the 2008 NAAS and the 2006 LNS surveys. Both surveys asked hypothetical candidate vote choice questions.^{24 25 26} Though question wording differs across the surveys, I compare the results because these questions ask about whether certain characteristics of a candidate would influence their vote choice. The question asks about whether candidate's national origin (2008 NAAS) and candidate's pan-ethnic identity (2006 LNS) would influence their decision. As such, I consider the candidate vote choice question in the NAAS to be making a national origin appeal and the LNS candidate vote choice question to be making a pan-ethnic appeal. Given the question wording of these vote choice questions, I expect national origin identifiers, more foreign-born individuals, and those fluent in their native Asian languages to

²⁴ "Suppose you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is NATIONAL ORIGIN-American. Would you be more likely to vote for the NATIONAL ORIGIN-American candidate, if the two candidates are equally experienced and qualified? The response options were either "Yes" or "No" and "DK".

²⁵ "People can prefer a candidate for a variety of different reasons. How important is it for you, that a candidate is "Latino/Hispanic"? (Not important at all, somewhat important, very important)

²⁶ "People can prefer a candidate for a variety of different reasons. How important is it for you, that a candidate...speaks Spanish"? (Not important at all, somewhat important, very important)

vote for the national-origin candidate in the Asian sample.²⁷ On the other hand, I expect pan-ethnic identifiers, U.S.-born, English dominant, and longer residents of the U.S. to prefer the candidate who has highlighted their racialized Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic identity.

Going forward, the candidate vote choice answers in the 2008 NAAS were coded as “1” and “0” where “1” was in favor of the candidate and “0” was not. Therefore, I use logistic regression to predict the extent to which degrees of acculturation matters for preferring the candidate highlighting their national origin identity. The 2006 LNS candidate vote choice question was asked in their degree of importance where “1” indicates those who consider the Latino or Hispanic identity to be important for their evaluation on a candidate, “0.50” as somewhat important, and “0” to indicate not important at all. Given the structure of the variable, I use linear regression models to test the relationship between lived experiences on candidate vote choice (see Appendix A for the full wording of the survey questions).

²⁷ Using the 2016 NAAS pre-election, I tested Asian American community’s support for Kamala Harris. Above all sociodemographic and political factors, Asian Indians were significantly more likely to have favored her over Loretta Sanchez than the other Asian ethnic groups. I did not find this same national origin effect for Asian’s support for Hillary Clinton. This result suggests that appealing to the national origin identity contributes to the empowering literature. Moreover, it further suggests that support for an Asian American candidate like Kamala Harris is not to be expected from all Asian Americans. This finding suggests that ethnic identities persist as made salient on their vote choice. It’s also an evidence that there is an interplay of national origin and pan-ethnic identities in descriptive representation of groups (i.e., Asian Americans, Latinos, and Muslims) whose national origin identities remains salient.

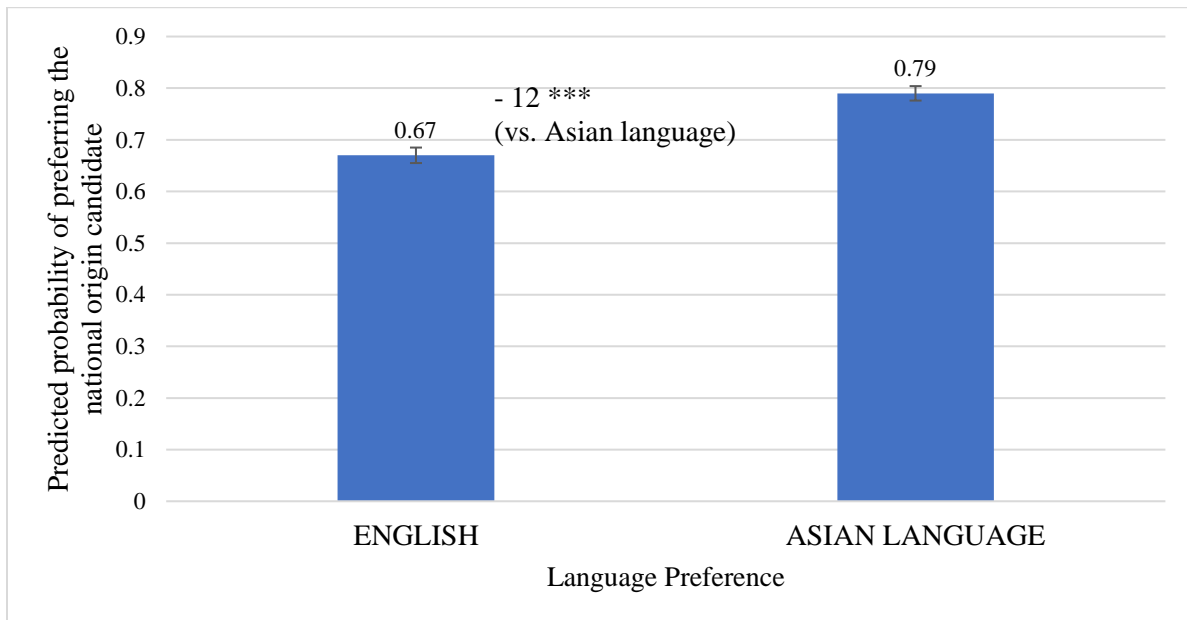
Table 2.5 Probability of Voting for a National Origin Candidate (Asian)

	Vote for national origin candidate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
National origin ID (1=Pan-ethnic ID)	0.08 (0.41)	0.37*** (0.14)	--	--
American ID	1.60*** (0.55)	-0.67** (0.27)	--	--
US Born	13.82 (620.35)	--	0.00 (0.00)	--
Years in US	--	-0.01 (0.01)	--	-0.00 (0.01)
English	-0.80 (0.63)	-0.43*** (0.13)	-0.58*** (0.11)	-0.56*** (0.12)
Education in US	--	0.02 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.12)
Discrimination US Born	-0.01 (0.14)	--	--	--
Discrimination Foreign Born	--	0.18*** (0.06)	0.15*** (0.05)	0.14*** (0.05)
South Asia (1=East Asian)	1.22*** (0.37)	-0.70*** (0.15)	-0.82*** (0.13)	-0.81*** (0.13)
Southeast Asians	0.44 (0.36)	0.48*** (0.14)	0.46*** (0.12)	0.48*** (0.12)
Constant	-14.15 (620.35)	0.17 (0.31)	0.74*** (0.25)	0.77*** (0.26)
Observations	311	1789	2308	2246
R^2				

Notes: These are logistic regression models. I report standard errors. I control for national origin groups, gender, age, education, voter registration, vote 2004 presidential election. The outcome is coded on a "0" to "1". These are coefficients from linear regression modes. I report full results in the Appendix B. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

In Tables 2.5 and 2.6, I find that components of lived experiences do matter for Asian American’s and Latino’s political decisions. I find English-speaking Asian Americans and those have experienced discriminated are less likely to prefer the candidate whose national origin was made salient. The negative coefficient indicated by the “English” variable is in the right direction (refer to Figure 2.4). This result suggests that perhaps those who are more acculturated to the U.S. in terms of being fluent in English are less likely to prefer the candidate who asserts their national origin identity.

Figure 2.6 Probability of Preferring the National Origin Candidate by Self-identification (Asians)



Notes: These predicted probabilities reflect Model 3 from Table 2.5.

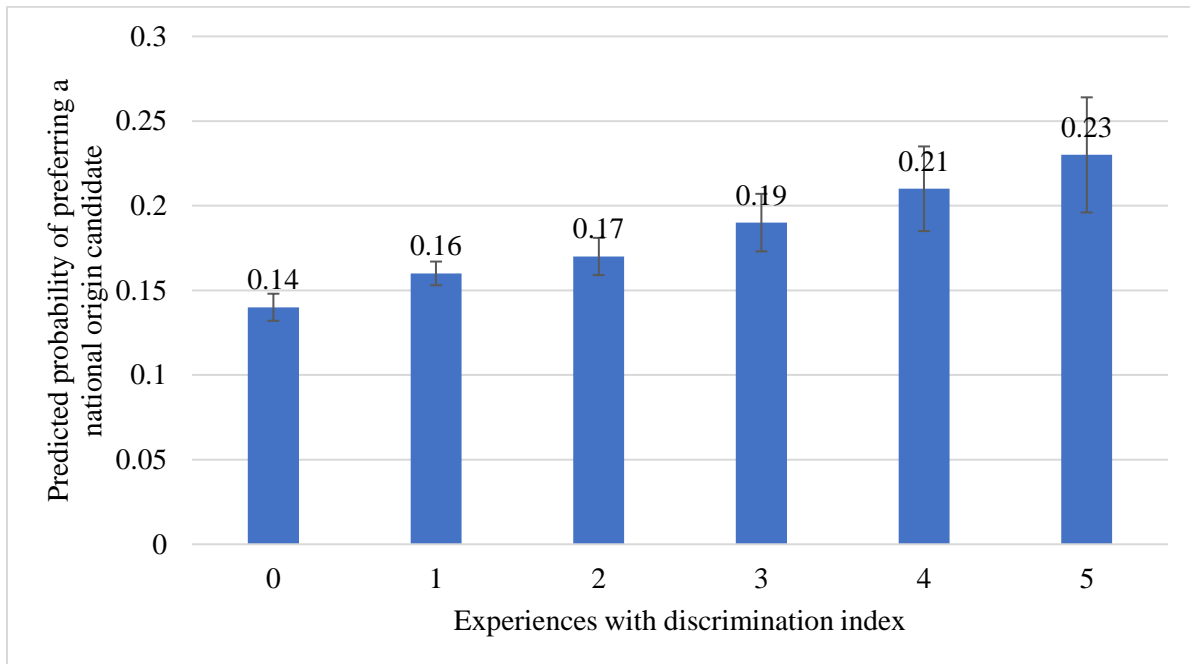
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Consistent with expectation, I also find that those who have experienced discrimination are significantly less likely to prefer a candidate who whose national origin identity is made salient (+9 points marginal effect difference between “1” being the lowest to “5” being the highest reporting of discrimination; $p < 0.01$).²⁸ This effect is applicable only for foreign-born

²⁸ Refer to Figure 2.5 for more information.

Asian respondents. Perhaps these more acculturated and racialized respondents might consider the candidate who emphasize the American racial group identity as a more favorable candidate because s/he might be much more entrepreneurial at navigating the American political system and accomplishing policy goals than a candidate whose national origin identity is made salient.

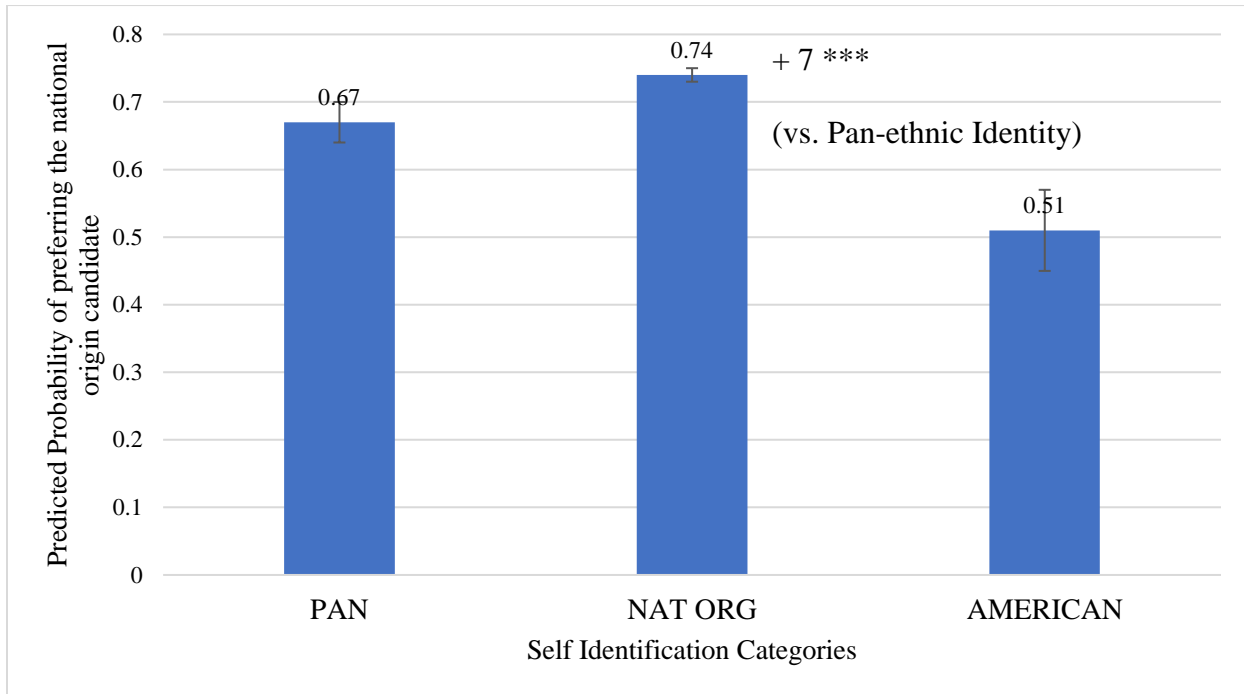
Figure 2.7 Probability of Preferring the National Origin Candidate by Discrimination Index (Foreign-born Asian Respondents)



Notes: These predicted probabilities reflect Model 2 from Table 2.5.
 * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Lastly, I find those Asian American respondents who generally think of themselves according to their national origin identities are significantly more likely to prefer the candidate whose national origin identity is made salient than pan-ethnic identifiers. We learn from Figure 2.6 that national origin identifiers are 7 points ($p < 0.01$) more likely to prefer candidate whose national origin identity was made salient than American identifiers. These findings among Asian Americans are supportive evidences that degree of acculturation does matter for politics.

Figure 2.8 Probability of Preferring the National Origin Candidate by Self-identification (Foreign-born Asian Respondents)



Notes: These predicted probabilities reflect Model 2 from Table 2.5.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

I find supportive evidence that lived experiences negatively influence Latino vote choice. According to Table 2.6, U.S.-born Latinos, longer years in the U.S., speaking English, and being educated in the U.S. are less likely to support the candidate whose pan-ethnic identity was made salient. These results are contrary to Hypothesis 1 and 2. Moreover, I don't find supportive evidence for Hypothesis 3 ($p < 0.619$ of Model (1)). Aside from individual factors, I find that self-identification measures are positively and significantly associated with preferring a pan-ethnic candidate. Model (1) – (4) shows that national origin and pan-ethnic identifying Latino respondents were significantly more likely to favor the pan-ethnic candidate than American identifying respondents ($p < 0.01$). The effect is slightly more from national origin identifiers. Substantively, this means that Mexican respondents, for example, are more likely to favor a Latino candidate than American identifying Latino respondents. Likewise, Cuban identifying

respondents are more likely to favor a Latino candidate than American identifying respondent. These results suggest that, there is very little difference between pan-ethnic and national origin identifying Latino respondents when it comes to vote choice of a Latino candidate.

Table 2.6 Probability of Voting for a Pan-ethnic Candidate (Latino)

	Vote for pan-ethnic candidate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pan-ethnic ID (1=American ID)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)
National Origin ID	0.12*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)
US Born	--	-0.16*** (0.02)	--	--
Years in US	-0.00*** (0.00)	--	-0.01*** (0.00)	--
English	-0.24*** (0.02)	--	--	-0.27*** (0.02)
Education in US	-0.04 (0.03)	--	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.02)
Discrimination Index	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Cuban (1=Mexican)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)
Puerto Rican	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.02)
Constant	0.70*** (0.06)	0.53*** (0.03)	0.52*** (0.05)	0.69*** (0.05)
Observations	1443	3441	1443	1540
R ²	0.187	0.143	0.127	0.179

Source: 2006 Latino National Survey (Fraga et al., 2006)

Note: These are coefficients from linear regression modes. The reference identity category is the “American” identity label. I control for national origin groups, gender, age, education, voter registration, vote 2004 presidential election. The outcome is coded on a “0” to “1” scale on the *importance* of voting for a “Latino” pan-ethnic candidate. I report full results in the Appendix B.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Summary of findings: Comparing the contributing factors to Asian and Latino vote choice

The results in Table 2.5 and 2.6 suggest that lived experiences do matter for their preference of a candidate. For Asian Americans in particular, I find that more acculturated individuals are less likely to prefer a candidate whose national origin identity is emphasized. However, self-identification with their national origin identities does seem to dictate their preference for a candidate who shares their national origin identity.²⁹ I find very little evidence for the way acculturation factors influence Latino vote choice. However, I find that self-identification does positively influence their vote choice of a pan-ethnic Latino candidate. The results suggest that individual level factors seem to shape Asian American vote choice in favor of the candidate who share their national origin identity, while preference for a pan-ethnic candidate is largely shaped by self-identification among Latinos. These results open up the possibility that there is a difference in how Asian Americans and Latinos are racialized in the U.S. While this is a plausible conjecture, I cannot answer this question given the design of the question in the survey. At the end of the chapter, I detail the limitations of this study and provide suggestions for accurately comparing and contrasting the political behaviors of these different communities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the contours and contents of pan-ethnic and national origin identity. I theorized that process of racialization or Americanization to distinctively American identity matters for the identity one adopts and their political behavior. I find that, for the most part, the degree of acculturation is the best predictor for self-identification and of candidate

²⁹ I interact self-identification nativity status, English language, degree of professionalization, and experiences with discrimination, but I do not find any statistically significant results.

preferences. The evidence suggests that the political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos are largely shaped by the process of racialization to socialization through lived experiences in the U.S.

The findings of these results have implications for who will be responsive to the identities deployed by political and community elites. Therefore, it is important to pay attention the nuances of these communities to examine the effect and the extent of identity appeals deployed in politics. Specifically, the findings of this chapter suggest that not all will be responsive to either one of these identities, and therefore, a more segmented approach will be helpful for who will be responsive to either the pan-ethnic or the national origin identity.

Limitations

Despite my findings that process of racialization matters for vote choice, this study is limited in the following ways. My project sets out to parse out whether pan-ethnic identities, independent of national origin identities, influence political behavior. I need a study that examines the relative effective of these two identities on a political outcome. The question wording in the NAAS and LNS only looks at the effect of one identity on vote choice. The questions seek to understand voter preferences, however, the comparison category is vague making the response of these inaccurate to the demand of the question. Therefore, it hard to know distinguish the relative effectiveness of the two identities in question. Secondly, the two surveys are not fit to compare and contrast because different identities are highlighted in each of the surveys. In essence, the response maybe inadequately capturing their intended behavior.

The last limitation is that the data is from an observational study. It is not clear if the identity of the candidate in question is driving respondent behavior. Simply, many questions on who was properly treated with the content of the manipulation remains contested.

Next Steps

Given these limitations of the chapter, ahead I experimentally test whether and the conditions that leads to the political behavior of these groups in two specific modes of these appeals in the chapters. In Chapter Three, I examine the effect of pan-ethnic, and national origin identity appeals in an electoral context on both Asian and Latino participants. In Chapter Four, I examine how identity appeals influence community involvement and various forms of civic engagement. These two chapters test the causal relationship between identity appeals on two important political outcomes. In line with my theory, I test the socializing factors that might moderate who will be responsive to either the pan-ethnic or the national origin appeal.

Chapter 3

An Experimental Study of Identity Appeals on Candidate Vote Choice

Introduction

Minority candidates have become more common in American politics in the last decade.³⁰ Congress members like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, Andy Kim of New Jersey, and others were elected into the 116th Congress. The demographic changes in the electorate has led White and Black candidates to appeal to Asian American and Latino voters. For example, Former Congressman Beto O'Rourke and Congressman Ed Case of Hawaii are a few examples of politicians who have found ways to successfully appeal to Latino and Asian American voters.

We can already anticipate the rise of both minority candidates and non-minority candidates appealing to racial minority voters by the racially and ethnically diverse line of candidates for the 2020 U.S. Presidential election. Contenders like Representative Julian Castro, Tulsi Gabbard, Senator Kamala Harris, and Andrew Yang have declared their candidacy for the office. Their appeal strategies toward minorities—especially toward voters who share their ethno-racial backgrounds—will be important to observe as their campaigns unfolds. Other

³⁰ <http://theconversation.com/the-116th-congress-has-more-women-and-people-of-color-than-ever-but-theres-still-room-to-improve-105930> (last accessed June 21, 2019)

candidates like Senators Cory Booker and Elizabeth Warren, interestingly, have begun to appeal to Latino and Asian American voters.^{31 32}

What do these candidates' appeal strategies look like? How are these candidates appealing to racial and ethnic minority voters? Given the growing number of minority candidates and the fact that non-minority candidates are recognizing the political clout of minority voters, it is important to get a sense of how they have found ways to win the minority vote. According to an original data collection of candidates who ran in 2016³³, about 14.6% (N=56) of the Asian American candidates appealed to voters based on their pan-ethnic identities. Similarly, about 37% (N=172) Latino candidates deployed pan-ethnic (i.e., Latino or Hispanic) identity labels. These results provide some suggestive evidence that pan-ethnic appeals are at least somewhat common in politics and are therefore deserving of scholarly attention. Given this landscape of identity appeals in contemporary American politics, this chapter experimentally examines the relative effectiveness of pan-ethnic identity appeals on vote choice among Asian American and Latino voters.

Summary of the Theory and Hypotheses

I proposed a theory for answering these questions in the previous chapter. The framework relies on the degree of acculturation to the American context and predicts that certain segments of Asian American and Latino communities will be most responsive to either the pan-ethnic or

³¹ <https://www.wfmz.com/news/ap-top-stories/the-latest-cory-booker-vows-to-work-with-latino-community/997783543> (last accessed June 21, 2019).

³² <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/massachusetts/articles/2019-02-13/warren-tops-longtime-aide-lau-as-campaign-manager> (last accessed June 21, 2019).

³³ To examine how frequent pan-ethnic appeals are in American politics, I compiled a dataset using names lists from the "Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies" (APAICS) and the "National Alliance of Latino Elected Officials" (NALEO). I scraped text data from candidates' webpages and counted any mentions of pan-ethnic and national origin identities in their content. There were total of 416 Latino candidates who were in office and ran for a position ranging from local level to Congressional offices. There were 382 Asian American candidates in the sample.

the national origin appeals. The theory of socialization to racial identity assumes that pan-ethnic identities, referring specifically to the Asian American and Latino or Hispanic identity labels, are part of American racial categories. Therefore, it also assumes that not all individuals will willingly identify and respond to candidates who appeal to these identities.

Building on these two axioms, my theory of socialization to racial identity states that adopting American constructs of racial identity are accompanied by markers that indicate lived experiences at the individual level and are informed by how they are treated by the broader American society. It predicts that individuals who have been exposed to the American life will be more responsive to the pan-ethnic appeal than those who have not. Moreover, I consider identification with and responsiveness to pan-ethnic appeals to be attributed to experiences and perceptions of discrimination. Lastly, I distinguish the trajectories of racialization between the two communities by projecting that Latinos, on average, may be more responsive to pan-ethnic appeals than Asian Americans. These hypotheses will distinguish the effect that national origin and pan-ethnic appeals have on political participation. Taken together, I expect responsiveness to pan-ethnic or national origin appeals to be conditional upon degree of racialization in the U.S. I codify the process of racialization in the following ways: place of birth, language, number of years lived in the U.S., place of formal education, and experiences with discrimination and unfair treatment. I test the same set of hypotheses from Chapter One.

In Chapter One, I introduced the puzzling disconnect between the effects of pan-ethnic identity appeals and the identity preferences of Asian Americans and Latinos. In spite of this disconnect, with one exception (Sanchez and Morin 2011), very little research examines the interplay between pan-ethnic and national origin identities. The chapter fills this void by examining the effects of pan-ethnic and national identity appeals on Asian American and Latino

political behavior. I address two specific questions in this chapter: To what extent are pan-ethnic and national identity appeals effective at persuading voter choice? And, who among these groups are most likely to respond to each of these appeals?

Preliminarily, I find that more years lived in the U.S. and being educated in the U.S. are positively correlated with the pan-ethnic identification. These results suggest that foreign-born Asian Americans, to which these questions apply, are the most likely to learn and adopt the American construct of racial identity. Surprisingly, I don't find this for their U.S.-born counterparts. On the other hand, acculturation factors do not seem to influence foreign-born Latinos to adopt their American construct of identity as Latinos/Hispanics. However, I do find that U.S.-born Latinos are more likely to prefer their pan-ethnic Latino or Hispanic identity. I conclude that pan-ethnicity is an acquired identity through lived experiences. Moreover, the generational difference in adopting the pan-ethnic identity label among Asians and Latinos suggests a unique pathway to racialization.

From here, I move on to explore the relationship between these lived experiences and political behavior; I demonstrate that the content of these identities do indeed inform Asian and Latino vote choice. In particular, Asian participants who are fluent in English and have experienced discrimination in the U.S. are less likely to prefer the candidate with the national origin identity. Contrary to expectation, more acculturated Latinos: U.S.-born, longer residents of the U.S., fluent English speakers, and those mostly educated in the U.S., are less likely to prioritize the pan-ethnic candidate. This is an unexpected result given that I had expected more acculturated individuals to prefer a candidate whose racial identity is emphasized. Perhaps more acculturated individuals are post-racial. Or there are additional characterization of acculturation that were not considered in the study. Lived experiences, characterized as experiences with

discrimination, and does seem to positively influence the importance of electing a pan-ethnic candidate in politics. This suggests that racialization for Latinos exceeds the domains of individual level factors and is instead a product of dialectic interaction with racial categories and groups in the U.S.

While these are interesting findings, candidate vote choice questions embedded in the NAAS and LNS do not allow me to test the relative effectiveness of pan-ethnic and national origin appeals. Moreover, I am constrained from making causal claims given that these surveys are observational studies. Therefore, this current chapter, along with Chapter Four, presents results from original survey experiments that address both the theoretical and methodological limitations of chapter two.

Methods and Procedures

In order to correct for theoretical and methodological limitations of previous research, I test the four hypotheses stated in the previous section, conducting two original online survey experiments. One survey was a sample of Latinos and the other was a sample of Asian Americans.

Latino Candidate Experiment

I conducted an online survey experiment of Latinos administered by *Latino Decisions* between September 12 and September 20, 2017 with 1,365 survey completes. Of the total, I rely on a national convenience sample of 755 adult respondents.³⁴ The remaining respondents were

³⁴ The *Latino Decisions* firm has a panel of Latino respondents who take their surveys for Latino public opinion. These respondents have been verified of their Latino identity and this question is asked again in the survey to ensure that respondents are Latinos. Those who did not identify as “Latino” or “Hispanic” descent were excluded from taking the survey. Respondents in the sample included both registered and non-registered Latinos. Moreover, weights have not been applied to this set of analyses.

complemented by an oversample of Latino respondents from Florida (N=369) and Texas (N=445). The survey was administered in English and Spanish.

The context of the survey was to gauge Latino public opinion on issues regarding the pardoning of Joe Arpaio, the DREAM Act, support for Trump, and other policies that affect Latinos and the Latino immigrant community. The experiment came toward the end of the survey that had 53 total questions. Questions on identity strength, one of the two sets of independent variables of interest, came before the treatment; however, various questions from policy to current events were asked between the independent variable and the experiment that the chances of priming these identities before the experiment was low.

First, the respondents read a preamble instructing them that they will be reading a set of candidate biographies. Each treatment conditions were a pair of fictitious candidates running for a city council position in a city located near to the respondent. The election was a non-partisan, low information, local level election where both candidates were males with identifiable Latin American surnames indicating their Latino identity (i.e., López and Sánchez). The first names for both candidates were Anglicized (i.e., Robert and Steven) for English respondents while the respondents who completed the survey in Spanish were given Spanish corollary first names (i.e., Roberto and Esteban). Because it would be unrealistic for both candidates to have the same profiles, the candidate biographies were different, but comparable enough along their levels of education attainment, family background, and their ideology (see Appendix D for a full description of the experiment conditions).

The study is a 1 x 3 design where the first candidate in the pair that appeared on the screen (e.g., Steven López) was always assigned to one of the three experimental conditions, while the second candidate (e.g., Robert Sánchez) was the constant candidate of comparison. The

stimulus, which is the identity appeal, was an organizational endorsement to the candidate. One of the three identity appeals was either the national origin identity piped in from the respondent's answer to their ancestry background, the Latino pan-ethnic identity, or the American identity as the baseline condition for the point of comparison.³⁵ The pan-ethnic condition was also piped in based on the respondent's answer to the preferred pan-ethnic identity question.³⁶ The baseline condition was the American identity appeal. Everything about the candidate—race, gender, education background, ideology, and family description—was similar across the two candidates. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of the three treatments. The average time to complete the survey was about 14 minutes. To make sure I analyzed my results only among those who were properly treated, I excluded those who did not receive the treatment. Exposure to the treatment was determined in the following way: right after respondents answered the vote choice question, they were asked about whether they remembered the national origin group endorsing candidate López.³⁷ Respondents who completed the survey were awarded with points for purchasing goods through the survey firm and or other services.

³⁵ Theoretically, the wording of the appeal could have been so that the candidate is directly appealing to the ethnic or the pan-ethnic identities of voters (i.e. “I will increase the number of Mexican/Latino scholarship funds in the districts to lay off the burdens of working Mexican/Latino families”). However, these types of identity appeals are less common than we think. I am in the process of collecting data on the types and the frequencies for which identity appeals are made by Asian and Latino candidates, and my current observation is that many of the identity appeals are communicated indirectly. For instance, candidate support for either the pan-ethnic or ethnic communities are in the form of the organizations they are being endorsed by, their family background and their birthplace, and community services and committees they served on to demonstrate that they are champions for these communities. These types of candidate behaviors are common among candidates (Brown and Gershon 2016).

³⁶ The exact wording of the question appeared in the following: “The most frequently used terms to describe persons of Latin American descent living in the United States are ‘Hispanic’ or ‘Latino.’ Of the two, which do you prefer, Hispanic or Latino, or are you not of Hispanic or Latino origin?” The most preferred pan-ethnic label was “Hispanic” (51%), Either (24%), Latino (20%), and Don’t care/DK (5%) in the entire sample (N=1365). Those who gave “either” or “don’t care” or “don’t know” as an answer were given the “Hispanic” stimuli in their pan-ethnic treatment since that is the commonly used pan-ethnic identity among individuals of Latin American descent in the U.S.

³⁷ Since this question is a check of manipulation for those who were assigned to the national origin treatment, I only exclude those who incorrectly identified among those who were assigned to the national origin condition. This will ensure that the “failed to treat” are only discounted only where the manipulation check question makes the most sense. This leaves me with a total of 1175 respondents for my final count. I don’t ask about the manipulation for the pan-ethnic and the American condition.

Table 3.3.1 Experimental Design using the Latino Victory Project 2017

Treatments	Treatment Conditions	Control Condition
<p>National origin identity (Treatment 1)</p>	<p>Candidate Steven López is running for the City Council in a nearby city.... He is endorsed by the local [ETHNIC] American Education Association and [ETHNIC] American Community Foundation.</p>	<p>Candidate Robert Sánchez is running for the City Council to represent your neighboring district...He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p>
<p>Pan-ethnic identity (Treatment 2)</p>	<p>Candidate Steven López is running for the City Council in a nearby city.... He is endorsed by the local Latino/Hispanic American Education Association and Latino/Hispanic American Community Foundation.</p>	
<p>American identity (Control condition)</p>	<p>Candidate Steven López is running for the City Council in a nearby city.... He is endorsed by the local American Education Association and American Community Foundation.</p>	

Note: See Appendix D for the full description and question wording of the study.

Asian American Candidate Experiment

The Asian American experiment was conducted between June 30 and July 17 of 2018, fielded with *Research Now – Survey Sampling International* with 1402 survey completes.³⁸ The sample was stratified such that about half of the sample was foreign-born while the remaining half was U.S.-born.³⁹ While the sample does not reflect the nativity distribution of the national characteristics of the Asian American population, the equal distribution of nativity status was necessary for testing Hypothesis 1 on the relationship between acculturation and responsiveness to identity appeals. There was not an oversample of subnational groups; however, the proportion of national origin groups in the final sample mirrored the national sample of Asians in the U.S. such that Chinese (20%) were the largest Asian group in the sample, followed by Japanese (17%), Asian Indians (16%), Filipinos (15%), Koreans (5%), and Vietnamese (4%). The remaining category was made up of Pakistanis, Cambodians, Native Hawaiians, Indonesian, Malaysian, Sri Lankan, Taiwanese, Thai, and Laotians. This survey was administered only in English.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Research Now – Survey Sampling International* has an Asian American panel whose names have been pooled from a variety of consumer-based companies. All demographic information is self-reported. To confirm their racial identity, I ask about their racial identification in the beginning of the survey. Respondents who reported to be a person other than “Asian American” were kicked out of the survey. I also allowed for multiracial Asian Americans to complete the survey. These individuals were then asked about their Asian national origin identity. Among those who reported to be mixed Asian national origin peoples, I followed up with a question about which of the multiple identities (at most four Asian origin groups were listed among those who reported to belong to multiple Asian ancestry groups) they identify the most with. Forcing an identity upon the respondent among those who use multiple identifiers I recognize is unnatural for some individuals to decipher.

³⁹ I stratified the 50-50 nativity status for the Latino and Asian American sample for the interest group experimental study.

⁴⁰ The fact that the survey was administered only in English is a limitation of the data given that 68% of the Asian American population speak a non-English language at home (PEW report in 2017 Pew Report 2017?). However, native language proficiency or English language dominance varies by national origin groups. Japanese (84%), Filipinos (82%), and Asian Indians (80%) are the most English dominant of the Asian origin groups in the U.S. Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese are the most likely subgroups to speak their Asian languages and complete surveys in research studies (Barreto et al. 2018). For the purposes of the study, I am somewhat confident in that Asian national origin groups represented in the sample reflect Asian national origin groups that predominantly speak their native languages (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean), and there are sizable groups represented in the sample. Here, I am assuming that the other language they speak are their native Asian languages. But even if that is not the case, this information is still consistent with my theory that being foreign born and having grown up in a country outside of the U.S. contributes to the unfamiliarity to the pan-ethnic identity label. I do examine “bilingual” characteristics as a proxy for language acculturation on the probability of voting for the candidate in the Appendix C of the document. I will administer the study in Asian languages to better characterize the Asian American population in the U.S.

Unlike the Latino survey, one additional set of questions on identity strength was asked in the survey. Because an additional set of identity questions were asked, I included a set of distractor questions ranging from political knowledge to topics on current events. The respondents were then randomly assigned to one of the three conditions.⁴¹ The biographies in the Asian American candidate biographies mirrored the intent of the biographies in the Latino survey.

The average time to complete the survey ranged between 15-27 minutes.⁴² To make sure I analyzed my results only among those who were properly treated, I excluded those who failed to be treated as determined by their response to the manipulation check question. After answering the vote choice question, they were asked about whether they remembered the name of the organization that endorsed the candidate.⁴³ Respondents who completed the survey were awarded with points for purchasing goods through the survey firm and or other services.

⁴¹ Since the candidate coupled with the treatment condition and the comparison category in one frame were not exactly the same, I randomize which of the two candidates (e.g., Bob or Dan) are randomly assigned to the treatments. In doing so, I mitigate the possibility that the characteristics of the candidate would interact with the treatment across the three conditions. This means that nothing about the candidate—neither their biographies nor the order in which they appear on the screen—changes while the source of the appeal is randomly assigned to either Bob or Dan. This means that either Bob or Dan have a 50-50 chance of being assigned to one of the three treatments. To ensure there is nothing systematically different about voting for either of the candidates when the treatment is assigned to either Bob or Dan, I conducted a follow-up analyses comparing voting for Bob or Dan when the treatment was attributed to Bob or when the treatment was attributed to Dan. I find the size and direction of the coefficient, standard error, and the significance levels of the treatment assignment was similar for the sample when the treatment was attributed to Bob and when the treatment was attributed to Dan on voting for the treated candidate. Therefore, I proceed the analyses by combining the two samples. This additional check now gives me the assurance the vote choice is an outcome upon seeing Bob with the treatment and Dan with the treatment.

⁴² The duration of the question required to complete the survey ranged quite a bit for Asian American respondents compared to Latino respondents. Because the size of the sample was a priority, I kept the respondents from a wide range of time to completion.

⁴³ Though 34% of the Asian American respondents correctly identified the treatment, individuals who correctly and incorrectly identified the manipulations were similar in their nativity status and length of years in the U.S. As such, this gives me the assurance that respondents who misidentified the treatment were not systematically different from having correctly identified the stimuli. I control for other dimensions such as gender, education, and income in my statistical models to account for any skewness in my data.

Table 3.3.2 Experimental Design using the Asian American Candidate Experiment 2018

Treatments	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
<p>National origin identity (Treatment 1)</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] grew up in a family of modest means and understands the struggles of working class families.... He is endorsed by the local [NATIONAL ORIGIN] American Education Association and [NATIONAL ORIGIN] American Community Foundation.</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] was raised in a union household and has a strong record of supporting organized labor...He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p>
<p>Pan-ethnic identity (Treatment 2)</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] grew up in a family of modest means and understands the struggles of working class families He is endorsed by the local Asian American Education Association and Asian American Community Foundation.</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] was raised in a union household and has a strong record of supporting organized labor...He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p>
<p>American identity (Control condition)</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] grew up in a family of modest means and</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] was raised in a union household and has a</p>

	<p>understands the struggles of working class familiesHe is endorsed by the local American Education Association and American Community Foundation.</p>	<p>strong record of supporting organized labor...He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p>
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Notes: See Appendix D for a full version of the vignette and question wordings of the survey. I randomized both the names and the content of the biographies. This means that candidate Bob was given the treatment 50% of the time while candidate Dan got the treatment the other 50% of the time. Even though the treatment conditions were randomly assigned to the first candidate presented on the screen for the survey participants (i.e., candidate Bob), the randomization of the two treatments and control condition should have been enough since my goal is not about which of the two candidates is preferred. However, because the content of the candidate biographies differed, I randomized which of the two candidates got the treatment so as to avoid candidate characteristics influencing respondent's vote choice.

Condensing the Data and Manipulation Check Question

Before describing and presenting results, I discuss how I came to the final sample count for all my analyses. I include individuals who correctly identified the treatment. In both surveys, the manipulation check question asked whether the respondents remembered the name of the organization endorsing the candidate being treated with the experimental conditions (see Appendix A for complete wording of the manipulation check questions). As a result, I yielded a total of 1175 correctly treated Latino and 479 Asian American respondents. All forthcoming analyses will rely on these successfully treated respondents.

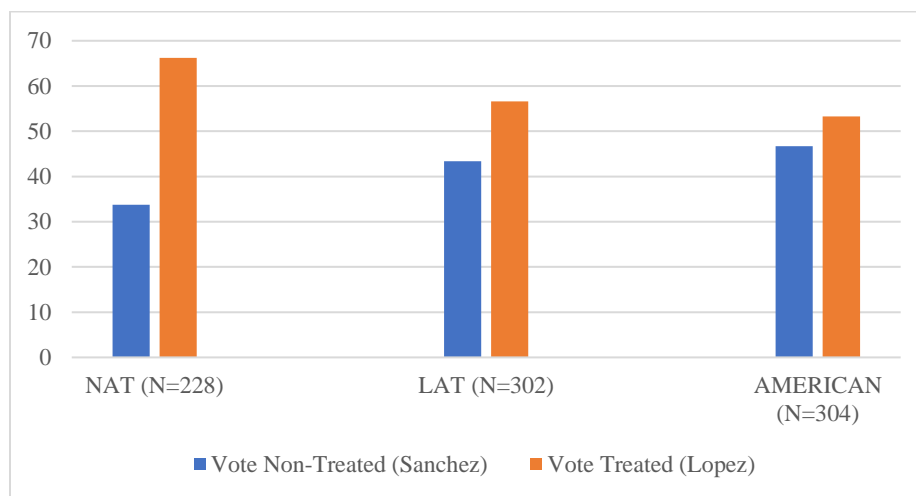
Descriptive Statistics

On a key set of demographics, both Latino and Asian American respondents in the sample are comparable to the national Latino and Asian American populations. The distribution of national origin backgrounds in both samples mirror the national origin backgrounds represented at the national level. Though the nativity distribution in the Latino sample does not mirror the national sample of Latinos, the even distribution of the U.S.- and foreign-born Latinos is still valuable for the study.

Outcome Measure: Vote Choice⁴⁴

Following the treatments, respondents were asked to evaluate the candidates they saw and give their preference for a candidate. The question specifically read: “If the election were being held today would you be more likely to support Steven López, Robert Sánchez, or some other candidate?”⁴⁵ Steven López was the candidate to which the treatments were assigned to, so a vote for López was coded as “1” and a vote for Sánchez was coded as “0.”⁴⁶ Since I randomly assigned the treatments to either candidate Bob or Dan in the Asian American experiment, voting for the candidate with the treatment was coded “1” and voting for the candidate without the treatment was coded “0.”

Figure 3.1 Vote Choice across each Experimental Condition (Latinos)



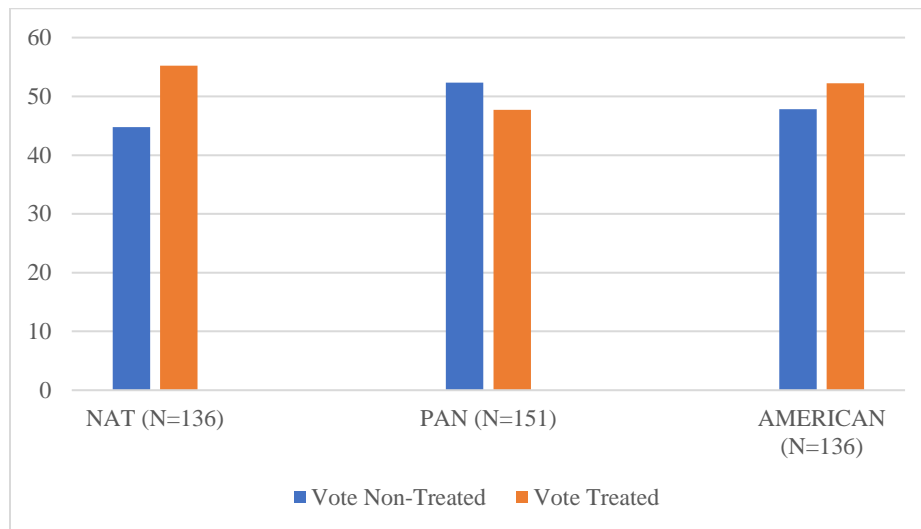
Notes: N=834. There were among those who got the manipulation check question correct. These are just raw percentages, and a significance test has not been conducted.

⁴⁴ I did explore more on the effect these appeals have on evaluating a candidate (“How well does López /Sanchez/Bob/Dan represent people like me?”), however the results were inconsistent. Thus I present results on candidate preference only.

⁴⁵ In the final coding, I excluded the “some other candidate” from my analyses.

⁴⁶ The vote choice question that asked: “If the election were being held today would you be more likely to support Steven López, Robert Sánchez, or some other candidate?” The response option to this for the Latino study was: López, Sánchez, or some other candidate. To accurately capture the vote choice option shown to the respondents, I dropped “some other candidate” as a response. I do not include “some other candidate” as a response option in the Asian American survey, leaving a total of two response options: Bob [national origin surname 1] and Dan [national origin surname 2].

Figure 3.2 Vote Choice across each Experimental Condition (Asians)



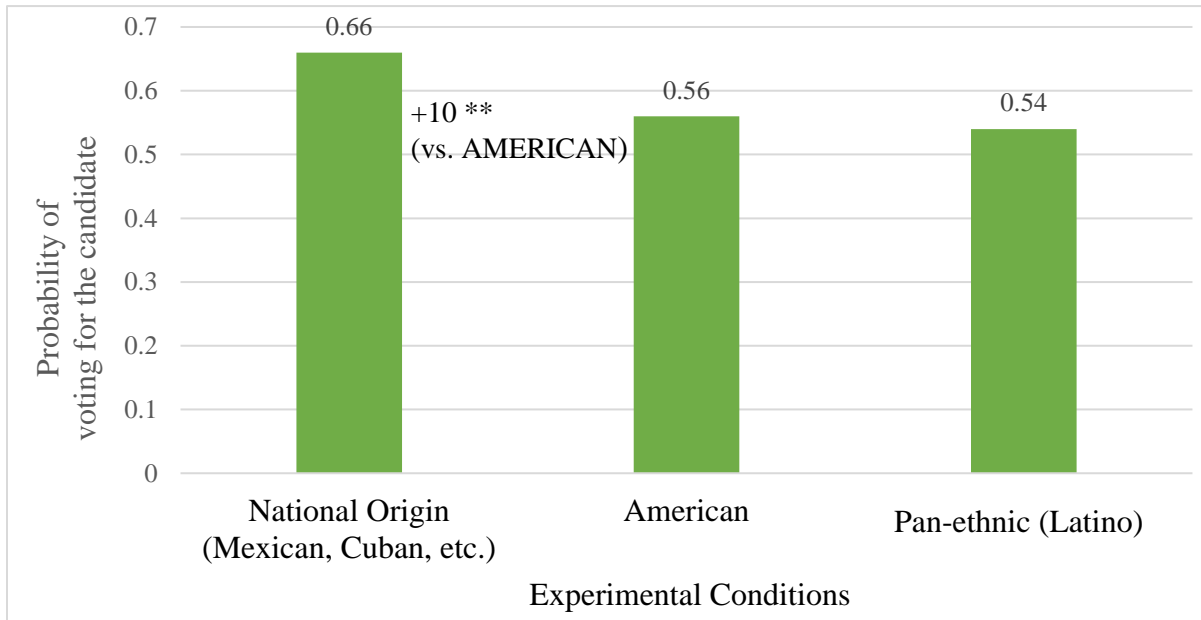
Notes: N=479. These respondents were among those who got the manipulation check question correct. These are just raw percentages, and a significance test has not been conducted.

In the Latino sample, 58% (N=834) of the respondents preferred candidate Steven López and 42% (N=350) preferred candidate Robert Sánchez. By treatment conditions, I find that candidate López was the favored candidate across three conditions, but the highest support for him—and the biggest disparity between candidates López and Sánchez—was in the national origin condition. In the Asian American sample, 52% (N=249) of the respondents preferred the treated candidate, and 48% (N=230) preferred the untreated candidate.

Results: Average Treatment Effects

Figure 3.3 shows the marginal effect of the main treatment effect on vote choice across experimental conditions. Latino respondents in the pan-ethnic condition were no more likely to have been persuaded in voting for the candidate than respondents in the baseline American condition. On average, the pan-ethnic condition on candidate preference is lower than those in the baseline American condition, but this effect is not significant. In essence, Latino respondents are indifferent to the pan-ethnic appeal.

Figure 3.3 Predicted Probability on Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions (Latinos)

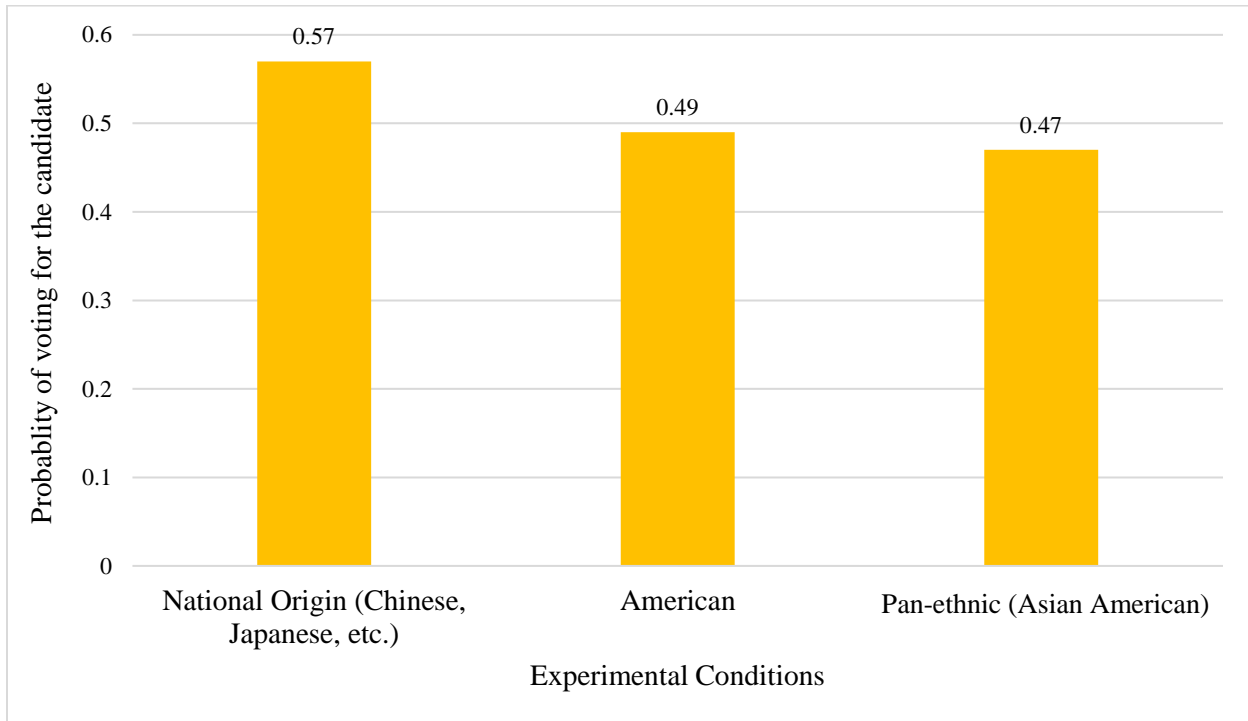


Notes: N=834. These are average treatment effects and therefore are not results of controlling for other covariates in the model

However, Latino respondents assigned to the national origin condition were more likely to be persuaded by the national origin appeal as compared to the baseline condition. This comparison is statistically significant with a 10-point increase for the national origin effect compared to the baseline American condition at $p < 0.01$.⁴⁷ In short, I find a null effect of pan-ethnic identity appeal on candidate preference compared to the baseline American condition. However, I find a statistically significant positive relationship of country-of-origin appeal on vote choice.

⁴⁷ See Appendix B for the full average treatment effect logistic regression output on vote choice.

Figure 3.4 Probability of Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions (Asians)



Note: N=479. These are average treatment effects and therefore are not results of controlling for other covariates in the model

Figure 3.4 shows the average treatment effect among Asian Americans. On average, the pan-ethnic identity appeal is one point less persuasive on voting for the candidate with the pan-ethnic identity assignment. Like the Latino result, however, this difference is not statistically significant. Substantively, this means that Asian American respondents are indifferent to their pan-ethnic appeal. Like Latinos, the national origin identity appeal generates an 8 point increase in support for the treated candidate as compared to the baseline American condition. Unlike the Latino result, however, this difference is not statistically significant.

Overall, the average treatment effects across two samples seem to suggest that pan-ethnic identity appeals are no more persuasive than the baseline American condition. However, the national origin identity appeal on average seems to be more persuasive than the baseline

American condition on vote choice. However, this difference is only statistically significant among Latino respondents.

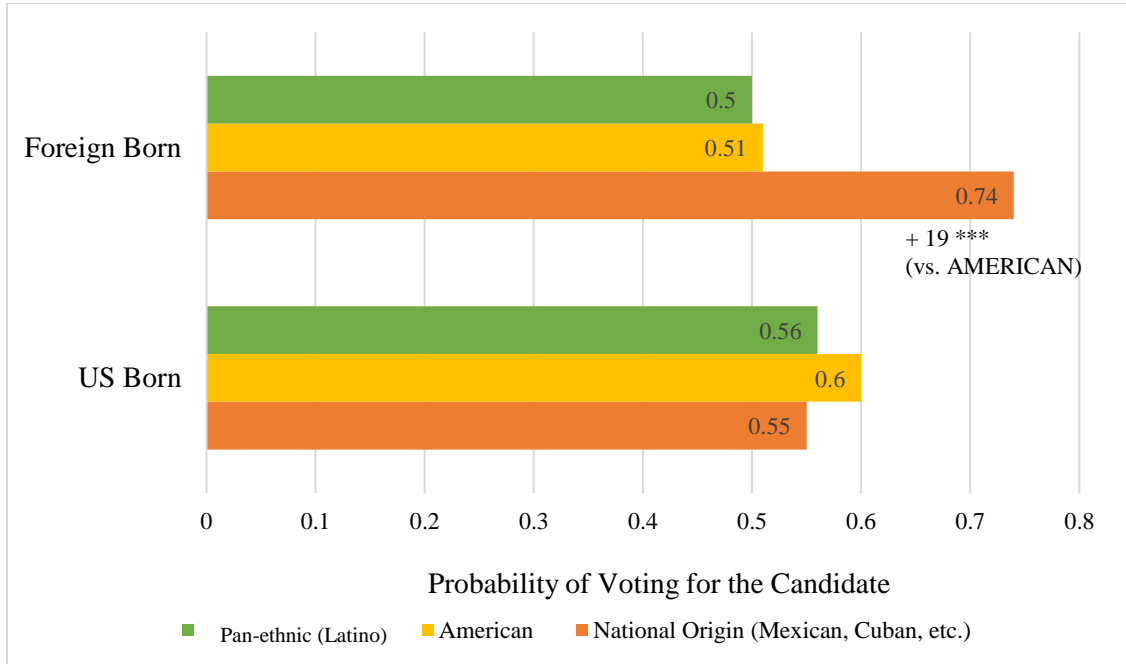
We might observe a dampened pan-ethnic effect compared to the American appeal among Latinos for two reasons. The Latino surname López may have made the pan-ethnic identity salient before the pan-ethnic treatment was introduced in the experiment. López as a surname is ambiguous enough to be broadly applicable to many national origin groups in Latin America and/or Spanish speaking countries. This component of the design was intentional so that everything about both candidates would be comparable except that the source of the candidate endorsement. In this design, the two Latino sounding surnames could have been primed from reading the first part of the vignettes. Given this design, the pan-ethnic treatment introduced in the later part of the experiment have not been freshly introduced to respondents. Therefore, presumably any difference we would see is due to the surname introduction rather than the manipulation. A similar argument can be made for why we observe the same results among Asian Americans. These results suggest that the pan-ethnic identity appeal coming from an in-group candidate may not be as attractive in political campaigns as appealing to the American identity.

The Effect of Acculturation and Identity Appeal on Vote Choice

Because pan-ethnic identity labels are specific to the American context, I hypothesized that those who are proximate to the immigrant experience—and who might therefore have a strong national origin identity—could be less responsive to the pan-ethnic appeal. Conversely, those who are acculturated to American life might be more responsive to the pan-ethnic identity appeal. Previous scholars have applied various ways of capturing acculturation, including—but not limited to—nativity status, English language dominance, years in the U.S., and immigrant

generation. In this project, I have decided to capture acculturation as nativity status because this variable was available in both surveys.⁴⁸

Figure 3.5 Probability of Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Latino)



Note: N=834. Applicable covariates: U.S.-born, voter registration, income, gender, education, age, Mexican-excluded category, Puerto Rican, Cuban, all else.

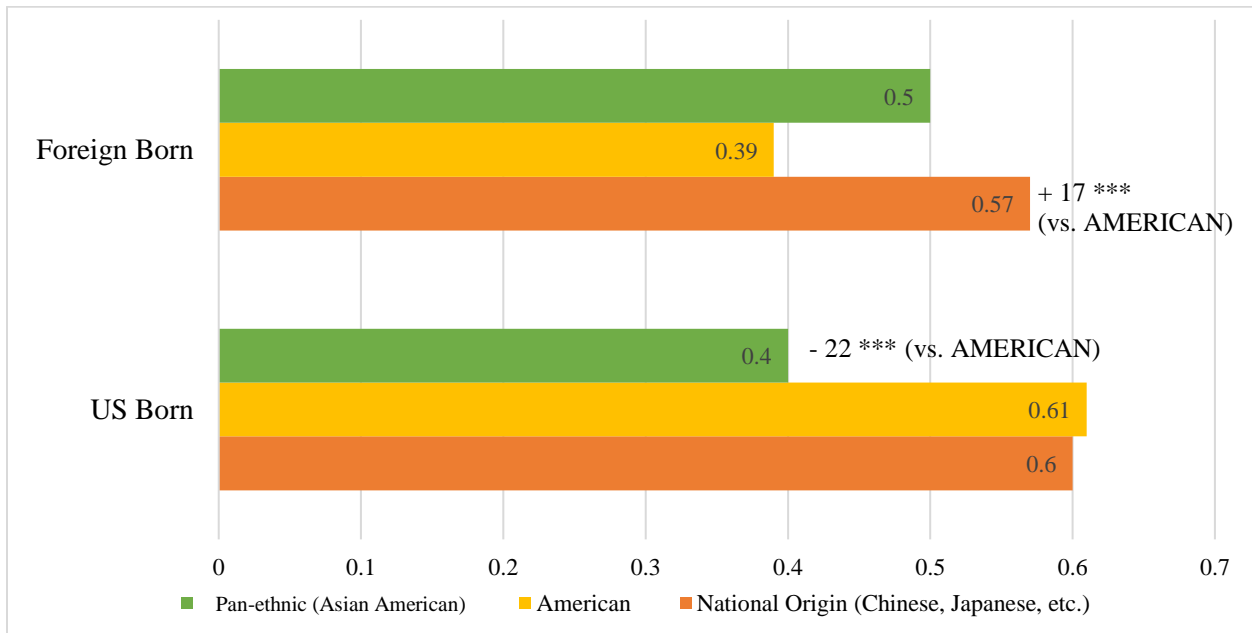
There are reasons to suspect that nativity status is an appropriate proxy for how someone might respond to the pan-ethnic and national origin identity appeal. Whether you were born in the U.S. or not, in general, might shape who one talks to and the types of information one might encounter throughout the course of their lives. This means that if you are foreign born⁴⁹, your

⁴⁸ I do examine English language dominance among the Latino respondents. Furthermore, I examine years in the U.S. among the Asian American respondents. I find that Spanish dominant speakers were significantly more likely to respond to the national origin appeal over the American appeal. This finding is consistent with the finding that the Spanish language appeal is effective for a subset of the Latino population (Abrajano and Panagopoulos 2011). I don't find any effect of number of years in the U.S. among Asian Americans. There is a bilingual ability question in the Asian American survey that asks if the respondents speak another language that is not English. The bilingual ability question does not bear a significant moderating effect on vote choice. Results of these analyses are embedded in the Appendix C section of the document. In future iterations, I plan to include the same set of acculturation variables so I can compare various forms of acculturation across both groups.

⁴⁹ In the same model, I do account for whether the respondent was college educated in the U.S. as a proxy for a source that brings awareness and realization of Latino and Asian American's place in the U.S. racial category. I do control for whether someone

closest social circle might mostly be other first-generation immigrants and therefore, your national origin identity might be reinforced in the topics you discuss, the language you typically speak, and the customs you observe. As such, foreign-born individuals might be more inclined to respond to the national origin appeal rather than the pan-ethnic appeal. Conversely, U.S.-born individuals who are second generation—and onward—children of immigrants might be exposed to non-co-ethnic social networks and be English dominant, thus making them more familiar with their pan-ethnic identity label than their foreign-born, first generation immigrant counterparts would be. Therefore, I expect U.S.-born individuals to be more responsive to their respective pan-ethnic label than their national origin identity label.

Figure 3.6 Probability of Vote Choice by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Asians)



Note: N=441. Covariates: U.S. born, voter registration, income, gender, education, age, East Asian-excluded category, South Asian, South East Asian, Native Hawaiian, vote for Bob.

was U.S. college educated (only among Asians due to data availability) in the model, and the coefficients of interest remain statistically significant and in the right direction. In future iterations of the project, I'd like to filter out the 1.5 generation from the foreign-born category. These are individuals who were born outside of the U.S. but arrived at a young age. Many of their social networks may mirror closely the second and third generation children of immigrants. Thus, we might observe a stronger effect among the older foreign born and younger foreign-born individuals and their strength of national origin identity.

In Figures 3.5 and 3.6, I find that foreign-born Latinos who were assigned to the national origin appeal were, on average, 19 points more likely to have voted for the candidate (López) who made the appeal ($p < 0.001$) as compared to the baseline American condition. I do not find any statistically significant relationship for U.S.-born individuals who are responsive to the pan-ethnic identity when compared to the American baseline condition. Similar to the Latino results, I find that foreign-born Asian Americans are more likely to vote for the candidate who appealed to their national origin identity than the baseline American identity by about 17 points ($p < 0.001$). These results are consistent with the hypothesis that foreign born individuals are closer in contact and in conversation with people who share their national origin identities. Therefore, it is possible that ties and the familiarity associated with these identities that might be influencing their responses to the appeals rather than mere identities.

One interesting result to note is the difference between the Latino and Asian American response to their respective pan-ethnic identities. While both U.S.- and foreign-born Latino respondents are indifferent to the Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic identity appeal, U.S.-born Asian American respondents are, on average, 22 points *less likely* to vote for the candidate who use the Asian American pan-ethnic appeal ($p < 0.001$) compared to the baseline American identity appeal. This result is consistent with my expectation that Latinos and Asian Americans will respond differently to their respective pan-ethnic identity appeals. However, I did not expect to see a statistically significant negative relationship between pan-ethnic identity appeal on vote choice among Asian Americans. Substantively, this means that Asian American respondents are not merely indifferent to the pan-ethnic appeal—they actually reject the pan-ethnic appeal. I

return to providing a plausible explanation of this result using qualitative data collected with the experiment.⁵⁰

Identity Strength, Discrimination, and College Education in the U.S. on Vote Choice

I consider the interactive effects of exposure to treatment and strength of pan-ethnic and national origin identity on vote choice. I hypothesize that strong identifiers of both pan-ethnic and national origin identities are more likely to be receptive to the corresponding identity appeals than those with weak attachments to them. However, the centrality of these identities is not significantly effective on vote choice. Similarly, the strength of national origin identity (mean=0.55) on vote choice among Asian Americans is, on average, lower than strength of pan-ethnic identity (mean=0.54) on vote choice. However, these relationships are not statistically significant.⁵¹ I also find null effect of being college educated in the U.S. and experiencing discrimination.

There are alternative explanations for this the null effect of identity and exposure to the pan-ethnic appeal. The first is that identity importance does not matter for responding to an identity appeal. This is plausible given that pan-ethnic identity for both groups is not their preferred identity. Another explanation for this null effect might be that the targeted identity in the appeal was not threatened. We know from previous literatures that identities are politically

⁵⁰ Though foreign-born Asian Americans are indifferent to the Asian American pan-ethnic identity appeal, it is interesting to note that, on average, the pan-ethnic identity is preferred over the baseline American appeal. I was puzzled by this especially because I hypothesized that foreign-born individuals might not respond to the pan-ethnic identities due to lack of familiarity of the label and the concept. However, free response from my survey data reveals new and interesting information that makes sense of why foreign-born Asians might consider the pan-ethnic identity label to be somewhat desirable. In a free response question that asked, “What the first thing is you think of when you hear the term Asian American?” one of the modal response categories was a literal understanding of the term: “An Asian person living in America.” I suspect the pan-ethnic labels for Latinos and Asian Americans are not only rooted in different histories, but also show semantic differences. For many Asians, the term is understood to be fictitious and literal while there is some argument that the term “Latino” is rooted in the Spanish language itself and that, at the baseline, Latinos respondents may have some shared sense around the label.

⁵¹ Since we know that pan-ethnic and national origin identities are held simultaneously by members of these two groups (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996), I may need to conceptualize and account for the strength of identity across both groups. Thus, I have considered the difference measure between the pan-ethnic and national origin identifiers on vote choice when interacted with the treatment. I took the absolute value of the difference measure so that the measure ranged from “0” to “1” where “0” represents when the strength of national origin and pan-ethnic identities were the same. Similarly, “1” represents respondents whose identities turned out to be more important than the other. The effect of this difference measure in the same model is not significant.

relevant when the targeted identities are threatened (Klar 2013; Perez 2015; Garcia-Ríos et al. 2018). Since the appeal in my treatment is neutral, it is plausible that the respondents did not see the need to protect the targeted identity and therefore we may not observe any effect of the identity doing much of the work on the outcome of interest.

Qualitative Evidence of Rejecting the Pan-ethnic Identity: a Case Study of Asian Americans

To explain the rejection of the pan-ethnic identity appeal among Asian American respondents, I glean three insights from a qualitative portion of the survey. At the very end of the survey, I asked an open-ended question regarding the respondents' thoughts on the term "Asian American." The exact wording of the question read: "What is the first thing you think of when you hear the term Asian American? You can write as little or as much as you'd like on this topic." There were six modal response categories that surfaced from the open-ended responses, but I only report three of the six, as they provide the most likely explanations for the results in Figure 3.5 and 3.6.

The following response categories reveal negative reactions to the Asian American identity label. The first set of modal responses has to do with the dissatisfaction that come from qualifying their American identity. The sentiment behind these responses had a colorblind language that highlighted the importance of their American identity through birth rather than the importance of their Asian heritage. One respondent said s/he is "...just people/person..." and that "we are all equal!" Another respondent said the label is "[a]nother unnecessary term to separate us instead of uniting...Everyone IS American, that's it, that's all..." These two

responses suggest that the pan-ethnic identity appeal might be priming negative emotions and reminding the respondents that they are not “American” enough.

The second set of responses that might explain the negative reaction to the Asian American label seem to involve the term being associated with erasing ethnic distinctions. Many respondents were frustrated at the label as something that is “...generic [and] too generalized and [that] [it] does not recognize great differences between ethnicities.” Others emphasized their dissatisfaction that “...people do not understand how many different types of [A]sian [A]mericans there are.” And felt their ethnic cultures were being ignored when labeled Asian American. One respondent explicitly stated his/her preference “...to [be] call[ed] a Japanese-American.” This respondent felt the need to exert their unique heritage beyond generalization and simplification that the term intends.

The third modal response that might explain the negative response to the pan-ethnic identity appeal might have to do with a subset of Asians who feel excluded from the Asian American prototype.⁵² Some responses, I suspect, were from subnational groups that are phenotypically different from East Asians (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Taiwanese), to which the prototype is broadly associated. A respondent states that the terms makes him/her “...think of eastern asian because for some reason in our culture in usa people from china, japan, koreas, etc are asians and south Asians like india, Pakistan, Bangladesh are called plainly just called brown.” This respondent expresses feeling distant from the label because they are different from East Asians, who are immediately associated with the term. It is interesting to note that the respondent recognizes the boundaries to which the pan-ethnic label refers. To a subgroup of

⁵² Asian American prototypes are attributed to the “model minority” stereotype. This stereotype often refers to characteristics of non-Whites who have achieved socioeconomic success despite their disadvantages of being people of color. Asian Americans, specifically East Asians, fit this outcome and thus the stereotypes describe characteristics specific to East Asians (hard working, passive and not politically vocal, smart, introspective, unsociable, quiet, good at math and science, etc.).

Asians, the label that was intended to include people from the broader continent of Asia instead makes them feel excluded and marginalized. Previous research shows that Filipinos are also caught in a paradox of being bureaucratically labeled as Asian Americans while simultaneously being socially, economically, and phenotypically distinct from East Asians (Ocampo 2016). As misfits of the Asian American prototype, it is possible that respondents from Asian subgroups may reject the pan-ethnic identity appeal. Unlike Latinos, no national origin group dominates Asian Americans, thus we may need to explore the political consequences for how Asian subgroups contest boundaries and create meaning around the Asian American label.⁵³

Conclusion

This chapter builds on a series of findings on descriptive representation and how they matter for candidate evaluations. Current findings in the literature suggest that having someone who looks like themselves in positions of power matters for how many constituents will participate. However, these findings rely on the assumption that pan-ethnic and national origin identities are indistinguishable. In the political mobilization and campaign arena, the interchangeability of these identities assumes that employing either identity should yield similar results. The findings of this study support the previous research that political representation—through the appeals employed in political campaigns—matters for politics, but who political elites appeal to in their messages matters a great deal. My research confirms this existing work while adding to our knowledge that descriptive representation is much more fine-grained when it comes to representation. I find that, when compared to national origin appeals, pan-ethnic appeals may be under-mobilizing the intended voters. These findings should challenge the

⁵³ Various definitions and understandings of what the label “Asian American” means to Asian American respondents is additional evidence that the pan-ethnic identity label may not be effective for mobilizing the intended voters.

blurring of racial and national origin identities that occur in the U.S., especially because the distinction between the two identities matters for political behaviors of electorates whose ethnic distinctions persist. This study thus has implications that mobilizing Asian and Latino electorates by their national origin identities may be more successful than mobilizing them by their pan-ethnic labels. Such strategies may influence candidate preference and may effectively mobilize them for politics.

In short, though pan-ethnic appeals are well intended, it is possible that these broad appeals may be overlooking the cultural diversity and migration histories of members of these groups, and as a result they may fail to mobilize potential supporters. A second notable finding from my research is the differential responses to the pan-ethnic appeal by Latinos and Asian Americans. These diverging responses to pan-ethnic appeals between the two groups point to unique racialization processes that might render pan-ethnic identity appeals to be ineffective and under-mobilizing. Future work should continue to theorize the racialization processes, comparing and contrasting these two groups. Overall, my work identifies an area of under-mobilization for politics by highlighting a potential fine-tuning tool for mobilizing the two largest and fastest growing populations in the American electorate—Latinos and Asian Americans. These findings have implications for how American political institutions—including political parties—can effectively appeal to and thereby incorporate voters into American political life.

Chapter 4

Identity Appeals and their Consequences for Civic Engagement

Introduction

As demonstrated in chapter 3, pan-ethnic identities (i.e., Asian American, Latino or Hispanic) deployed in electoral contexts influence candidate vote choice among Latino and Asian Americans. Like in electoral politics, service and advocacy organizations frequently appeal to Asian and Latino pan-ethnic identities. However, the effectiveness of these appeals remains uncertain given that a large proportion of Asian Americans and Latinos prefer their national origin identities. In this chapter, I investigate the role pan-ethnic and national origin identity appeals have on non-electoral participation.

Using two original survey experiments, I find that pan-ethnic identity appeals are not as effective as we might have assumed even when the goal of the appeal is to promote civic engagement. In fact, experimental evidence suggests that appeals to national origin identities are much more effective in eliciting Latino and Asian American volunteers for the organization. In particular, I find that foreign-born Latinos and Asian Americans were more willing to volunteer with the organization if they were appealed to their national origin identities. While the main treatment effects suggest that pan-ethnic appeals are not as effective in promoting civic engagement, I find suggestive evidence that U.S. born Latinos are more likely to volunteer with the organization if they are appealed to their pan-ethnic identity. On the other hand, U.S.-born

Asian Americans are less willing to volunteer with the organization if they are appealed to their national origin identities.

These findings point to how socialization in the U.S., as operationalized by nativity status, can shape a person's responsiveness to identity appeals. Additionally, these results demonstrate the extent to which these two distinct U.S. racial groups embrace their pan-ethnic identities. Differing responses to respective pan-ethnic identities suggest future research on the socio-political mechanisms that contribute to the racialization of the two groups.

A Landscape of Identity Appeals in Non-Electoral Context

Organizations, specifically non-profits⁵⁴, frequently appeal to pan-ethnic identities. But how and when do organizations appeal to the pan-ethnic identities? Many of these organizations proliferated after the enactment of the 1965 Hart-Cellars Act and became advocates for the social and political welfare of many Latino and Asian immigrants (Wong 2008; de Graauw 2016). To highlight a few, organizations like the *Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAAJ)* and the *National Association of Latino Elected Officials Education Fund (NALEO)* have framed issues to be relevant for the broader Asian American and the Latino community respectively. They and other organizations like the *APIA Vote* and *Voto Latino* are making significant political impact in their communities through their Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) efforts, voter education, and other means to get the two communities out to the polls. There are organizations at the local level like the *Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Alliance* that appeal to the pan-ethnic identities of these communities.

⁵⁴ By non-profits, I'm specifically referring to 501 (c) (3) tax-exempt organizations that cannot do electioneering work or support a party or candidates.

As much as these organizations frequently appeal to pan-ethnic identities, it is not certain whether these appeals are received by the targeted populations. Previous work has investigated the extent to which the Latino and American identity in GOTV messages influence turnout, but it does not investigate the identity difference between the national origin and pan-ethnic identities (Valenzuela and Michelson 2016). To what extent and for whom are these identity appeals persuasive with respect to encouraging civic engagement? Specifically, how appealing are the Asian American identity labels as opposed to Chinese American (e.g., Japanese, Asian Indians, Filipino, etc.) labels on responding to a call to engage in an organization? Similarly, how appealing are pan-ethnic identity labels relative to Mexican Americans and the like (e.g., Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans, etc.) on civic participation? I investigate the relative effectiveness of the pan-ethnic and national identity appeals on civic engagement in the two communities.

Formation of Pan-ethnicity through Organizations

It is clear that many politicians and interest groups see pan-ethnic appeals directed at the Latino and Asian American electorates as an effective political strategy. However, the origins of these identities provide weight to the idea that pan-ethnic identities might not be an effective way to mobilize many individuals in these respective groups. As addressed in chapter one, the Asian American and Latino pan-ethnic labels were strategically created by both government agencies and community leaders (Espiritu and Ong 1994; Gibson and Jung 2002; Lien et al. 2004; Prewitt 2006; Hattam 2007; Rim 2010). From that point on, bureaucratic organizations, politicians, civic organizations, and the media began to use these identities to refer to members of Asian American and Latino communities, therefore the strategic introduction of these identity categories may be ineffective in influencing all Asian American and Latino populations.

Civic organizations have also contributed to the strategic use of pan-ethnic identity labels. In an effort to create a collective through strength in numbers, community elites associated with these organizations and local bureaucrats have played crucial role in the creation of these identities. One concrete example of these kinds of effort is the creation of *Univision*, a widely used Spanish language media network for Spanish speaking consumers in the U.S. (Mora 2014). This media venue created through a unified language in the Hispanic community delivered a solidified social, political, and cultural issues to the community. Though there is no institution equivalent to *Univision* in the Asian community, many pan-ethnic Asian organizations were created to deliver a collective voice for the Asian American community (Okamoto 2012).

The strategic use of pan-ethnic identities provides additional reasons to question the effectiveness of these appeals. These organization's 501 (c) (3) tax-exempt status has contributed to preserve the pan-ethnic identity labels of these two groups. In most cases, they rely on government funds to remain active and pursue their causes (Espiritu 1992; Lien 2001). Scholars have noted that it is rational for these organizations to do so, and in many cases organizations have benefited by promoting services and advocacy oriented across multiple national origin groups.⁵⁵ In fact, there have been conscious efforts to frame and tailor messages that would benefit the pan-ethnic community. For survival, these organizations often are pan-ethnic rather than national origin specific. As such these organizations have every incentive to maintain and perpetuate the pan-ethnic nature of their institutions. These resources are then allocated to benefit the greater community. In the next section, I turn to the role these local institutions contribute to the political lives of immigrants.

⁵⁵ Recent work by Kim (under review) have shown that service and advocacy organizations have pan-ethnic names and goals while professional organizations remain, in most cases, national origin specific.

The Role of Organizations on the Civic Life and Political Engagement of Immigrants

Civic and service oriented non-profit organizations facilitate the integration of immigrants to a life in America (Jones-Correa 1998; Wong 2008; de Graauw 2016). These local institutions often provide social skills and immigrants with skill sets to navigate multiple aspects of their lives in a new country (Beito 2003; Davis 1994; Soyer 2006; Trolander 1987). In addition to soft skills learned from these institutions, non-profit organizations are important for practicing and equipping civic skills useful for political life in the U.S. In a study of Chinese and Mexican American involvement in civic organizations, Wong finds that participants involved in predominantly homeland serving organizations gained greater interest in American politics, acquired civic skills such as registering to vote, and learned to engage in non-electoral activities such as protesting, picketing, and attending court hearing in their local communities (Wong 2008). Moreover, mobilization efforts of these organizations were found to be, relative to other racial groups, more effective than outreach efforts by formal political institutions like political parties (Garcia-Castanon et al., 2019). In addition to civic skills, mobilization efforts by these organizations have increased voter turnout among Latinos (Ramirez 2005).⁵⁶ These inconspicuous institutions serve as important bridges for equipping, informing, and reaching out to other organizations for incorporating new voters and citizens into American political life.

Despite the positive impact these organizations have in fostering civic skills good for democratic politics, we know very little about what kinds of messaging works for involving community activism and participation. As such, I test whether and which identity appeals matter for engaging Asian American and Latino communities.

⁵⁶ NALEO (National Association of Latino Elected Official's outreach effort through making phone calls to the Latino community has increased voter turnout among Latinos.

Summary of the Theory and Hypotheses

I proposed a theory for answering these questions in the previous chapter. The framework relies on the degree of acculturation to the American context and predicts that certain segments of Asian American and Latino communities will be most responsive to either pan-ethnic or national origin appeals. The theory of adopting a racial identity assumes that pan-ethnic identities, referring specifically to the Asian American and Latino or Hispanic identity labels, are part of American racial categories. Therefore, it also assumes that not all individuals will willingly identify and respond to candidates who appeal to these identities.

Building on these axioms, my theory of adopting a racial identity states that adopting American constructs of racial identity are accompanied by markers that indicate lived experiences at the individual level and informed by how they are treated by the broader American society. It predicts that individuals who have been exposed to the American life will be more responsive to the pan-ethnic appeal than those who have not. Moreover, I consider identification with and responsiveness to pan-ethnic appeal to be attributed to experiences and perceptions of discrimination. Lastly, I distinguish the trajectories of racialization between the two communities by projecting that Latinos, on average, may be more responsive to pan-ethnic appeals than Asian Americans. These hypotheses will distinguish the effect that national origin and pan-ethnic appeals have on political participation. Taken together, I expect responsiveness to pan-ethnic, or national origin appeals to be conditional upon degree of racialization in the U.S. I characterize the process of racialization in the place of birth, language, amount of time in the U.S., place of higher education, and experiences with discrimination and unfair treatment. I test the following hypotheses stated in chapter one.

In Chapter One, I introduced the puzzling disconnect between the effects of pan-ethnic identity appeals and identity preferences of Asian Americans and Latinos. In spite of this disconnect, with an exception to one study (Sanchez and Morin 2011), very little research has sought to examine the interplay between pan-ethnic and national origin identities. The chapter fills this void by examining the effects of pan-ethnic and national identity appeals on Asian American and Latino political behavior. I address two specific questions in this chapter: To what extent are pan-ethnic and national identity appeals effective on civic engagement? And, who among these groups are most likely to respond to each of these appeals?

In this chapter, I find that longer years residing and being educated in the U.S. are positively correlated with the pan-ethnic identification. These results suggest that foreign-born Asian Americans are the most likely to learn and adopt the American construct of racial identity. Surprisingly, I don't find this among U.S.-born Asian Americans. Unlike Asian Americans, I find that U.S.-born Latinos are more likely to prefer their pan-ethnic Latino or Hispanic identity. I conclude that pan-ethnicity is an acquired identity through lived experiences. Moreover, the generational difference in adopting the pan-ethnic identity label among Asians and Latinos suggests a unique pathway to racialization.

From here, I move on to explore the causal relationship between identity appeals on vote choice. In Chapter Three, I find that national origin appeals were significantly influential for Latino and Asian American vote choice. Moreover, this effect was driven by foreign born respondents. This finding suggests that lived experiences, nativity status in particular, is a significant driver for responding favorably to the national origin appeal. Lastly, there is some suggestive evidence that U.S.-born Asian Americans reject the pan-ethnic identity appeal. This result suggests a distinct process of racialization toward the Asian American label in the Asian

community. I explore an explanation for this using a set of open-ended qualitative response from my own survey. Given these results, this chapter, in particular, seeks to tests these hypotheses in the context of civic engagement.

Methods and Procedures

To test my predictions, I collected a nationally diverse sample of 1,090 Latinos and 914 Asian Americans in 2019.⁵⁷ Both surveys were fielded with *Dynata*⁵⁸ from January 2019 to March 2019. The Latino survey was available in English and standard Spanish.⁵⁹ About 27% of the sub-sample completed the survey in Spanish. On the other hand, the Asian American survey was administered only in English. Additional analyses, timing information on the vignette screen, and manipulation check questions are in the Appendix A section of the document.

Latino sample (2019 study)

Fifty-six percent of the sample is female and 44% is male in the Latino study (N=439).⁶⁰ About 73% of the sample was born in the U.S. mainland excluding Puerto Rico, and about 2%

57 The study received approval from the University of Michigan Institutional Review Board in 2018. The funding for this project was generously provided the Gerald R. Ford Fellowship in 2018.

58 Formerly known as *Research Now* (I may not need to include this). Though I collected about 300 respondents per experimental conditions, I lost about 60% of the sample for both Latino and Asian American surveys after filtering out the manipulation check question. The manipulation check question asked: “Which of the following groups was advocated by *One America*?” This question was asked after a series of dependent variables (eight engagement questions). The response questions included a list of national origin, pan-ethnic, and other social groups mentioned in the experimental vignettes. Respondents were allowed to give more than one response. “1” referred to those who correctly identified the manipulation. For example, correctly identified respondents were someone in the “national origin” experimental condition and gave a “national origin” response as an identified social group mentioned in the experimental condition. Similarly, those who misidentified the manipulation, often included wrongly identified group than the experimental condition or gave “Don’t know” as an answer. This filtering system yielded N=438 (N=1090) Latino and N=339 (N=914) Asian American respondents. Since so many responses were dropped for my final analyses, I will discuss how manipulation check questions needs more attention for future studies. (I did not find any treatment effects when I analyzed the original sample of N=1090 Latinos and N=914 Asians.)

59 The survey was translated by a professional translator who is certified. The translated Spanish was geared toward Mexican Spanish frequently spoken in the United States. Furthermore, the survey was revised by seven additional native and fluent Spanish speakers to ensure the questions were clear enough to be understood by an average Spanish speaker.

60 The national Latino population according to the 2018 US Census, about 50.5% to be females and 49.5% to be males. About 65.8% are born in the U.S. and 34.2% are foreign born individuals. About 15.4% of the population have been reported to have completed a 4-year degree. Median income is \$47K and the median age of 28 years old. About 27.2% of the Latino population have reported to speak only English at home.

were born in a foreign country or – in the case of Puerto Rico – outside mainland U.S. The average age was about 44, which is somewhat older than a representative sample of adult Latinos (according to the US Census, the median age for adult Latinos is 28). A little over one-third (34%) of the sample completed a four-year college degree. The median income was between \$50,000 - \$75,000. Mexicans made up about 42% of the sample, with the remainder composed of Puerto Ricans (21%), Cubans (10%), Central Americans (11%), South Americans (10%), and others (7%).

Asian American sample (2019 study)

As for Asian Americans (N=339), fifty-two percent of the sample is male and 48% are females.⁶¹ About 53% of the sample is U.S. born leaving about 47% of the respondents to be born outside of the U.S. Among the foreign-born Asian Americans, the average number of years lived in the U.S. was about 28. In terms of language proficiency, about 30% of the sample indicated that they only speak English while the remaining 70% reported that they speak another language other than English. Here, it is not clear whether they speak an Asian language. The average age in my sample was about 42 years old, which is somewhat older than the national adult Asian American population according to the US census (the median age is about 37). About 47% of the respondents in the sample have completed a 4-year college degree. The median income was between \$75,000-\$100,000. Chinese made up about 38% of the respondents, followed by Japanese of 13%, Koreans at 12%, Filipinos at 10%, Vietnamese at 9% and Asian

⁶¹ The national Asian American population according to the 2018 US Census, about 52.5% are female and 47.8% are males. Asian Americans are mostly foreign born with only about 41% being born in the U.S. More than of the population (52%) of the population have obtained a 4-year degree and beyond. Their reported median income is about \$75,000 and a median age of 34 years old. About 70% of Asian Americans speak English proficiently. However, only about 32% of Asian Americans speak only English at home and about 68% of them speak another language at home.

Indians at 7%. The remaining national origin groups are composed of Nepalis, Hmong, Samoan, Thai, and others.

The study was designed so that the respondents were first asked to answer a series of pre-treatment questions concerning their demographic characteristics, identity strength and importance, perceptions of discrimination, and their involvement in community organizations (local and national organizations). There were no distraction questions embedded in the study, however, the experimental conditions were set up such that two additional organization vignettes were shown to the respondents.⁶² These vignettes were shown so that the participants will consider the actual treatment to be part of a collective evaluation of organization rather than evaluating the organization in isolation. Subsequently, all participants read about *One America*, the actual organization in which the national origin, pan-ethnic, and the baseline (everyone in the U.S.) were embedded in the organizational vignette. Participants were told that they would be asked some question about the content that they have read.⁶³

The content of the *One America* vignette was based on the actual mission and goals of the organization. *One America* is a genuine non-profit organization based in Seattle, Washington that support the rights and protection of immigrants and other marginalized communities in the greater Seattle area. The three experimental conditions were couched in an overall message that said the goals of the organization are good for a list of identity groups. The participants were asked about their willingness to support the organization, their evaluation of the importance of the organization, as well as their interest in receiving more information, signing a petition against hate crime, sending a postcard to their Senators, attending a meeting, volunteering with *One*

62 The two pre-treatment vignettes were from neutral organizations, dog lovers club and neighborhood gardening, describing (see Appendix D for complete wording of the pre-treatment and experimental conditions) the mission of the organizations. Respondents were asked to rate the importance and their support for the organization after reading about each organization.

63 The exact wording of the instruction read like the following: "Below are descriptions of a few organizations. Please take a moment to read through each of them, and then we will ask you some questions about the content you just read."

America, and inviting someone to attend a meeting organized by *One America* (see Appendix A for full wording of the questions). All of the outcome measures were their willingness to engage in the activities associated with the organization.⁶⁴

As indicated by Table 4.1, participants were randomly assigned to one of the three treatment conditions (organizational vignettes). Each experimental condition was set up so that the organization's goals and missions were clear. The content on educational access, economic justice, immigrant and voting rights are actual statements and goals advocated by *One America* as communicated on their website. Furthermore, the identity groups are also the very groups that the organization has served and intend to serve. Given this set up, I manipulated the targeted groups to include the national origin identity corresponding to the self-identified national origin identity for each participant. Moreover, the pan-ethnic identity matched the pan-ethnic groups of the respondents. For Latino respondents, specifically, participants' preference for the Latino or the Hispanic pan-ethnic identity label was piped-in accordingly. Eight questions gauging their intended behaviors were asked as soon as one of the three experimental conditions were shown to each participant.

⁶⁴ I recognize that these outcome measures are not observable behavior. These measures were reevaluated by *Dynata* and I had to adhere to their protocol to not endorse *One America* as an organization in their partaking of the survey. Given the limitation due to administering the survey, I will frame the rest of the discussion around intended political behavior.

Table 4.4.1 Experimental Conditions

Experiment Conditions	Identity Appeal by <i>One America</i>
National origin	... <i>One America</i> believes that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [Chinese; Mexican , etc. Americans,] the working poor, elderly, and unemployed.
Pan-ethnic	... <i>One America</i> believes that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [Latinos/Hispanics; Asian Americans ,] the working poor, elderly, and unemployed.
American (Control)	... <i>One America</i> believes that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [.....] the working poor, elderly, and unemployed.

Another aspect of the experimental design was to mirror the real-world context in the kind of organizations that might be prevalent in the real-world. I made a conscious effort to pick an organization that is real and active in the community to ensure believability and credibility since respondents are likely to check whether the researcher is being truthful about the organization presented in the survey (Levine 2010). Along the lines of maintaining authenticity and credibility of the organization, I chose *One America* as an organization that is sympathetic to the issues servicing immigrants in general where most population tend to be Latinos and Asian Americans. Secondly, I intentionally chose *One America* rather than, for example, *Asian American Advancing Justice* or *Voto Latino* to avoid the possibility that respondents might not believe my treatments since I wanted the same organization to receive the same experimental conditions.⁶⁵ Thirdly, instead of manipulating the name of the organization, I kept the name constant and manipulated only the content of the goals and mission of the organization.⁶⁶

Manipulating the name of the organization may have violated the credibility of the venue of my

65 A handful of respondents reported to have wanted to see a hyperlink to *One America*'s website. This, like Levine (2010) suggested, is an indication that respondents are assessing the credibility of the organization discussed in the survey.

66 For example, there is no national origin corollary to *Asian American Advancing Justice* (Chinese American Advancing Justice).

treatment to respondents had they decided to check whether the organization was real. For realism and subtlety of the manipulation, I decided to list multiple identity groups (i.e., poor, elderly, and unemployed) rather than mentioning one specific identity group. The identity groups are people groups that *One America* serves in real time. All of these decisions were equally applicable to both samples.

Results: Average Treatment Effects

Before analyzing the treatment effects, I checked whether the manipulation worked as intended by seeing whether respondents were able to accurately identify the content of *One America's* appeal. As soon as the treatments were shown, respondents were asked whether they remembered which of the following groups were supported by *One America*.⁶⁷ The results of the manipulation check indicate that the manipulation worked for about 40% of the respondents in both Latino and Asian American samples.⁶⁸ This outcome question was asked such that the respondents were asked about their willingness to volunteer with *One America*. This outcome captures the intent of engaging with the organization.

67 Respondents were given a list of national origin identity, pan-ethnic identity, and the three social groups mentioned in the vignette (i.e., unemployed, poor, and elderly) and were asked to check off as many boxes.

68 Since less half of participants correctly identified the manipulation, I either need to think about a better manipulation or some other form of asking them about what they remembered about the description that they had read. Perhaps the questions were hard. In the subsequent sections to come, the treatment effects were significant only among those who correctly identified/remembered the manipulation. There were total of eight dependent variables asked in both. I only present results from that one variable allowing me to construct a consistent story across both samples.

Table 4.2 Expectation on Participant's Willingness to Volunteer with *One America*

Socializing factors		Willingness to volunteer with <i>One America</i> by identity appeal
Nativity status	Foreign born US born	Volunteer w/ national origin identity Volunteer w/ pan-ethnic identity
Language fluency	Spanish/Non-English English	Volunteer w/ national origin identity Volunteer w/ pan-ethnic identity
Number of years in the US	Shorter years in the US Longer years in the US	Volunteer w/ national origin identity Volunteer w/ pan-ethnic identity
Generational status	Immigrant generation Second/Third generation	Volunteer w/ national origin identity Volunteer w/ pan-ethnic identity
College education in the US	College educated in non-US College educated in US	Volunteer w/ national origin identity Volunteer w/ pan-ethnic identity
Perceived discrimination	High perception of discrimination	Volunteer w/ pan-ethnic identity

I begin by estimating a series of ordinary least squares models, in which the dependent variable is the willingness to volunteer with *One America*. For each of the models displayed in Table 4.3, I have included the relevant coefficients. All of the models control for education, gender, organizational involvement, nativity status, and self-identified country of origin backgrounds.⁶⁹ The experimental conditions are the main independent variables, and the excluded categories are either the “All people in the U.S.” (control) and the “Latino or Hispanic; Asian American” (pan-ethnic) condition.

⁶⁹ Subsequent models exclude either nativity status (USBORN) or education attainment (EDUC) dependent on the model of analytical interest. While statistical controls are often unnecessary when analyzing experimental designs with random assignment, it makes sense to include controls for variables that affect the dependent variables

Table 4.3 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions

	LATINOS		ASIAN AMERICANS	
	vs. American (1)	vs. Pan-ethnic (2)	vs. American (3)	vs. Pan-ethnic (4)
National origin	0.067 (1.87)	0.074* (2.08)	0.095** (2.61)	0.048 (1.41)
American (Control)		0.012 (0.29)		-0.047 (1.20)
Pan-ethnic	-0.009 (0.23)		0.047 (1.20)	
Intercept	0.396** (5.19)	0.358** (4.58)	0.160 (1.87)	0.207* (2.43)
R ²	0.09	0.10	0.22	0.22
N	435	435	338	338

Notes: t-ratio in parenthesis. All variables are coded 0-1 indicating more willingness to volunteer with *One America*. Entries are ordinary least squares coefficients. These models include controls for education, nativity status, education, gender, organization involvement, and self-identified country-of-origin backgrounds. A little over a third (35%) of the Latino sample reported to be already involved in an organization in their free time. A little over 40% (42%) of the Asian American sample reported to already be involved in an organization.

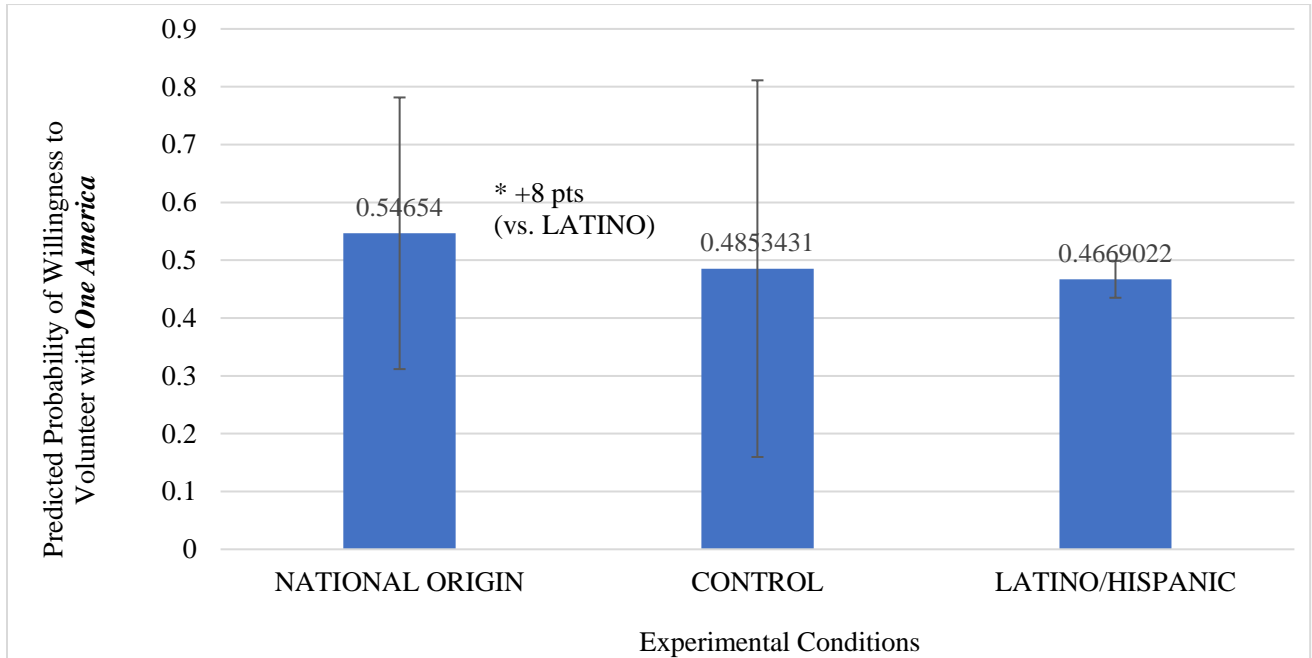
*p<0.05; ** p<0.01

The first column of Table 4.3 represents the results for the willingness to volunteer with *One America* among Latino respondents when assigned to either the national origin or the pan-ethnic treatment conditions. Relative to the control condition, respondents in the national origin condition are more willing to volunteer with *One America*, however, this effect is not statistically significant. Latino respondents exposed to the national origin identity were more willing to volunteer with *One America* relative to the Latino or Hispanic.⁷⁰ The national origin treatment effect (i.e., Mexican American, etc.) was associated with an 8% increase in the willingness to

70 Preferred pan-ethnic identity (i.e., Latino or Hispanic) label was piped-in subsequent identity questions and experimental conditions.

volunteer with the organization relative to the being exposed to the Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic label ($p < .05$). This result is reflected in Figure 4.1 below.

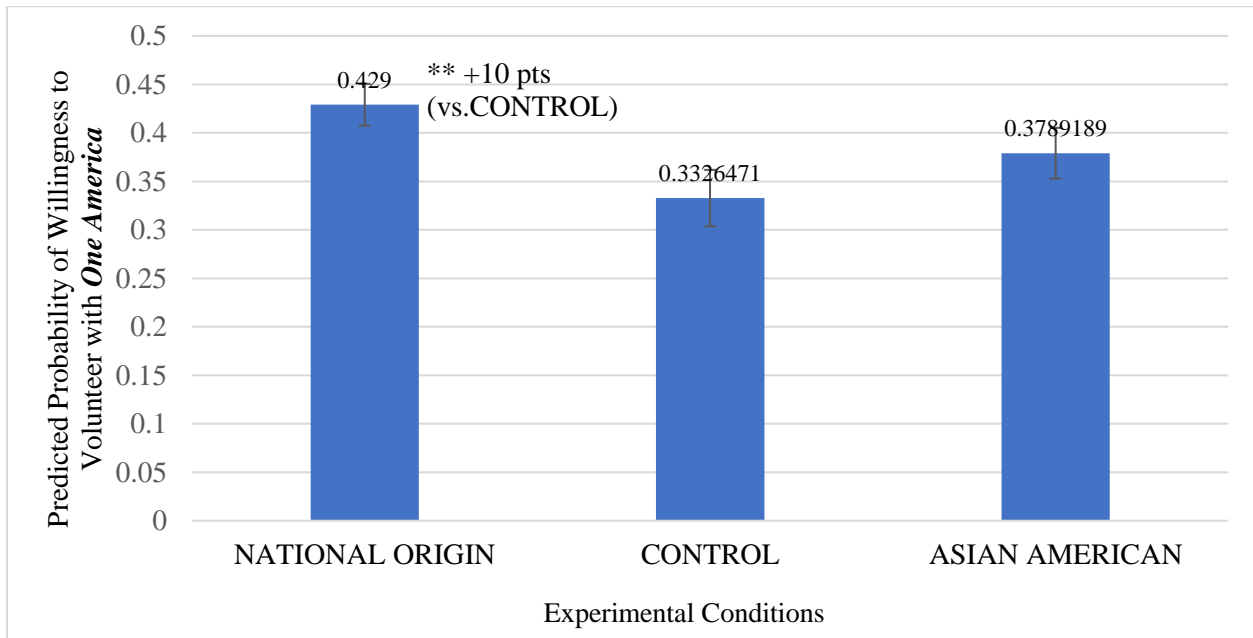
Figure 4.1 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions (Latinos)



Note: N=435; * $p < .05$ Controls: age, gender, involvement, nativity status, education, country of origin

Relative to the pan-ethnic treatment, Asian respondents in the national origin condition are more willing to volunteer with *One America*, however, this effect is not statistically significant. Asian respondents exposed to the national origin identity (i.e., Chinese American, etc.) were more willing to volunteer with *One America* relative to the control condition. In this case, the national origin treatment effect was associated with about a 10 % increase in the willingness to volunteer with the organization ($p < .01$). This result is reflected in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions (Asians)



Note: N=338; ** $p < .01$ Controls: age, gender, involvement, nativity status, education, country of origin.

Based on the average treatment effects on civic engagement, I find that Latino respondents respond favorably to the activities of the civic organization if they are appealed to through their national origin identity relative to the pan-ethnic (i.e., Latino or Hispanic) identity. Unlike Latinos, I find that Asian American respondents are indifferent to the effect national origin and pan-ethnic identity appeals have on their willingness to volunteer with *One America*. Specifically, I find that while Asian participants are more willing to volunteer with the organization relative to the American control condition, the same set of respondents in the national origin conditions are no more willing to engage with the organization compared to Asian American pan-ethnic condition. This suggests that, though Asian respondents are more willing to engage with the organization if appealed to their national origin identity, they are doing so not over the pan-ethnic identity appeal. This could mean that Asian American

respondents are equally likely to, or indifferent to, either pan-ethnic or national origin appeals in their willingness to volunteer with *One America*.⁷¹

Table 4.4 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status

	LATINOS			ASIAN AMERICANS		
	vs. American (1)	vs. American (2)	vs. Pan-ethnic (3)	vs. Pan-ethnic (4)	vs. American (5)	vs. Pan-ethnic (6)
National	-0.024 (0.35)	-0.019 (0.29)	0.128 (1.70)	0.107 (1.45)	-0.155* (2.14)	-0.109 (1.59)
American (Control)		0.012 (0.29)	0.152 (1.80)	0.130 (1.58)		0.046 (0.59)
Pan-ethnic	-0.152 (1.80)	-0.128 (1.56)			-0.046 (0.59)	
USBORN	-0.146* (2.27)	-0.120 (1.91)	0.048 (0.67)	0.051 (0.72)	0.112 (1.91)	0.066 (1.26)
National x USBORN	0.135 (1.69)	0.120 (1.54)	-0.060 (0.69)	-0.039 (0.46)	0.179** (3.37)	0.105* (2.14)
Pan-eth x USBORN	0.195* (2.02)	0.159 (1.68)			0.074 (1.31)	
American x USBORN			-0.195* (2.02)	-0.159 (1.68)		-0.074 (1.31)
Intercept	0.568** (10.42)	0.475** (5.41)	0.417** (6.52)	0.319** (3.56)	0.117 (1.28)	0.190* (2.20)
R ²	0.03	0.90	0.03	0.10	0.24	0.24
N	438	435	438	435	338	338

Notes: t-ratio in parenthesis. All variables are coded 0-1 indicating more willingness to volunteer with *One America*. Entries are ordinary least squares coefficients. Models (1) and (3) do not include controls for education, nativity status, education, gender, organization involvement, and self-identified country-of-origin backgrounds. Models (4) – (6) includes the full set of control variables while model (2) includes all controls *except* for the country-of-origin variable. Regardless, treatment effects go away when I account for either all or part of standard controls.

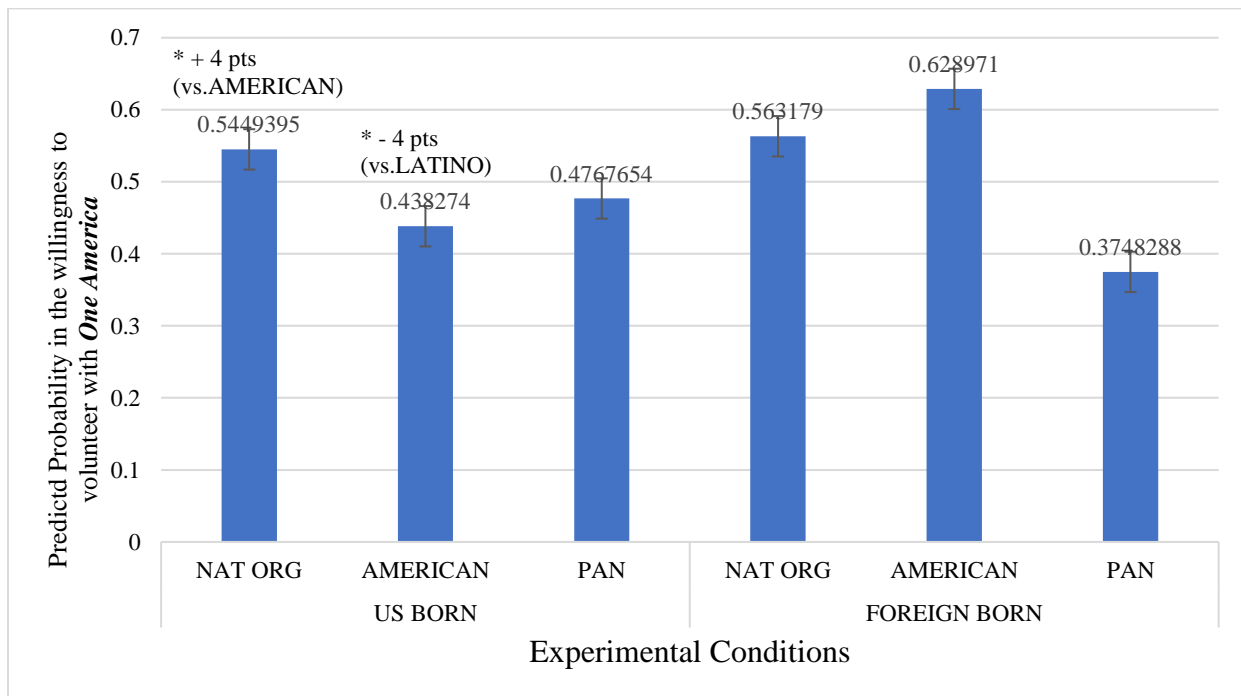
*p<0.05; ** p<0.01

71 I examine the Latino and Asian American models by subgroups: Latinos – Mexicans, Puerto Ricans Cubans. Asians – East Asians (Chinese, Japanese, Taiwanese, Koreans), South Asians (Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshi), Southeast Asians (Vietnamese, Thai, Filipino, Cambodian, Singaporean, Indonesian). I find that “Mexicans” are more likely to volunteer with the organization they are appealed to their national origin (Mexican) vs. pan-ethnic (Latino/Hispanic) vs. American. Granted that number of observations are small for Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the sample, I don’t find any treatment effect for these two groups. For Asian Americans, I don’t find any treatment effect among East Asians even though I have about 200 observations for the analysis. I don’t find any treatment effect among South Asians since I have N=28. However, I do find that Southeast Asians are more likely to volunteer if they are appealed to their national origin (Filipino) vs. pan-ethnic (Asian American) vs. American.

Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status

Relative to the control condition, Model (1) of Table 4.4 shows that U.S.-born Latinos in the pan-ethnic condition are more willing to volunteer with *One America*. The interaction between nativity status and national origin treatment effect was associated with a net increase of 0.04 (only slightly higher than zero) in the willingness to volunteer with the organization relative to the being exposed to the American control condition ($p < .05$). Conversely, relative to the excluded Latino or Hispanic condition, Latino respondents in the American control condition are less willing to volunteer with *One America*. The American control condition was associated with a net decrease of -0.043 (only slightly lower than zero) in the willingness to volunteer with the organization ($p < .05$). However, the main treatment effect and its interacted effect with nativity status disappear when I control for the usual demographic variables that may influence the outcome variable. This is presented in Figure 4.3 below.

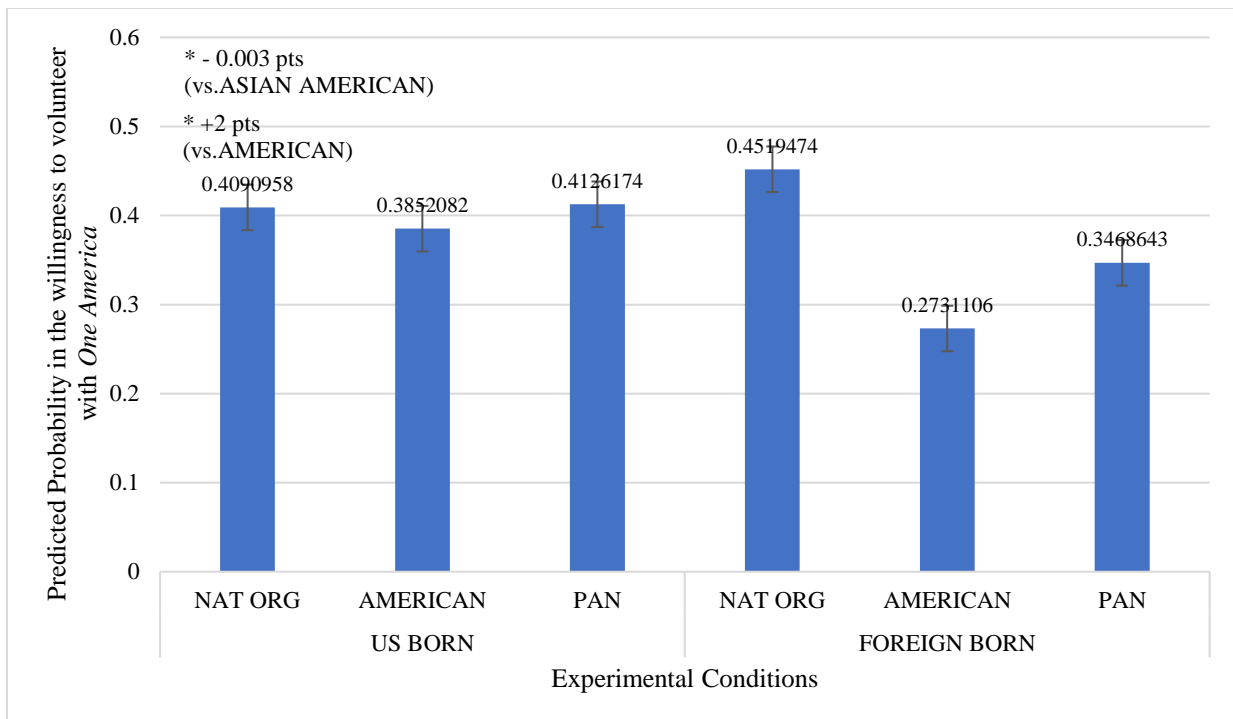
Figure 4.3 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Latinos)



Notes: N=438; ** $p < .01$ Controls: education, nativity status, education, gender, organization involvement, and self-identified country-of-origin backgrounds

Relative to the control condition in Model (5) of Table 4.4, U.S.-born Asian Americans in the national origin condition are more willing to volunteer with *One America* than foreign-born Asians in the national origin condition. The interaction between nativity status and national origin treatment effect was associated with a net increase of 0.02 in the willingness to volunteer with the organization relative to the being exposed to the control condition ($p < .01$). Relative to the Asian American pan-ethnic condition, U.S.-born Asian respondents in the national origin condition were less willing to volunteer with *One America*. The national origin condition was associated with a net decrease of -0.003 (only slightly lower than zero) in their willingness to volunteer with the organization ($p < .05$). Surprisingly, results in Figure 4.4 seem to suggest that U.S.-born Asian Americans prefer the national origin appeal over the American condition. Moreover, they are just slightly likely to prefer the Americanized racial group label.

Figure 4.4 Predicted Probability on the Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Nativity Status (Asians)



Note: N=338; ** $p < .01$ Results reflect Models (5) and (6). Controls: education, nativity status, education, gender, organization involvement, and self-identified country-of-origin backgrounds.

Hypothesis one in Chapter One conjectured that more time in the U.S. might influence individuals to respond favorably to their Americanized pan-ethnic appeal. I test this hypothesis with information about the number of years respondents have spent in the U.S.⁷²

Table 4.5 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Years in the U.S. (Foreign-born Asian Respondents)

	(1) vs. American	(2) vs. Pan-ethnic
National Origin	0.278* (2.29)	0.263** (2.74)
American (Control)		-0.015 (0.12)
Pan-ethnic	0.015 (0.12)	
Years	0.000 (0.08)	0.002 (1.00)
National x Years	-0.004 (1.06)	-0.006* (1.99)
American x Years		-0.002 (0.58)
Pan-ethnic x Years	0.002 (0.58)	
Intercept	0.135 (0.87)	0.150 (1.05)
R^2	0.25	0.25
N	160	160

Notes: t-ratio in parenthesis. All variables are coded 0-1 indicating more willingness to volunteer with *One America*. Entries are ordinary least squares coefficients. These models include controls for education, nativity status, education, gender, organization involvement, and self-identified country-of-origin backgrounds.

*p<0.05; ** p<0.01

⁷² The question asking about respondent's years in residence in the U.S. was not properly programmed for the Latino survey. Hence, I only report results for the Asian American sample.

Relative to the control condition, Asian immigrants in the national origin treatment condition are more willing to volunteer with *One America*. The association between national origin treatment on one's willingness to engage with the organization increases by 28% for every increment of willingness to volunteer with the organization ($p < .05$). Similarly, relative to those in the Asian American pan-ethnic condition, Asians in the national origin treatment condition are more willing to volunteer with *One America* (0.263; $p < 0.01$) independent of number of years in the U.S. The net increase in the willingness to volunteer is 0.269 ($p < .01$).⁷³ However, with every year in the U.S., there is a net decrease of 0.006 ($p < 0.05$) in volunteering for the organization among those in the national origin treatment. Taken together, additional years in the U.S., especially among foreign-born individuals, is contributing to the process of racialization by diminishing, perhaps, the importance of national origin ties in public and communal venues like a community organization.

To be brief, there are no effects moderated by generation status, language dominance (Spanish or English only), and U.S. college education (4-year degrees) on volunteering with the organization by both Latino and Asian American participants. When comparing and contrasting the nativity results between Latinos and Asian Americans, I find that Latinos' willingness to volunteer with the organization is not moderated by their socializing effects associated with their demographic information. Simply, demographic factors like nativity status, college education in the U.S., language dominance (English only or Spanish), generational status, do not moderate any treatment effect on civic engagement. Slightly less dramatic than the results reported for Latinos, nativity status interacted with the national origin treatment seems to be associated with

73 The "years in the US" variable was not properly programmed in the Latino survey and therefore, could not be collected.

Asian's engagement in the organization. I will discuss the implications of these results in the discussion and limitation section of this chapter.

Other Heterogeneous Effects: Identity Strength on Willingness to Volunteer

In Table 4.6, I find an interactive effect between identity strength and treatment among Latino respondents. Specifically, I find that those who strongly consider their national origin identity to be important are significantly less likely to volunteer with *One America*. There is a net decrease of -0.097 ($p < .05$). This is a puzzling result given that national origin treatment has an independently positive effect at 0.206 ($p < .05$). Taken together, increase in the strength of national origin identity is decreasing the willingness to volunteer with the organization. This is puzzling since the result is not in the expected direction. It is possible that other social groups (i.e., the working poor, elderly, and unemployed) listed as part of *One America's* supporting efforts might be negatively interacting with the national origin mention in the treatment. This point is even more worth noting given that strength of national origin identity, as an independent variable, is positive and statistically significant (i.e., model 2 and model 4). Since it is hard to discern what is driving this result, further investigation in the strength of identity is warranted in the next iteration of analyses.

Table 4.6 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Strength of Identity (National Origin)

	LATINOS		ASIAN AMERICANS	
	vs. American (1)	vs. Pan-ethnic (2)	vs. American (3)	vs. Pan-ethnic (4)
National Origin	0.101 (1.25)	0.206* (2.46)	0.119 (1.10)	0.125 (1.16)
American (Control)		0.109 (1.27)		0.006 (0.05)
Pan-ethnic	-0.110 (1.29)		-0.006 (0.05)	
National x National strength	-0.086 (0.59)	-0.393* (2.03)	-0.038 (0.27)	-0.103 (0.75)
American x National strength		-0.221 (1.39)		-0.066 (0.43)
Pan-ethnic x National strength	0.220 (1.39)		0.066 (0.43)	
National strength	0.171 (1.54)	0.376** (3.28)	0.152 (1.38)	0.217* (2.01)
Constant	0.322** (3.26)	0.197* (1.99)	0.055 (0.48)	0.049 (0.42)
R ²	0.11	0.12	0.24	0.24
N	387	387	338	338

Notes: t-ratio in parenthesis. All variables are coded 0-1 indicating more willingness to volunteer with *One America*. Entries are ordinary least squares coefficients. These models include controls for education, nativity status, education, gender, organization involvement, and self-identified country-of-origin backgrounds. Model (1) controls for everything *except* for country-of-origin. *p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Perception of Discrimination toward the National Origin and Pan-ethnic Group

In this section, I explore how perception of discrimination moderates the treatment conditions on volunteering for *One America*.^{74 75} I do not find an effect of perceived discrimination for all Asians in the sample. I explore whether the pan-ethnic Asian American

74 Perceived discrimination index has been created across questions that were asked about whether pan-ethnic or national origin – American group is treated unfairly in the workplace, schools, and the U.S. in general. These questions were on a 7 point scale. Complete wording of the questions can be found in the Appendix A section of the document.

75 I don't find statistically distinguishable results of perception toward the pan-ethnic group for Asian Americans. Similarly, I don't find statistically distinguishable results of perception toward the national origin group for Latinos.

label is more defined and accepted by a subset of the Asian American population. According to Kim (1999), the model minority stereotype characterizing Asian Americans are associated with East Asians. It is possible that the Asian American pan-ethnic label is acceptable and embraced by East Asian. Therefore, we can expect that perceived discrimination toward the pan-ethnic group might be operating differently for Asian subgroups, particularly for East Asians, South Asians, and Southeast Asians.

I find that East Asians (i.e., Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese), who perceive discrimination toward their national origin groups are willing to volunteer with *One America* if the organization appeals to their Asian American pan-ethnic identity than those who perceive less. According to results in Table 4.6., for increase in perception of discrimination toward the pan-ethnic group, there is a net increase of 0.183 ($p < 0.05$) among East Asians in volunteering for the organization. Substantively, this perhaps means that East Asians find comfort and assurance in the pan-ethnic label when they perceive marginalization targeting their national origin identity.

Table 4.7 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (East Asian)

	vs. American (1)
National Origin	-0.009 (0.18)
Pan-ethnic	-0.068 (1.02)
National Origin Discrimination	0.060 (0.65)
National x Discrimination	0.069 (0.61)
Pan-ethnic x Discrimination	0.251* (2.03)
Intercept	0.297* (2.45)
R^2	0.15
N	214

Notes: East Asians include Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, and Chinese from the entire sample. I control for age, education, nativity status, female, organization involvement. See Appendix B for full model results. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

This finding from Table 4.7 aligns with the story from the aftermath of Vincent Chin’s death. Asian Americans, mostly East Asians, came together to defend civil rights of Asians. The fact that I don’t find this among other Asians, particularly among South and Southeast Asians, is puzzling. This result might be preliminary and suggestive evidence pointing to the fragility of Asian pan-ethnicity. Specifically, we might observe non-East Asians to not embrace the concept of solidarity associated with pan-ethnicity in moments of marginalization because perhaps they don’t consider the Asian American concept to include them (Schacter 2014). I find supporting evidence in my qualitative data suggesting that East Asians, especially Chinese, are considered the prototypical Asian American.

Table 4.8 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (Latinos)

	vs. American (1)
National Origin	-0.081 (1.19)
Pan-ethnic	-0.101 (1.28)
National Origin Discrimination	0.014 (0.15)
National x Discrimination	0.251* (2.11)
Pan-ethnic x Discrimination	0.147 (1.09)
Intercept	0.486** (4.57)
R^2	0.13
N	419

Notes: This model controls for age, education, nativity status, female, organization involvement, Cuban, Mexican (1), Puerto Rican, Central, South, and else. See Appendix B for full model results. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

I examine how perception of discrimination toward the pan-ethnic group matters for Latinos. I find that Latinos who perceive discrimination toward their pan-ethnic group in the national origin treatment are more likely to volunteer with *One America*. According to results in Table 8, there is a net increase of 0.17 ($p < 0.05$) in this interaction. Substantively, this means that Latinos who are discriminated against due to their pan-ethnic identity are more likely to draw near and find support in the national origin group. I find the strongest and statistically significant effect of this result among Mexicans, only. In Table 4.8, I ran a separate analysis of just the Mexican sub-sample, and I find that Mexicans who perceive discrimination toward their national origin group in the pan-ethnic treatment are more likely to volunteer with *One America*. Table 4.9 indicates a net increase of 0.231 ($p < 0.05$) in this interaction. Substantively, perhaps

being labeled as a Latino is interchangeable with being Mexican American. There is some suggestive evidence supporting this interpretation of the results from the Latino survey respondents.

Table 4.9 Willingness to Volunteer by Experimental Conditions and Perceived National Origin Discrimination (Mexican)

	vs. American (1)
National Origin	0.036 (0.33)
Pan-ethnic	-0.245 (1.95)
National Origin Discrimination	0.027 (0.19)
National x Discrimination	0.212 (1.19)
Pan-ethnic x Discrimination	0.476* (2.40)
Intercept	0.237** (1.63)
R^2	0.24
N	183

Notes: I control for age, education, nativity status, female, organization involvement, See Appendix B for full model results.
* p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Results in Table 4.7 and 4.8 potentially suggest that pan-ethnic labels have been marked with a specific national origin group. This leaves room for further investigation in the conditions under which pan-ethnicity as a label falls apart.

Conclusion

This study builds on a series of findings on identity appeals and how they matter for civic engagement. Current findings in the literature suggest that pan-ethnic identities are influential for political evaluation and participation of Latinos and Asian Americans. However, my findings suggest that pan-ethnic identity appeals, even in non-electoral contexts may not be effective as scholars and practitioners have previously assumed. Instead, I find that national origin appeals are more effective in eliciting volunteers for the organization. Specifically, these findings suggest that foreign-born Latinos and Asian Americans are mainly driving these results. As a whole, these findings suggest that place of socialization might be shaping the responsiveness to pan-ethnic identity appeals are important to note from this study.

These findings reveal a different path to how members adopt a racial identity. U.S.-born Latinos, who are understandably more accustomed to American life, are likely to be responsive to their pan-ethnic identity. However, I do not find this among U.S.-born Asian Americans. This suggests that, pan-ethnic identities may be operating differently for Latinos and Asians. Perhaps these differing responses might be related to how the two groups are perceived and treated in the current political climate under Trump's presidency. There have been harsher and critical immigration policy targeting Latinos, specifically Mexicans (Garcia-Ríos et al., 2018), and very little or no xenophobic rhetoric directed towards Asians. Racialization of Latinos in the age of Trump is much more pronounced than it is for Asians writ large that there is more solidarity and responsiveness to the pan-ethnic Latino identity (Masuoka 2006). This marginalizing effort might be more effective, for better or for worse, for the Latino community since Mexicans make up close to three – quarters of the Latino population in the U.S. To this end, future studies should

theorize the implicit and explicit ways the society racializes minority groups and their political implications.

In short, though pan-ethnic appeals are well intended, it is possible that these broad appeals may be overlooking the cultural diversity and migration histories of members of these groups and as a result they may fail to mobilize potential supporters of organizations. In highlighting nativity status, length of years in the U.S., the findings of this study successfully reveal one (two – if I include the perceived discrimination results) process of adopting a racial identity through lived experiences.

At the policy level, these findings have implications for whether current outreach strategies deployed by organizations increasing civic engagement. Though micro-targeting pan-ethnic identities might be a rational strategy, organizations might consider the population they are appealing to and the identity they would be most responsive to their appeals. For Asian Americans, organizations as well as campaigns can infer the national origin identity of the individual by their surnames. Since the surname strategy is more ambiguous among Latinos, we might infer the national origin identity based on the demographic composition of their neighborhoods using the U.S. Census data. Matching the identity message with the demographic information of the recipient might yield a successful outcome than a broad message.

Future studies should consider further experimental designs for when pan-ethnic or national origin identity messages will be effective for voter turnout, and policy preferences as an issue framing study. I would suggest that future studies should be wary of extrapolating the findings of the study to a real-world context. To address the external validity of the study, future studies should consider identity appeals as field experiments for observed behavior. The most

ideal way to implement such study should consider joining efforts with national or local organizations to implement a large-scale study.

Despite these findings, there are limitations of this research. College education in the U.S. as a socializing experience to the American experience was not significant. I did find some effect among the college-educated sample. Future research should conduct a longitudinal (freshman – senior) study capturing the pan-ethnic identify formation of these students and how these identity manifests in their civic lives.

The analyses are based on convenient samples of the two populations. Both in that the studies were Internet samples and scholars have suggested that online samples tend to be more assimilated, highly education, and more politically engaged (Barreto et al. 2018). Furthermore, online samples of these two hard-to-reach populations might be distinct and unique from their national population. One might consider implementing a multi-lingual survey of Asians. The next costly option would be to conduct a telephone survey of these two populations.

Chapter 5

Understanding the Limits of Pan-ethnicity on Political Behavior

Introduction

This dissertation began with a question: to what extent are pan-ethnic appeals effective for politics? This question is based on the disconnect between what elites consider to be an effective strategy for appealing to Asian American and Latino voters while voters predominantly prefer a different identity. How effective are pan-ethnic appeals if voters prefer their national origin identity? This disconnect is puzzling because it is unclear whether pan-ethnic appeals are mobilizing their intended and assumed audience. This unanswered question opens up accompanying questions about the quality and effectiveness of mobilization, representation, and political incorporation of ethnic and racial minorities. Are there missed opportunities for great mobilization and incorporation of citizens who are on the fringes of American democracy?

Previous research offers some insight into the effectiveness of pan-ethnic identities on political participation and behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. Findings in descriptive representation and empowerment literature suggest that shared pan-ethnic identity positively influences Asian American and Latino political behavior (Pantoja and Segura 2003; Barreto et al. 2005; Barreto 2007, 2010; Junn and Masuoka 2008; McConnaughy et al. 2010; Valenzuela and Michelson 2016; Fraga 2018). While these findings are encouraging for understanding minority participation, many of the mechanisms examined in prior research have overlooked the effect national origin identity has on the political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. Unlike the

earlier waves of immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe whose national distinctions have been enfolded within the White racial category (Brodkin 1998; Jardina 2019), national origin identities remain tenacious and salient by these emerging American electorates (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996). Therefore, the effectiveness of pan-ethnic appeals represents something akin to a black box. I problematize the current literature and real-world politics by introducing the importance of national origin identities and the interplay the two identities have in the politics of Asian Americans and Latinos. As such, my theory utilizes considers degree of acculturation to unpack whether and the extent to which pan-ethnic appeals will have on Asian American and Latino political behavior.

Theory

In order to answer this question, I laid out a theory of adopting a racial identity through lived experiences. The premise of the theory proposes that pan-ethnicities are racialized identities that are accompanied by measures of acculturation. The theory predicts that more acculturated individuals will be responsive to pan-ethnic appeals than those who are less acculturated. I codify the socializing markers to racialization by looking at nativity status, length of years in the U.S., education obtained in the U.S., proficiency in a language, and experiences or perceptions of discrimination in the U.S. I test each of these elements on self-identification and their influence on candidate vote choice and civic engagement. My theory does not argue that national origin identities will be much more successful identity appeal for politics. Rather, it suggests that the process of Americanization and, in particular by the adoption of distinctive American racial identities, will largely shape responsiveness to either of the identity appeals.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter Two, I examine the contours and contents of pan-ethnic and national origin identities. Results derived from two national political surveys of Asian Americans and Latinos demonstrate that facets of racialization and self-identification are related. In particular, I find that more years in the U.S. and being educated in the U.S. are positively correlated with identifying with the Asian American pan-ethnic identity label. These results suggest that foreign-born counterparts, with time and exposure, are likely to learn and adopt the American racial identity. Surprisingly, I don't find U.S.-born Asian Americans preferring their Asian American racial identity. On the other hand, acculturation factors do not seem to influence foreign-born Latinos to adopt their American construct of identity as Latinos or Hispanics. However, I do find that U.S.-born Latinos are more likely to prefer their pan-ethnic identity. I conclude that pan-ethnicity is an acquired identity through lived experiences. Moreover, the generational difference in adopting the pan-ethnic identity label among Asian Americans and Latinos potentially suggests a unique pathway to racialization.

From here, I move on to explore the relationship between these lived experiences to political behavior; I demonstrate that the content of these identities do indeed inform Asian American and Latino vote choice. In particular, Asian participants who are fluent in English and have experienced discrimination in the U.S. are less likely to prefer the candidate with the national origin identity. This finding suggests that more acculturated respondents might be less approving of candidates who are less acculturated. In the same vein, national origin identifiers were more likely to prefer the candidate whose has made their national origin identity salient. These results suggest that levels of acculturation indeed influence their vote. Contrary to expectation, more acculturated Latinos—U.S.-born, longer-time residents of the U.S., fluent

English speakers, and those mostly educated in the U.S.—are less likely to prioritize the candidate whose Latino or Hispanic pan-ethnic identity was made salient. It turns out that the more acculturated Latinos were more likely to prefer the American identity. Lived experience as a product of human interaction—characterized as experiences with discrimination—does seem to matter when pan-ethnic identity is brought to salience. This suggests that racialization for Latinos exceeds the domains of individual level factors and is instead a product of dialectic interaction with racial categories and groups in the U.S.

While these are interesting findings, candidate vote choice questions embedded in the NAAS and LNS do not allow me to test the relative effectiveness of pan-ethnic and national origin appeals. Moreover, I am constrained from making causal claims given that these surveys are observational studies. Therefore, research in Chapters Three and Four were original survey data collection efforts to address both the theoretical and methodological limitations of previous research.

Pan-ethnic identity appeals are found to be limited in informing political behavior. As we have seen in Chapter Three, pan-ethnic identity appeals are not as effective as found in the literature. Relying on my original survey experiments of a national sample of Asian Americans and Latinos, I find that national origin identity appeals are more effective for candidate vote choice. Specifically, I find that foreign-born Asian Americans and Latino respondents were more likely to prefer the candidate with the national origin appeal relative to the American baseline category. The results imply that levels of acculturation moderate identity appeal for foreign-born respondents. While I don't find U.S.-born respondents to prefer the candidate with the pan-ethnic appeal, I do find U.S.-born Asian Americans to reject the candidate appealing to their pan-ethnicity. While degree of acculturation to racial group identity matters for foreign-born Asian

Americans and Latinos, the difference in the responsiveness to pan-ethnic appeals between U.S.-born Asian Americans and Latinos potentially suggest a different process to racialization. It is important to understand the mechanism for their unique trajectories since their pan-ethnic identity labels matter for evaluating political candidates. I address the limitations of the experimental design in the latter half of this chapter.

The prevalence of pan-ethnic identity appeals is far more extensive than simply electoral politics. In Chapter Four, I show pan-ethnic identities and their appeals to be consequential for civic mobilization and non-electoral behavior for predominantly immigrant communities. It is also the case that ethnic minorities—especially immigrant communities—learn and acquire civic skills by participating in these organizations. Similar to results from Chapter Three, I find that pan-ethnic appeals were not as effective as national origin appeals on eliciting volunteers. I find that national origin appeals were significantly more effective for obtaining volunteers than the American baseline condition. It is noteworthy that foreign-born Asian Americans and Latinos drove this main effect. I also find that those who perceived discrimination toward their national origin group were more likely to volunteer for the organization with the pan-ethnic appeal. These results support the theory that the process to racialization through lived experiences in the U.S. matters for how one responds to identities appealed to them. Moreover, I find that U.S.-born Latinos were significantly more willing to volunteer than their foreign-born counterparts. I find no pan-ethnic effect among Asian American participants. Pan-ethnicity for Asian American participants, it seems, is not as effective as it is for a subset of Latino participants.

Conclusion

Taken together, findings of this research raise the concern that pan-ethnic identity labels may not be as appealing as previously considered. What is more sobering is that deploying pan-ethnic appeals to all Asian and Latino communities might be problematic because they do not equally appeal to all individuals. Rather, responsiveness to these appeals are more nuanced and complicated by degree of acculturation and racialization accompanying the individual. This conclusion is supported in the finding that appealing to national origin identities influenced vote choice and civic volunteerism. This finding was pronounced among foreign-born participants. Moreover, different responses to pan-ethnicity by Asian Americans and Latinos suggest that perhaps the process to racialization associated with the two pan-ethnic groups are unique, and individuals may resonate differently because of this distinction. I expand on this point in the section discussing future direction of this research.

Limitations

Since my theory of identity appeals hinges on degree of acculturation as a moderator for who will respond to the appeals, the quality of data is important. However, one of the major limitations of the study are my samples. Though all four studies were collected through two reputable firms (i.e., *Dynata* and *Latino Decisions*) by scholars who do research in this area, all samples remain largely skewed to respondents who are more educated and higher in income than the national Asian American and Latino populations. Moreover, although U.S.- and foreign-born respondents were equally distributed in each of the studies, I believe the mode of the survey collected in these studies might be biased to those with access to digital devices, therefore, respondents in these surveys might be more assimilated – particularly among foreign-born participants – than participants in other national studies. It is worth noting that for both studies,

despite the data composition, national origin appeals had the strongest effect relative to the American baseline category than it was for the pan-ethnic appeal. These findings would be even more valid if the samples were more representative of the communities of interest.

Relatedly, the second limitation has to do with the convenience of the sample. Latinos and Asian Americans are two American populations where a large proportion of their households speak their native languages (Gambino et al. 2014). A series of national population studies have reported that about 68% of Asian Americans do not speak English at home (Pew 2017). Similarly, about 73% of Latino households do not speak English at home (U.S. Census 2018). Therefore, scholars have been advised to implement multilingual surveys to cast a wider net and obtain a sample that is reflective of the population (Barreto et al. 2018). Despite this standard, it is expensive to obtain multilingual samples of Latino and Asian American participants. Therefore, my Asian American sample does not comply with this standard. The Latino sample might better reflect this standard since both studies were implemented in English and Spanish (specifically, Mexican Spanish). Future iterations of the study should consider survey modes – telephone, face-to-face, focused group studies – and the demographic composition of the study, as these will influence the results.

A third limitation of the study has to do with experimental designs in Chapters Three and Four. Treatments in the candidate and organization studies were, one can argue, so subtle that I lost about 60% of the respondents. This meant only 40% of respondents were part of the final analyses. In spite of the significant loss, it is worth noting that I still found main treatment effects with 40% of the sample. While this is true about the data, the effects might have been stronger—and I may have observed the effects of other moderating variables—if all of the data were preserved. Future studies should find ways to make the manipulations subtle, but emphatic

enough for the respondents to accurately recall the intervention. A few suggestions might be to mention the manipulation more than once or introduce the intervention in the beginning of each treatment in case respondents do not end up reading the entire vignette.

The second limitation of the design is specific to Chapter Three's Asian American candidate experiment. It was set up such that candidates' surnames corresponded to the respondent's national origin identity. Two of the most common surnames were piped in as candidates' surnames. Unlike the Latino experiment, Asian surnames are unique to one's national origin background. The problem lies in the pan-ethnic condition where the surname of the candidate indicated the national origin identity while the treatment in the vignette maintained a pan-ethnic treatment. The reason why I observed a negative effect from the pan-ethnic condition might have been due to a compounding effect of candidate's surname and pan-ethnic treatment in the vignette. The negative effect might have been the respondent's reaction to the mismatch between the national origin identity of the candidate and the pan-ethnic treatment. My main point is that the result might have been driven by the design of the experiment rather than the pan-ethnic treatment itself. There is no way to be certain of this, although it is possible. Future studies should consider other designs that avoid this confounding effect. One can consider a policy framing experiment to control the identity of the candidate influencing the treatment. Another option is to consider an out-group, whether the out-group is defined as a different race or a different national origin group. This would partially get at distancing the identity of the candidate from the respondents while letting the treatment be the only moving piece. However, this design would need to consider the respondent's group's relations with the out-group.

A fourth limitation of the study relates to the measurements that codify the markers of racialization. In one of the studies, I had forgotten to ask how many years the respondents have

been in the U.S. In another study, I made a mistake in the survey program such that the question was never asked. Although nativity status had a statistically significant influence on vote choice and volunteering, I believe a more finely-grained measurement in number of years in the U.S. could have given me additional information about how foreign-born respondents become racialized after their arrival to the U.S. Another limitation of this research is not having a consistent “perceived discrimination” variable in both the candidate and civic organization experiments. The perceived discrimination as an index was a statistically significant moderating variable on the pan-ethnic condition in the civic organization experiment, but not in the candidate experiment. One of the major limitations is that two different question wordings were used so I cannot conclude that the perceived discrimination index only mattered in one context and not the other because the question was not consistently asked in both the candidate and interest group studies. The reason for differences in the measure was because the first iteration of the discrimination variable was not effective. In the future, I will make sure both the years in the U.S. and perceived discrimination questions get asked properly.

The last limitation is about the external validity of my studies. Results from Chapters Three and Four are experiments from a contained environment curated through a survey design where treatments and control groups have been randomized. Internal validity has been met; however, I cannot establish external validity. Given this limitation, future studies should consider a carefully designed field experiment in either or both the electoral setting and the community level. I hope to implement such study for the 2020 U.S. Presidential election since there are Latino (i.e., Julian Castro) and Asian American (i.e., Tulsi Gabbard, Andrew Yang, Kamala Harris) candidates running for office. In addition to the proposed candidate field experiment, a field experiment for the civic organization experiment is ideal and possible. Future studies

should partner with local organizations or GOTV efforts to test the effects of messages and also provide service to the organization.

Unanswered Questions and Directions for Future Research

Despite my findings, there remain unanswered questions regarding the theory and new areas of research regarding methodology, measurement, and on unanticipated results. I address each of these and frame them as future avenues for research.

The dissertation sets out to answer the relative effectiveness of pan-ethnic and national origin appeals on political behavior of Asian Americans and Latinos. It argues that degrees of acculturation to the U.S. will moderate who will be more or less responsive to these identity appeals in politics. I hypothesized that being college educated in the U.S. will lead that individual to respond more favorably to the pan-ethnic identity appeal. However, I don't find any effect in my experiments. This result is puzzling given that it is a controlled environment where individuals learn more about their pan-ethnic identity through coursework and involvement with others through student organizations. Future studies might consider asking additional questions about friendship groups, the kinds of courses they took, what type of institution it is (i.e., liberal arts, research university, regional college, commuter school or closed campus), and organization involvement, if any, during their college years. Additional information about the college environment might help narrow down the mechanisms of the environment that could foster identity development.

As my second major project, I plan to examine the influence of markers of socialization in the U.S. on the formation and attachment to the pan-ethnic identity. Analyses from pilot data of Asian American students at the University of Michigan suggests that, among this population, the pan-ethnic appeal yields a positive response on choosing the candidate making the appeal. It

remains speculative that something about the college environment meaningfully contributes to the formation of and identification with the pan-ethnic identity. To this end, I will conduct additional survey experiments regarding identity appeals and candidate preference on college students, both at a public and a private institution. Complementing the experimental work, I plan to collect 4-year longitudinal data on college students and explore the various contours for the college experience that might contribute to the formation of their pan-ethnic identity. To fulfill this research project, I plan on applying for funding from the Russell Sage Foundation's research initiatives on immigrant integration and identity formation.

Another puzzling part of my research is that strength of identity has no moderating effect on treatment conditions. I expected stronger identifiers to be more responsive to their corresponding treatment conditions. However, I don't find this effect in any of the four experiments. I do find stronger identifiers, as both national origin and pan-ethnic identifiers have an independent effect on the outcomes. Strength of identities do matter, but perhaps not as moderators on these experiments. These results suggest that how you see yourself may not dictate your politics. Future studies should consider what descriptive representation means for these communities whether it is about descriptive representation or symbolic representation or policy deliverance.

This finding opens up other avenues for how differences in the content of appeals might change how identities are received. One main reason why strength of identity in both experimental studies is not effective might be because the experiments are worded with neutral content. Previous research has shown that identity is activated for politics when it is threatened or attacked, therefore it makes sense that identity is not activated when it is neutralized (Klar 2013; Perez 2015; Garcia-Ríos et al. 2018). This opens up new areas of research where identity

appeals can be negative. For instance, one can imagine a candidate whose endorsement was retracted from the “Asian American Political Action Committee” or “Chinese American Donor’s Association” to indicate candidates losing credibility in their own, whether it is racial or ethnic, to be questioned. My project looked at two contexts for examining the effectiveness of identity appeals. Other context might be framing a policy that makes the identity relevant or central to either the pan-ethnic, national origin, or the baseline American identity.

Expanding on my previous research, I will further investigate the responsiveness of pan-ethnic and national origin identity appeals when the source of appeals varies by candidate’s race. For example, in a co-national electoral context between candidates and the electorates, a national-to-national appeal seems to be more effective than a national-to-pan-ethnic appeal. It is conceivable that candidates who do not share the same identity employ pan-ethnic and national origin identity appeals to mobilize Latino and Asian American voters.

Each experiment examines the effectiveness of pan-ethnic and national identity appeals when the source of appeals varies by candidate’s race. The following cases are valuable to explore because they reflect the realities of the American electoral landscape. The electoral contexts I examine are when two fictional candidates (e.g., White, Black, Latino, and Asian American) employ pan-ethnic, national origin, and American appeals to Latino and Asian American electorates. Six experiments comprise this experimental set-up. Two designs consider when the ethnicity of Asian American and Latino candidates is different from the respondent’s ethnicity. For example, one can imagine an electoral context where a Chinese candidate appeals to a Vietnamese voter employing the Vietnamese, pan-ethnic, or American identities. I follow the same logic for the Latino respondents. I draw on evidence from the cross-racial mobilization (CRM) research which finds suggestive evidence that Anglo politicians can persuasively appeal

to Latino electorates (Amalillo and Collingwood 2017). I rely on the CRM framework to examine how explicit appeals to pan-ethnic, national origin, or the American identity used by out-group politicians might influence Latino and Asian American vote choice.

The central claim for who will be responsive to either pan-ethnic or national origin appeals is based on their degree of acculturation. I found that nativity status is a moderator for who will be responsive to the identity appeals. Nativity status is a broad concept that captures how being born outside of the U.S. is related to responding more favorably to the national origin identity. Similarly, being responsive to the pan-ethnic appeal mostly driven by U.S.-born individuals and those with more years in the U.S. These are particularly true among Latinos. Learning seems to be happening as years and exposure to the U.S. context increases. What additional factors contribute to becoming distinctively American? In what ways do geographical contexts and demographic compositions contribute to identity formation? Conducting qualitative interviews in a focused-group setting might open up narratives and reveal mechanisms that contribute to racializing components. Additionally, implementing a longitudinal study of racialization of immigrants and their families at their first point of entry would reveal their sense of belonging in the racial hierarchy and their family conversations about racial discourse. This kind of data will allow me to capture how pan-ethnic identities are developed over time and their relationship to political behavior.

Another area of exploration has to do with comparing the racializing process between Latinos and Asian Americans. I find that U.S.-born Latinos responded favorably to the pan-ethnic appeal while I did not find similar results among Asian Americans. This difference is suggestive evidence that perhaps the socializing or racialization of the two groups might contribute to this difference. Their experiences are fundamentally different. However, I don't

directly test this in the dissertation. Previous studies suggest that racial hierarchy and racial positioning of these groups matters for their politics (Masuoka and Junn 2013). Less is known about the mechanisms that distinguish their racialization process. I want to explore the different mechanisms that shape their racialized experience. Understanding these mechanisms will give us a clue about who will be more or less responsive to these identities. These socialization factors are important because they shape how these terms and group labels are understood, embraced, and ultimately accepted or rejected. If there is learning happening, at what point during these learning processes do racialized identities become relevant for politics?

This project is premised on two pan-ethnic groups, Asian Americans and Latinos, and the responsiveness to their pan-ethnic appeals in politics and in civic engagement. While the experimental studies focus on how the socializing process matters for their responsiveness to these appeals, the theory relates to a larger story about racialization in the U.S. Therefore, as it relates to how immigrants and immigrant-dominating populations negotiate their subnational identities with U.S. racial categories, I have an interest in examining how black immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa identify and/or become Blacks. Similarly, I have interest in examining the trajectory for immigrants from the Arab World. Additional comparison cases would examine how White immigrants (i.e., Russians, Italians, Hungarian, etc.) become racialized to becoming White through similar experimental designs. My expectation is that national origin distinctions would not be as salient to them as it might be for Asians, Latinos, Afro-Caribbeans, and individuals from the Arab World. The study of Whites would be a relatively easy and quick data collection project as a next step.

In Chapters Three and Four, I demonstrated that pan-ethnic appeals may not be effective in electoral and non-electoral contexts. In continuation of these quantitative analyses, I'd like to

use my qualitative data demonstrating that Asian American and Latino community members have a diverse definition and conceptualization of pan-ethnic identities. These open-ended responses demonstrate that pan-ethnic identity labels are, indeed, not uniform. Furthermore, these responses indicate an instrumental use and understanding of these identities. These responses demonstrate the strategy in which these identities become useful and purposeful. Future research should consider contexts in which these pan-ethnic identities become politically relevant.

The last line of research that naturally lends itself to this existing research is understanding the nuts and bolts of how elites shape and reinforce group identity. What are the components of elites' decisions to appeal to these identities? Specifically, this would theorize the calculus of candidates running for office by examining various strategic components that go into explaining their decision to either deploy pan-ethnic or national origin appeals. In essence, I will provide how political elites choose to represent themselves during their campaigns. This project is another take on Richard Fenno's *Home style: House members in their districts* and David Mayhew's *Congress: The electoral connection* (Mayhew 1974; Fenno 1978). The innovation of this new line of work would be to look at how race/ethnic minority and out-group candidates appeal to electorates who maintain both pan-ethnic and national origin identities. Drawing from an original data collection effort of candidate website content including 468 Latino and 380 Asian American candidate campaign content data, I assess the frequency of pan-ethnic, national identities, or a combination of the two in the self-presentation and endorsement of political elites who ran for an office position ranging from school board member to the House of Representatives in 2016. This is currently underway and serves as a natural extension of my project.

Implications of Identity Appeals for American Politics in the Age of Immigration

The findings have implications for whether and for whom identity appeals will be persuasive for political behavior. To ensure all segments of the populations are appropriately targeted with the right message, campaigns should consider the demographic profiles of communities they are trying to persuade and alter the identities in the messages to accurately resonate with the population. Tailored appeal strategies will lead to equality in mobilization of communities who are in the fringes of being mobilized (García-Castañón et al. 2019). Therefore, candidates and campaigns should pay attention to and accurately appeal to the nuances of people's racial and ethnic identities.

Not only does this research suggest methods and strategies for calibrating appeal strategies in politics, but it also raises concerns about the consequences of when pan-ethnic appeals are siloed in American politics. In particular, continuing to deploy pan-ethnic appeals may result in under-mobilizing and, in turn, lead to candidates overlooking opportunities for mobilizing and politically incorporating the two fastest and largest populations in the American electorate.

Beyond the domains of elections, appeal strategies also matter for organizations' outreach and mobilization efforts. Civic organizations and their voter mobilizing efforts can carefully consider the kinds of identity appeals for increasing turnout, registration rates, and participation in their efforts. Organizations like *Voto Latino* or *APIA Vote* frequently send out mailers, call, and/or canvass for upcoming elections. Their efforts to incorporate new voters is noble, and their current strategy to appeal to pan-ethnic identities is rational, however their efforts to involve new voters to the political process can be even more fruitful if they calibrate their strategies to reflect national origin differences and immigration patterns.

This research has implications for how political parties can partake in engaging with ethnic minority voters. The specified appeal strategies coming from a political party, a formal American institution, may contribute to the efforts of ushering in new and emerging voters in the American democracy. While party identification has shown to be, by far, the most influential predictor for American political behavior and participation (Campbell et al. 1960), previous research has found that a large proportion of Asian American and Latino citizens do not think in terms of traditional political party lines (Conway et al. 2004; Hajnal and Lee 2011). While there are alternative approaches for studying how new participants in the American political system can adopt a partisan identity (Wong and Tseng 2008), there is room for how messages from political parties can do to better engage and involve American electorates who are on the fringes of American democracy. There are findings that what political parties say and do matters for partisanship acquisition of these two communities (Kim 2007; Kuo et al. 2017; Garcia-Ríos et al. 2018). It is possible that specified identity appeal strategies could better incorporate and represent a diverse body of the American electorate through the efforts of America's formal institutions.

How one identifies, as a reflection of one's degree of acculturation, defines where one belongs and situates oneself in the American racial category. In essence, I have argued that becoming racialized is becoming distinctively American. As such, situating oneself in a racial category defines how invested one will be in the political process. Stakes in participating in American politics defined around the group is not new. In fact, Converse (1964) identified that average American voters are constrained by group interests, and they behave and judge their politics accordingly. Furthermore, groups have been shown to serve as heuristics for making judgments and forming opinions about complicated policies (Lupia 1994).

Racialization to pan-ethnicity defines and raises the stakes in the American political process among Asian Americans and Latinos. This research has taken us one step further in understanding how the construction of identities matter for group identity and who will respond to these appeals. Responding to identity appeals has consequences for participation, policy preferences, political behavior, and for the overall political belonging of the growing American electorate.

Appendix A

Full Wording of Survey Questions

Appendix A.1 2008 National Asian American Survey

Sampling strategy:

Several strategies of sampling were used to collect the data. The largest number of cases were completed interviews drawn from a random selection of respondents in a listed sample of high-probability Asian Americans. This listed sample was drawn from a commercial database of voter registration and marketing, with ethnic propensity classifications based on ethnic names, surnames, and geographic density. Two additional strategies of RDD were used to select respondents, the first from a set of telephone numbers generated to maximize the probability of Filipino Americans, and a second set of telephone numbers generated for the population in general. The general population RDD yielded a very small number of completed interviews relative to contacts made by interviewers (8 out of 1,028 attempts) primarily as a result of the low incidence of the Asian American population in the United States. The sampling design was stratified to collect a disproportionately high number of respondents from "new immigrant destinations" as defined by Audrey Singer of the Brookings Institution. In their raw format, 22 percent of the cases were selected from counties in new destinations while the remaining 78 percent were representative of the United States population. Cases were weighted to account for this stratified sampling design. (Text on methodological and sampling information comes from the ICPSR website: <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/RCMD/studies/31481>). All of the answers to these questions were collected over the phone.

Variables:

Identity variables (QF101 – QF106)

I now have a few questions about groups in society. People of Asian descent in the U.S. use different terms to describe themselves. In general do you of yourself as [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FOUR CHOICE CATEGORIES] [CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

- 1 An Asian American 16.2%
- 2 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] 24.4%
- 3 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American 40.9%
- 4 An Asian 11.0%
- 5 Other 1.5%
- 6 American [DO NOT READ] 3.1%
- 7 None of these [Do not read] 0.6%
- 97 Skip/NA 0.7%
- 98 Don't know 0.9%
- 99 Refused 0.6%

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

- 1 An Asian American 3.7%
- 2 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] 6.6%
- 3 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American 5.4%
- 4 An Asian 4.1%
- 5 Other 0.1%
- 6 American [DO NOT READ] 0.3%
- 7 None of these [Do not read]
- 97 Skip/NA 79.9%
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

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

- 1 An Asian American 3.7%
- 2 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] 6.6%
- 3 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American 5.4%
- 4 An Asian 4.1%
- 5 Other 0.1%
- 6 American [DO NOT READ] 0.3%
- 7 None of these [Do not read]
- 97 Skip/NA 79.9%
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

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

- 1 An Asian American 2.6%
- 2 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] 3.0%
- 3 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American 2.9%
- 4 An Asian 2.4%
- 5 Other 0.1%
- 6 American [DO NOT READ] 0.2%
- 7 None of these [Do not read]
- 97 Skip/NA 88.8%
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

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

- 1 An Asian American 1.8%

- 2 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] 1.7%
- 3 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American 1.9%
- 4 An Asian 1.8%
- 5 Other 0.0%
- 6 American [DO NOT READ] 0.0%
- 7 None of these [Do not read]
- 97 Skip/NA 92.6%
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

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

- 1 An Asian American
- 2 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1]
- 3 A/An [R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1] American
- 4 An Asian
- 5 Other 0.2%
- 6 American [DO NOT READ] 0.2%
- 7 None of these [Do not read]
- 97 Skip/NA 99.6%
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

Country of origin (QA1)

What is your ancestry or ethnic origin? [DO NOT READ. IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE, ASKWHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT AND CHECK ONE]

- Chinese 24.2%
- Indian 21.2%
- South Asian 1.0%
- Filipino 11.7%
- Vietnamese 13.9%
- Korean 11.9%
- Japanese 10.5%
- Taiwanese 2%
- Hmong 0.3%
- Asiatic 1.5%
- Bangladeshi 0.1%
- Laotian 0.1%
- Rest of the ancestry background that are < 0.1% are Bangladeshi, Laotian Burmese, Cambodian, Indochinese, Madagascar, Malaysian, Maldivian, Okinawan, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Thai, Other
- Don't know 0.4%
- Refused 0.3%

Nativity status (QA4)

How about you? Were you born in the United States or some other country?

- 1 United States 11.1%
- 2 Some other country 88.5%
- 98 Don't know 0.3%
- 99 Refused 0.1%

Language preference (QR1)

Are you comfortable continuing this conversation in English?

- Yes 59.9%
- No 40.1%

Register to vote (QC1)

Next, I would like to ask you about your view on political issues and the U.S. presidential election. I am interested in your views, even if you are not eligible to vote or not registered to vote here. These days, people are so busy they cannot find time register to vote or they have moved and their voter registration has lapsed. Are you now registered to vote at your current address?

- Yes 67.2%
- No 19.9%
- Not eligible 11.8%
- Don't know 0.8%
- Refused 0.2%

Voted in the 2004 U.S. Presidential race (QC7)

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

- Yes 52.3%
- No 30.6%
- Not eligible 15.5%
- Don't know 1.3%
- Refused 0.3%

Education (QJ1)

What is the highest level of formal education you completed?

- Primary or grammar school 4.1%
- Some high school 4.6%
- High school graduate 15.9%
- Some college 10.8%
- College graduate 33.6%
- Master 18.4%
- Business degree (MBA) 1.2%
- Law degree (JD) 0.3%
- Medical degree (MD, DO, Dentistry, Optometry) 0.9%
- Doctorate 5.5%
- Other 0.7%
- Don't know 0.9%

Refused 3.1%

Formal education in the U.S. (QJ2)

Did you complete all of your formal education in the United States?

Yes 33.2%

No 64.1%

Don't know 0.3%

Refused 2.4%

Income (QJ1)

Which of the following describes the total pre-tax income earned by everyone in your household last year?

Up to \$20K 8.3%

\$20K-\$35K 7.3%

\$35K-\$50K 7.4%

\$50K-\$75K 10.7%

\$75K-\$100K 8.6%

\$100K-\$125K 7.4%

\$125K-\$150K 3.9%

\$150K and over 9.0%

Don't know 13.4%

Refuse 23.9%

Age

2008-BIRTH YEAR

Years in the U.S.

2008 – ARRIVAL YEAR

Experiences with discrimination:

FOREIGN BORN

We are interested in the way you have been treated in the United States, and whether you have ever been treated unfairly because of your race, ancestry, being an immigrant, or having an accent. Have you ever been unfairly denied a job or fired? (QF5_A)

Yes 8.6%

No 77.1%

Skip/NA 11.7%

Don't know 2.2%

Refused 0.5%

Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion at work? (QF5_B)

Yes 12.7%

No 72.2%

Skip/NA 11.7%

Don't know 2.9%

Refused 0.6%

Have you ever been unfairly treated by the police? (QF5_C)

Yes 11.4%
No 74.9%
Skip/NA 11.7%
Don't know 1.5%
Refused 0.5%

Have you ever been unfairly prevented from renting or buying a house or apartment? (QF5_D)

Yes 4.7%
No 81.8%
Skip/NA 11.7%
Don't know 1.4%
Refused 0.5%

Have you ever been treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores? (QF5_E)

Yes 16.3%
No 70.5%
Skip/NA 11.7%
Don't know 1.1%
Refused 0.5%

US BORN

We are interested in the way you have been treated in the United States, and whether you have ever been treated unfairly because of your race, ancestry, being an immigrant, or having an accent. Have you ever been unfairly denied a job or fired? (QF5A_A)

Yes 0.7%
No 10.4%
Skip/NA 88.6%
Don't know 0.3%
Refused 0.0%

Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion at work? (QF5A_B)

Yes 1%
No 10%
Skip/NA 88.6%
Don't know 0.3%
Refused 0.1%

Have you ever been unfairly treated by the police? (QF5A_C)

Yes 1.2%
No 10.0%
Skip/NA 88.6%
Don't know 0.1%
Refused 0.1%

Have you ever been unfairly prevented from renting or buying a house or apartment? (QF5A_D)

Yes 0.6%
No 10.6%
Skip/NA 88.6%
Don't know 0.1%
Refused 0.0%

Have you ever been treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores? (QF5A_E)

Yes 3.2%
No 8.0%
Skip/NA 88.6%
Don't know 0.1%
Refused 0.0%

Vote choice (QF4)

Suppose you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is [R ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1]-American. Would you be more likely to vote for the [R ETHNIC GROUP FROM A1]-American candidate, if the two candidates are equally experienced and qualified?

Yes 56.9%
No 26.5%
Skip/NA 0.7%
Don't know 14.2%
Refused 1.7%

Appendix A.2 2006 Latino National Survey

Sampling strategy:

The sample was stratified by geographic designation, meaning that each state sample was a valid, stand-alone representation of that state's Latino population. State sample sizes varied based in part on funders' recommendations, but all national figures reported were appropriately weighted such that the numbers were accurately representative of the universe covered by the study. The national margin of error was approximately plus or minus 1.05 percent. The smallest sample size for any unit was 400, yielding a margin of error of less than plus or minus 5 percent for each state. A number of states were stratified internally. In each case but California, internal strata were represented proportionately in the final sample, and imposed solely to ensure that lower density regions were in the final sample. In California, additional strata were imposed in a nonproportional fashion, owing in part to the larger sample size, to allow greater between-region comparisons. All state-level results were computed using state-level weights such that they remained representative of the state population. (Text on methodological and sampling was drawn from the ICPSR website: <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/RCMD/studies/20862>). All of the answer to these questions were collected over the phone.

Variables:

Identity variables (PRIMEID)

Of the three previous terms, ANSWERFROM(AQS4), or ANSWERFROM(AQB4B) or American, which best describes you?

- ANSWERFROM(AQS4) -Latino/Hispanic 37.8%
- ANSWERFROM(AQB4B) – national origin 38.5%
- American 17.1%
- None of the above 3.1%
- DK/NA 2.7%
- Refused 0.9%

Country of origin (ANCESTRY):

Families of ANSWERFROM(AQS4) origin or background in the United States come from many different countries. From which country do you trace your Latino heritage? (IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE GIVEN READ) Which country does most of your family come from?

- Argentina 0.3%
- Bolivia 0.4%
- Chile 0.2%
- Colombia 1.6%
- Costa Rica 0.4%
- Cuba 4.9%
- Dominican Republic 3.9%
- Ecuador 1.2%
- El Salvador 4.7%
- Guatemala 1.7%
- Honduras 1.0%

Mexico 66.1%
Nicaragua 0.6%
Panama 0.2%
Paraguay 0.0%
Peru 0.8%
Puerto Rico 9.5%
Spain 1.2%
Uruguay 0.1%
Venezuela 0.3%
Don't know 0.3%
Refused 0.2%
(DO NOT READ) U.S.A. 0.4%

Nativity status (BORNUS)

Were you born in the mainland United States, Puerto Rico or some other country?

Mainland US 28.4%
Puerto Rico 5.4%
Some other country 66.2%

Language preference (LANGPREF)

Would you prefer that I speak English or Spanish?

English 38.1%
Spanish 61.9%

Register to vote (REGVOTE)

Are you currently registered to vote in the U.S.?

Yes 45.5%
No 10.2%
Don't know 0.3%
NA 0.2%
Missing 43.8%

Voted in the 2004 U.S. Presidential race (VOTE04)

In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just don't have time. How about you-did you vote in the presidential election last November?

Yes 37.5%
No 18.1%
DK/Ref 0.6%
Missing 43.8%

Experienced discrimination

Have you ever been unfairly fired or denied a job or promotion? (DFIRED)

Yes 16.4%
No 81.4%
DK/NA 2.2%

Have you ever been unfairly treated by the police? (DBAPOL)

Yes 14.0%
No 84.4%
DK/NA 1.6%

Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood (vecindario o barrio) because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment? (DHOUSING)

Yes 5.9%
No 92.3%
DK/NA 1.8%

Have you ever been treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores? (DRESTAUR)

Yes 16.4%
No 81.9%
DK/NA 1.7%

Education (REDUC)

What is your highest level of formal education completed?

None 2.6%
Eighth grade or below 19.9%
Some high school 14.5%
GED 3.3%
High school graduate 24.4%
Some college 19.1%
4 year college degree 9.5%
Graduate or professional degree 6.7%

Formal education (HIGHEDUC)

Where did you complete your highest level of education? US or elsewhere?

U.S. 18.6%
Puerto Rico 2.7%
Elsewhere 50.2%
Missing 28.4%

Income (HHINC)

Which of the following best describes the total income earned by all members of your household during 2004?

Below \$15K 14.8%
\$15K-\$24,999 17.7%
\$25K-\$34,999 13.7%
\$35K-\$44,999 9.9%
\$45K-\$54,999 6.5%
\$55K-\$64,999 4.8%
Above \$65K 11.7%
Refused 20.9%

Age

2006-BIRTH YEAR

Years in the U.S.

2006 – YEAR OF ARRIVAL

Vote choice (PREFLAT)

People can prefer a candidate for a variety of different reasons. How important is it for you that a candidate is LATINO/HISPANIC? (ANSWERFROMAQS4)

Not important at all 26.8%

Somewhat important 23.6%

Very important 49.6%

Appendix A.3 Asian American Candidate Survey (2018):

Sampling methodology:

Dynata uses invitations of all types including e-mail invitations, phone alerts, banners and messaging on panel community sites to include people with a diversity of motivations to take part in research. At the time of enrollment, new panelists are asked to join an online market research panel. At this point it is made clear that it is not part of a sales process. The survey invitations provide only basic links and information that is non-leading. Panelists are rewarded for taking part in surveys according to a structured incentive scheme, with the incentive amount offered for a survey determined by the length and content of the survey, the type of data being collected, the nature of the task and the sample characteristics.

Dynata works to optimally blend our proprietary sample sources by conducting comparability tests and modeling the blend that will achieve the closest match to census and social benchmarks. To ensure reliability over time, the company control the blend of multiple sample sources based upon the client's research requirements. *Dynata* ensure full transparency with their clients regarding sample sources used, including times when an external panel partner may be required. To prevent duplication, *Dynata* use third-party digital fingerprint technology.

Dynata design recruitment campaigns to target hard-to-reach population segments by selecting unique sources and applying tailored campaigns. To guarantee detailed knowledge of the specifics of panelists, the company employ hundreds of profiling attributes on the panels. Due to the size of the panels, low incidence groups are accessible. To facilitate this process, *Dynata* deeply target our panels and deploy pre-screeners to collect information for niche sample targets such as finance, IT decision-makers and health ailments. *Dynata* recognizes that online may not be the only solution to reach rare groups and can assist clients in understanding the tradeoffs of different data collection modes and recommend the best methodology to achieve the research goal. My data collection process took longer targeting self-identified Asian and Latino respondents residing in the U.S.

Sample selection is based on the sample needs and client requirements for each individual survey, driven by a study's research objectives. Where possible, pre-targeted sample is used to minimize screen-outs and provide a better quality panelist experience. Customized sampling, e.g. nationally representative, is also available. *Dynata* can balance sample on outbound invitations, surveys start or completed interviews. We do this using a wide range of targeting criteria, from simple demographics to more complex behavioral and attitudinal targeting. (Text on methodological and sampling strategy information was drawn from *Dynata's* written report called "Panel Quality: Our Values – Answers to ESOMAR's 28 Questions.")

For my dissertation on Latino and Asian American respondents, I specifically asked for 50-50 of: nativity status, and gender. For Latinos, I've asked for 30% college and 70% non-college educated respondents. For Asian Americans, I've asked for 40% college and 60% non-college educated respondents. For Spanish speaking Latinos, I've asked for 30% of the respondents to be fluent Spanish speakers; enough to take the survey in Spanish.⁷⁶ However, demographic requests were not perfectly met at the final time of data collection. All of the answer to these questions were administered over Qualtrics sponsored by the University of Michigan.

⁷⁶ These expectations were from the 2017 US Census report

Timing information on the vignette screen: There was no timer on the vignette screen.

Country of origin (ANCESTRY)

Persons of Asian or Pacific Islander background in the United States have ancestry ties tracing back to many of those countries. Which of the following ethnicities do you trace most of your Asian or Pacific Islander heritage?⁷⁷ Please mark one or more ancestries if it applies to you.

- Bangladeshi
- Cambodian
- Chinese
- Filipino
- Hmong
- Indian
- Pakistani
- Japanese
- Korean
- Laotian
- Vietnamese
- Native Hawaiian
- Samoa
- Bhutanese
- Burmese
- Fijian
- Indonesian
- Malaysian
- Mongolian
- Nepali
- Singaporean
- Sri Lankan
- Taiwanese
- Thai
- Tongan
- Don't know
- None of the above

Gender

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other

Nativity Status

Were you born in the United States or some other country?

⁷⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_most_common_surnames_in_Asia
Bangladesh: 1) Uddin 2) Sen; Cambodian: 1) Din 2) Chea; Hmong: 1) Moua 2) Her; Native Hawaiian: 1) Kalani 2) Kalua; Samoan: 1) Nati 2) Palapala; Bhutanese: 1) Tenzin 2) Rai; Burmese: 1) Nai 2) Mahn; Fijian: 1) Naupoto 2) Tuisolia; Malaysian: 1) Tengku 2) Nik; Mongolian: 1) Bayarmaa 2) Mandukhai; Nepali: 1) Maharjan 2) Shrestha; Singaporean: 1) Ang 2) Toh; Sri Lankan: 1) Jayasuriya 2) Jayakody; Thai: 1) Sukhum 2) Bunnag; Tongan: 1) Alatini 2) Lomu

United States
In another country

Age

What year were you born?
2018 – BIRTH YEAR

Education

What is the highest level of formal education you completed?

Primary or grammar school
Some high school
High school graduate
Some college
College graduate
Post-college graduate
Other

Higher education in the U.S.

Where did you complete your college education?
In the U.S.
From some other country

Income

Which of the following best describes the total income earned by everyone in your household last year?

Up to \$20K
20-35K
35-50K
50-75K
75-100K
100-125K
125-250K
250K and over
Don't know

Identity importance

How important is being **Asian American** to your identity? Would you say it is extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, or not important at all?

Extremely important
Very important well
Moderately important
Slightly important
Not important at all

How important is being [**ETHNIC**] American to your identity? Would you say it is extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, or not important at all?

Extremely important

Very important well

Moderately important

Slightly important

Not important at all

How important is being [**American**] to your identity? Would you say it is extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, or not important at all? Extremely important

Very important well

Moderately important

Slightly important

Not important at all

Vote in 2016

Did you vote in the 2016 US election?

Yes

No

Not eligible

Don't recall

Refused

Candidate evaluation 1

In your opinion, how well does the phrase "he really cares about people like you" describe Bob [INSERT HERE]?

Extremely well

Very well

Moderately well

A little

Not at all

Candidate evaluation 2

In your opinion, how well does the phrase "he really cares about people like you" describe Dan [INSERT HERE]?

Extremely well

Very well

Moderately well

A little

Not at all

Candidate vote choice

If the election were held today and you were choosing between these two candidates, would you be more likely to support Bob [INSERT HERE] or Dan [INSERT HERE]? =

Bob [INSERT HERE]

Dan [INSERT HERE]

Manipulation check question

“What was the name of the organization endorsing candidate Dan/Bob, if you can remember?”
[national origin, American, Asian American, something else]

Open-ended question

What is the first thing you think of when you hear the term “Asian American?”

Appendix A.4 Latino Victor Project (English 2017):

Sampling methodology:

Latino Decisions surveyed 700 Latino adults between September 12 – September 20, 2017. Interviews were collected online in a respondent self-administered format, and the survey and invitation was available to respondents in English or Spanish. The full data are weighted to match the adult population in the 2015 Census ACS 1-year data file for age, gender, education, nativity, ancestry, and voter registration status. A post-stratification raking algorithm was used to balance each category within +/- 1 percent of the ACS estimates. The survey carries a margin of error of +/- 3.7 percentage points (Text on methodological and sampling was drawn from the survey write up of the “Latino Victor Project” 2017).

Timing information on the vignette screen: There was no timer on the vignette screen.

Language preference

Thank you for participating in this survey. All of your answers are completely confidential and anonymous. Please answer every question as truthfully as possible. This is not a race! Take your time to read each question and provide your honest opinion. Thank you very much.

S1. Record language of survey

- English
- Spanish

Pan-ethnic identity preference (S3)

The most frequently used terms to describe persons of Latin American descent living in the United States are ‘Hispanic’ and ‘Latino.’ Of the two, which do you prefer, Hispanic or Latino, or are you not of Hispanic or Latino origin?

- Hispanic (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)
- Latino (Use Latino for the rest of the survey)
- Either acceptable (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)
- Don’t care (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)
- DK/NA (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)
- Not Hispanic or Latino

Age (S5)

Please indicate your age bracket

- Age 18 to 29
- Age 30 to 39
- Age 40 to 49
- Age 50 to 59
- Age 60 or older

Vote registration (S7)

Are you currently registered to vote here in [INSERT ANS FROM STATE]?

- Yes,
- No, not registered

Nativity status (S8)

Were you born in the United States, on the Island of Puerto Rico, or another country?

- United States
- Another country
- Puerto Rico

Country of origin (S9)

[Hispanics/Latinos] have their roots in many different countries in Latin America. To what country do you or your family trace your ancestry?

- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- Guatemala
- Honduras
- Mexico
- Nicaragua
- Panama
- Paraguay
- Peru
- Puerto Rico
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Spain / Spanish
- Other country [SPECIFY]

Gender (S10)

- Male
- Female
- Other/Refused

Education (D1)

The final questions are just used to make sure we have a representative sample of Americans of a diverse background. They are completely anonymous, but very important to our research.

What is the highest level of education you completed?

- Grades 1 – 8
- Some High School
- High School Graduate
- Some College/Technical School
- College Graduate
- Post-graduate education

Income (D2)

What was your total combined household income in 2016 before taxes?

- Less than \$20,000
- \$20,000 to \$39,999
- \$40,000 to \$59,999
- \$60,000 to \$79,999
- \$80,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 to \$150,000
- More than \$150,000

Pan-ethnic identity importance (CC1)

How important is being [LATINO/HISPANIC] to your identity? Would you say it is extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, or not important at all?

How important is being LATINO/HISPANIC to your identity?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- A little important
- Not important at all

National origin identity importance (CC2)

How important is being [NATIONAL ORIGIN] to your identity?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- A little important
- Not important at all

Gender identity importance (CC3)

How important is being [GENDER] to your identity?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- A little important
- Not important at all

American identity importance (CC4)

How important is being AMERICAN to your identity?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- A little important
- Not important at all

Candidate evaluation 1 (CC5)

In your opinion, does the phrase “he really cares about people like you” describe candidate Bob?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderately well
- A little
- Not at all

Candidate evaluation 2 (CC6)

In your opinion, does the phrase “he really cares about people like you” describe candidate Dan?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderately well
- A little
- Not at all

Candidate vote choice (CC7)

If the election were being held today would you be more likely to support Steven Lopez, Robert Sanchez, or some other candidate?

- Steven Lopez
- Robert Sanchez
- Someone else

Discrimination [RANDOMIZE THE ORDER IN WHICH THESE QUESTIONS ARE ASKED]

In the next part of this survey, you will be asked some questions about how much discrimination certain groups in the United States face. Please provide your opinion using the response options provided.

- How much discrimination is there today against Asian Americans?
- How much discrimination is there today against African Americans?
- How much discrimination is there today against Latinos?
- How much discrimination is there today against Whites?
- How much discrimination is there today against [ETHNIC]?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- None
- Don't know

Manipulation check question

“If you can recall, what was the [LATINO/HISPANIC] ancestry of the organization endorsing Steven Lopez?” [drop down menu of the ancestry background]

Open-ended question

What is the first thing you think of when you hear the term “Latino?”

Appendix A.5 Latino Victory Project (Spanish 2017):

Sampling: see description of the data (*Latino Decisions*) from Appendix A.3

Language preference

Gracias por participar en esta encuesta. Todas sus preguntas son completamente confidenciales y anónimas. Por favor responda todas las preguntas con la mayor sinceridad posible. ¡Esto no es una carrera! Tómese su tiempo para leer cada pregunta y proporcionar su honesta opinión.

Muchas gracias.

S1. Registrar el idioma de la encuesta

Inglés

Español

Pan-ethnic identity preference (S3)

Los términos utilizados con más frecuencia para describir a las personas de ascendencia Latinoamericana viviendo en los Estados Unidos son ‘Hispano’ y ‘Latino.’ De los dos, ¿cuál prefiere usted, Hispano o Latino, o no es usted de origen Hispano o Latino?

Hispano (Use Hispano for the rest of the survey)

Latino (Use Latino for the rest of the survey)

Cualquiera es aceptable (Use Hispano for the rest of the survey)

No importa (Use Hispano for the rest of the survey)

NS/NA (Use Hispano for the rest of the survey)

No es Hispano o Latino TERMINATE

Country of origin (S9)

Los [Hispanos/Latinos] tienen sus raíces en diferentes países en Latinoamérica. ¿A qué país traza usted o su familia su ascendencia? [OPEN-END LIST ALL COUNTRIES]

Argentina

Bolivia

Chile

Colombia

Costa Rica

Cuba

República Dominicana

Ecuador

El Salvador

Guatemala

Honduras

México

Nicaragua

Panamá

Paraguay

Perú

Puerto Rico

Uruguay

Venezuela

España/Español
Otro país [ESPECIFIQUE]

Age (S5)

Por favor indique su edad

- 18 a 29 años
- 30 a 39 años
- 40 a 49 años
- 50 a 59 años
- 60 o más

Vote registration (S7)

¿Esta usted actualmente registrado para votar en [INSERT ANS FROM STATE]?

- Si
- No, no está registrado

Nativity status (S8)

¿Nació usted en los Estados Unidos, en la isla de Puerto Rico, o en otro país?

- Estados Unidos
- Otro país
- Puerto Rico

Gender (S10)

Género

- Hombre
- Mujer
- Otro/Rehusó

Education (D1)

Las preguntas finales son sólo utilizadas para asegurarnos de que tenemos una muestra representativa de estadounidenses de diversos orígenes. Son completamente anónimas, pero muy importantes para nuestra investigación.

¿Cuál es el nivel más alto de educación que completó?

- Grados 1 – 8
- Algo de preparatoria
- Graduado de preparatoria
- Algo de universidad/Escuela técnica
- Graduado de universidad
- Educación posgrado

Income (D2)

¿Cuál fue el total de ingresos combinados su hogar en el 2016 antes de los impuestos?

- Menos de \$20,000
- \$20,000 a \$39,999
- \$40,000 a \$59,999
- \$60,000 a \$79,999

\$80,000 a \$99,999
\$100,000 a \$150,000
Más de \$150,000

Pan-ethnic identity importance

CC1. ¿Qué tan importante es ser LATINO/HISPANO para su identidad?

CC2. ¿Qué tan importante es ser GRUPO ÉTNICO para su identidad?

CC3. ¿Qué tan importante es ser GÉNERO para su identidad?

CC4. ¿Qué tan importante es ser AMERICANO para su identidad?

Extremadamente importante

Muy importante

Moderadamente importante

No muy importante

Nada importante

Candidate evaluation 1 (CC5)

En su opinión, ¿describe la frase “el realmente se preocupa por gente como usted” a Steven López?

Extremadamente bien

Muy bien

Moderadamente bien

Un poco

Para nada

Candidate evaluation 2 (CC6)

En su opinión, ¿describe la frase “el realmente se preocupa por gente con usted” a Robert Sánchez?

Extremadamente bien

Muy bien

Moderadamente bien

Un poco

Para nada

Candidate vote choice (CC7)

¿Si la elección se llevara a cabo hoy, sería más probable que usted apoye a Steve López, Robert Sánchez, o algún otro candidato?

Steven López

Robert Sánchez

Alguien más

Manipulation check question

¿Si usted recuerda, ¿cuál era la ascendencia [Latina/Hispana] de Steven López?

[drop down menu of the ancestry background from which respondents can choose from for their answers to this question]

Note: The manipulation check question was only asked for those who were assigned to the national origin experiment condition.

Appendix A.6 Asian American Civic Engagement Survey (2019)

Sampling: see description of the data (*Dynata*) from Appendix A.3

Country of origin

From the list of terms below, what is your ancestry or ethnic origin? Please check all that describe you.

- Bangladeshi
- Cambodian
- Chinese
- Filipino
- Hmong
- Indian
- Pakistani
- Japanese
- Korean
- Laotian
- Vietnamese
- Native Hawaiian
- Samoan
- Bhutanese
- Burmese
- Fijian
- Indonesian
- Malaysian
- Mongolian
- Nepali
- Singaporean
- Sri Lankan
- Taiwanese
- Thai
- Tongan
- Don't know
- None of the above

[If multiple identities were selected...]

You indicated you have multiple ancestry backgrounds. Which of the labels below best describe you? [LIST ONLY IDENTITIES THAT WERE CHOSEN BY THE RESPONDENT RATHER THAN THE ENTIRE LIST GIVEN IN THE FIRST IDENTITY QUESTION]

Gender

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other

Nativity status

Were you born in the United States or some other country?

United States

Some other country

Years in the U.S.

Length of years in U.S. = (2018 – BIRTH YEAR) – MIGRATION AGE

Age

What year were you born?

2019 – BIRTH YEAR

Education

What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?

Primary or grammar school

Some high school

High school graduate

Some college or 2-year college degree

4-year College graduate

Post-college graduate

Other

Don't know

Higher education in U.S.

Where did you complete your post-college graduate education?

United States

Some other country

Income

Which of the following best describes your total household income earned by everyone in last year? Please include your income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES and from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits).

Up to \$20,000

\$20,000 - \$35,000

\$35,000 - \$50,000

\$50,000 - \$75,000

\$75,000 - \$100,000

\$100,000 - \$125,000s

\$125,000 - \$250,000

\$250,000 and over

Don't know

Identity importance

How important is the label “**Asian American**” to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not important at all

How important is the label “[**NATIONAL ORIGIN**] American” to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not important at all

How important is the label “[**NATIONAL ORIGIN**]” to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not important at all

How well does the label “**American**” describe you?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderated well
- Slightly well
- Not well at all

Perception of discrimination

Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Asian Americans are treated unfairly in...

- The workplace...
- Schools...
- From succeeding in general in America...
- Strongly agree
- Mostly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Mostly disagree
- Strongly disagree

[**ETHNIC**] **Americans** are treated unfairly in...

- The workplace...
- Schools...
- From succeeding in general in America...

Strongly agree
Mostly agree
Somewhat agree
Somewhat disagree
Mostly disagree
Strongly disagree

Organizational involvement

Now I'd like to ask some questions about your involvement at your local organizations, clubs, associations, and the like. Examples include churches, neighborhood associations, etc. Please provide the best answer to the following questions.

Are you involved with any organizations, clubs, association, and the like in your community?

Yes
No
Don't know

INFO: "Imagine you were offered the opportunity at some point to receive information about *One America*. How interested would you be to sign up to receive this information?"

Extremely interested
Very interested
Moderately interested
Not very interested
Not interested at all

SIGN: "*One America* plans to pressure our Congressional representatives to pass legislation strengthening penalties on hate crimes in our schools and in your neighborhoods. Imagine you were asked to sign a petition on hate crime partnering with this organization. How likely would you be to sign it?"

Extremely likely
Very likely
Moderately likely
Not very likely
Not likely at all

SEND: "Now you have a chance to send an electronic postcard expressing your opinion about hate crimes to your U.S. Senators in [STATE] partnering with *One America*. Your name will not be attached to the postcard...How interested would you be in expressing your opinion about hate crimes to your U.S. Senators by partnering with *One America* to send an electronic postcard to your U.S. Senators?"

STANDARD POSTCARD MESSAGE:

*Senator [LAST NAME 1] and Senator [LAST NAME 2],
As you consider your position on the issue of hate crime,
I ask you to support One America's proposal strengthening
penalties on hate crime for people in my community.
Thank you for your time.*

How interested would you be in expressing your opinion about hate crimes to your U.S. Senators by partnering with *One America* to send an electronic postcard to your U.S. Senators?

- Extremely interested
- Very interested
- Moderately interested
- Not very interested
- Not interested at all

SUPPORT: "How strongly do you support the goals of *One America*?"

- Extremely supportive
- Very supportive
- Somewhat supportive
- Not very supportive
- Not supportive at all

IMPORTANCE: "How important does the work of *One America* sound to you?"

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Not very important
- Not important at all

ATTEND: "How willing would you be to attend a meeting held by *One America* in your local area if invited?"

- Extremely willing
- Very willing
- Moderately willing
- Not very willing
- Not willing at all

VOLUNTEER: "How willing would you be to volunteer with *One America*?"

- Extremely willing
- Very willing
- Moderately willing
- Not very willing
- Not willing at all

INVITE: “How willing would you be to invite someone to attend a meeting organized by *One America*?”

- Extremely willing
- Very willing
- Moderately willing
- Not very willing
- Not willing at all

Manipulation check question

In your opinion, which group was *One America* supporting?

[A list of national origin, pan-ethnic, unemployed, poor, elderly, don't know] Multiple selection was possible

Open-ended question

What is the first thing you think of when you hear the term “Asian American?”

[OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE]

Appendix A.7 Latino Civic Engagement Survey (2019 – English)

Sampling: see description of the data (*Dynata*) from Appendix A.3

Language preference

Would you like to complete the survey in English or Spanish?

English

Spanish

Country of origin

In order to make sure we have a representative sample of everyone across America, let's start with a few demographic questions. Let's start with some information about yourself.

Check all that apply to you.

A long list of Latin American countries and Spain were given as options for people to select into.

[IF] multiple ethnic identities have been selected, ask a follow-up question (IF MORE THAN ONE ITEMS WERE CHOSEN) [REQ]

Pan-ethnic identity preference

The most frequently used terms to describe persons of Latin American descent living in the United States are 'Hispanic' and 'Latino.' Of the two, which do you prefer, Hispanic or Latino, or are you not of Hispanic or Latino origin?

Hispanic (use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)

Latino (Use Latino for the rest of the survey)

Either acceptable (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)

Don't care (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)

DK/NA (Use Hispanic for the rest of the survey)

Not Hispanic or Latino

Gender

What is your gender?

Male

Female

Other

Nativity status

Were you born in the United States or some other country?

United States

Some other country

Puerto Rico

Years in the U.S. (not properly programmed in the survey)

Length of years in U.S. = (2018 – BIRTH YEAR) – MIGRATION AGE

Age

2019 – BIRTH YEAR

Education

What is the highest level of formal education you completed?

- Primary or grammar school
- Some high school
- High school graduate
- Some college
- College graduate
- Post-college graduate
- Other
- Don't know

Higher education in U.S.

Where did you complete your college education?

- In the U.S.
- From some other country

Income

Which of the following best describes the total income earned by everyone in your household last year?

- Up to \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$35,000
- \$35,000 - \$50,000
- \$50,000 - \$75,000
- \$75,000 - \$100,000
- \$100,000 - \$125,000
- \$125,000 - \$250,000
- \$250,000 and over
- Don't know

Identity importance

How important is being [**HISPANIC / LATINO**] to your identity?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderated well
- Slightly well
- Not well at all

How important is being [**ETHNIC**] American to your identity?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderated well
- Slightly well
- Not well at all

How important is being **AMERICAN** to your identity?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderated well
- Slightly well
- Not well at all

Organization involvement

Do you take part in any activity with any organization in your community that you're involved with?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

INFO: "Imagine you were offered the opportunity at some point to receive information about *One America*. How interested would you be to sign up to receive this information?"

- Extremely interested
- Very interested
- Moderately interested
- Not very interested
- Not interested at all

SIGN: "*One America* plans to pressure our Congressional representatives to pass legislation strengthening penalties on hate crimes in our schools and in your neighborhoods. Imagine you were asked to sign a petition on hate crime partnering with this organization. How likely would you be to sign it?"

- Extremely likely
- Very likely
- Moderately likely
- Not very likely
- Not likely at all

SEND: "Now you have a chance to send an electronic postcard expressing your opinion about hate crimes to your U.S. Senators in [STATE] partnering with *One America*. Your name will not be attached to the postcard...How interested would you be in expressing your opinion about hate crimes to your U.S. Senators by partnering with *One America* to send an electronic postcard to your U.S. Senators?"

STANDARD POSTCARD MESSAGE:

*Senator [LAST NAME 1] and Senator [LAST NAME 2],
As you consider your position on the issue of hate crime,
I ask you to support One America's proposal strengthening
penalties on hate crime for people in my community.
Thank you for your time.*

How interested would you be in expressing your opinion about hate crimes to your U.S. Senators by partnering with *One America* to send an electronic postcard to your U.S. Senators?

- Extremely interested
- Very interested
- Moderately interested
- Not very interested
- Not interested at all

SUPPORT: “How strongly do you support the goals of *One America*?”

- Extremely supportive
- Very supportive
- Somewhat supportive
- Not very supportive
- Not supportive at all

IMPORTANCE: “How important does the work of *One America* sound to you?”

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Not very important
- Not important at all

ATTEND: “How willing would you be to attend a meeting held by *One America* in your local area if invited?”

- Extremely willing
- Very willing
- Moderately willing
- Not very willing
- Not willing at all

VOLUNTEER: “How willing would you be to volunteer with *One America*?”

- Extremely willing
- Very willing
- Moderately willing
- Not very willing
- Not willing at all

INVITE: “How willing would you be to invite someone to attend a meeting organized by *One America*?”

- Extremely willing
- Very willing
- Moderately willing
- Not very willing
- Not willing at all

Perception of discrimination (unfair treatment)

Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following questions:

Do you agree or disagree that $\{\text{QID3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}\}$ Americans⁷⁸ are treated unfairly in the workplace? In schools? In the U.S. in general?

Workplace; The schools; The U.S. in general

Strongly agree

Agree

Somewhat agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Somewhat disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Manipulation check question

In your opinion, which group was *One America* supporting?

[A list of national origin, pan-ethnic, unemployed, poor, elderly, don't know] Multiple selection was possible

Open-ended question

What is the first thing you think of when you hear the term "Latino?"

⁷⁸ Asian American for the pan-ethnic identity

Appendix A.7 Latino Civic Engagement Survey (2019 – Spanish)

Sampling: see description of the data (*Dynata*) from Appendix A.3

Language preference

¿Le gustaría completar la encuesta en inglés o en español?

Inglés

Español

Country of origin

De la lista de términos debajo, ¿cuál es su origen étnico o de cual es su familia? Por favor marque todos los que se apliquen a usted de las lista que sigue. A long list of Latin American countries and Spain were given as options for people to select into.

Pan-ethnic identity preference

Los términos más usados para describir a personas de origen latinoamericano viviendo en Estados Unidos son ‘hispano’ y ‘latino’. De los dos, ¿cuál prefiere, hispano o latino, o usted no tiene preferencia?

Hispano

Latino

No tengo preferencia - los dos son aceptables

No importa

No sé/No aplica

No soy hispano o latino

Gender

¿Cuál es su género?

Masculino

Femenino

Otro

Nativity status

¿Nació en los Estados Unidos, Puerto Rico o en otro país?

Estado Unidos

Puerto Rico

Otro país

Age

2019 – BIRTH YEAR

Years in the U.S. (not properly programmed in the survey)

¿Cuántos años has vivido en los Estados Unidos? [numero]

Education

¿Cuál es el nivel más alto de educación formal que usted completó?

- Primaria
- Algo de escuela secundaria
- Graduado de escuela secundaria
- Algo de colegio universitario o título universitario de 2 años
- Terminé título universitario de 4 años
- Terminé un posgrado
- Otro
- No sé

Higher education in U.S.

¿Dónde completó su educación de posgrado?

- Estados Unidos
- Puerto Rico
- En otro país

Income

¿Cuál de los siguientes describe sus ingresos totales por todos viviendo en su residencia el año pasado?

- Hasta \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$35,000
- \$35,000 - \$50,000
- \$50,000 - \$75,000
- \$75,000 - \$100,000
- \$100,000 - \$125,000
- \$125,000 - \$250,000
- \$250,000 o más
- No sé

Identity importance

¿Qué tan importante es ser [HISPANIC / LATINO] para su identidad?

- Muy importante
- Importante
- Moderadamente importante
- No muy importante
- Nada importante

¿Qué tan importante es ser [ETHNIC] Americano para su identidad?

- Muy importante
- Importante
- Moderadamente importante
- No muy importante
- Nada importante

¿Qué tan importante es ser **Americano** para su identidad?

- Muy importante
- Importante
- Moderadamente importante
- No muy importante
- Nada importante

Organization involvement

Ahora me gustaría preguntarle de su participación en organizaciones locales, incluyendo clubes, asociaciones, iglesias, y asociaciones de su barrio, etc. Por favor, responde lo mejor que pueda a las siguientes preguntas.

Ha participado en alguna actividad con alguna organización, club, asociación o grupo parecido de la comunidad a la cual pertenece?

- Sí
- No

INFO

Imagina que te ofrecieron la oportunidad en algún momento de recibir información sobre *One America*. ¿Qué tan interesado estaría en inscribirse para recibir esta información?

- Extremadamente interesado
- Muy interesado
- Moderadamente interesado
- No muy interesado
- Nada interesado

SIGN

One America planea presionar a nuestros representantes en el Congreso para que aprueben leyes que fortalezcan las sanciones por delitos de odio en nuestras escuelas y vecindarios. Imagina que te pidieron que firmes una petición sobre delitos de odio en asociación con esta organización.

¿Qué tan probable sería que lo firmes?

- Extremadamente probable
- Muy probable
- Moderadamente probable
- No muy probable
- Nada probable

SEND

Ahora usted tiene la oportunidad de enviar una tarjeta por correo electrónico expresando su opinión sobre los crímenes de odio a su senador americano en $\{\text{loc://Region}\}$ que se han asociado con *One America*. Su nombre **no saldrá** en la tarjeta postal. Su postal será enviada a sus senadores de manera automática al final de la encuesta.

MENSAJE ESTÁNDAR DE POSTAL:

*Senador/a [APELLIDO 1] y senador/a [APELLIDO 2],
Mientras usted considera su postura sobre el problema de los delitos motivados por el odio, le pido que apoye la propuesta de One America en fortalecer las sanciones hacia los delitos motivados por el odio hechos hacia los gentes de nuestra comunidad. Gracias por su tiempo.*

¿Qué tan interesado estaría en expresar su opinión sobre los crímenes de odio a sus Senadores de los Estados Unidos al asociarse con One America para enviar una postal electrónica a sus Senadores de los Estados Unidos?

- Extremadamente interesado
- Muy interesado
- Moderadamente interesado
- No muy interesado
- Nada interesado

SUPPORT

¿En qué medida está de acuerdo con las metas de *One America*?

- Extremadamente de acuerdo
- Muy de acuerdo
- Algo de acuerdo
- No muy de acuerdo
- Nada de acuerdo

IMPORTANCE

Para usted, ¿qué tan importante suena el trabajo de *One America*?

- Extremadamente importante
- Muy importante
- Moderadamente importante
- No muy importante
- Nada importante

ATTEND

¿Qué tan probable sea que usted vaya a una reunión de *One America* en su área si fuera invitado?

- Extremadamente probable
- Muy probable
- Moderadamente probable
- No muy probable
- Nada probable

VOLUNTEER

¿Qué tan probable sea que usted sea voluntario de *One America*?

- Extremadamente probable
- Muy probable
- Moderadamente probable
- No muy probable
- Nada probable

INVITE

¿Qué tan probable sea que usted invite a alguien para que vaya a una reunión organizada por *One America*?

- Extremadamente probable
- Muy probable
- Moderadamente probable
- No muy probable
- Nada probable

Perception of discrimination (unfair treatment)

Por favor díganos si usted está de acuerdo o no con las siguientes preguntas:

¿Está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que los $\{e://Field/identity2\}$ s-Americanos⁷⁹ son tratados injustamente en el trabajo? En las escuelas? En los Estados Unidos en general?

Por ejemplo:

¿Está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que los $\{e://Field/identity2\}$ s-Americanos son tratados injustamente en el trabajo?

- Extremadamente de acuerdo
- Muy de acuerdo
- Moderadamente de acuerdo
- Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- Moderadamente de desacuerdo
- Principalmente en desacuerdo
- Extremadamente en desacuerdo

Manipulation check question

¿En su opinión, apoya *One America* a algunos de los siguientes grupos?

[National origin groups, unemployed, elderly, poor] Multiple selection was possible

⁷⁹ Latinos o Hispanos for the pan-ethnic identity

Appendix B

Complete Version of In-text Tables

Appendix B.1 Chapter Two Results

Table B.1 1 Predicting preference for pan-ethnic identity among Latinos (Table 2.3)

	Pan-ethnic Identity (vs. National Identity)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
US Born	--	--	0.80*** (0.09)	--
Years in US	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	--	--
English	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.22** (0.10)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.23** (0.10)
Education in US	-0.02 (0.10)	--	--	0.07 (0.09)
Discrimination Index	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)
Cuban (1=Mexican)	-0.18 (0.15)	-0.18 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.14)	-0.20 (0.15)
Puerto Rican	-0.46*** (0.13)	-0.46*** (0.13)	-0.51*** (0.10)	-0.39*** (0.12)
Female	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	--	--	-0.22* (0.12)	--
Constant	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.12)	0.00 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)
Observations	3842	3842	6022	4100

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable is either Pan-ethnic, National origin, or American identity. I only report Pan-ethnic vs. National origin identity. Cronbach alpha for the discrimination index is $\alpha=0.57$
 * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table B.1 2 Predicting preference for pan-ethnic identity among Asians (Table 2.5)

	Pan-ethnic Identity (vs. National Identity)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
US Born	12.81 (850.73)	--	--	13.06 (983.93)
Years in US	--	--	0.02*** (0.01)	--
South Asia (1=East Asia)	-0.60 (0.47)	0.66*** (0.15)	0.65*** (0.15)	-0.63 (0.47)
Southeast Asia	-0.68 (0.49)	-0.13 (0.14)	-0.17 (0.14)	-0.59 (0.49)
English	0.22 (0.83)	0.06 (0.13)	0.02 (0.14)	0.30 (0.81)
Female	0.07 (0.33)	0.08 (0.11)	0.12 (0.11)	0.09 (0.33)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Education in US	0.18 (0.66)	0.41*** (0.12)	0.27** (0.13)	
Education	--	--	--	1.29 (0.83)
Discrimination Index (US born)	1.05 (0.76)	--	--	0.79 (0.79)
Discrimination Index (Foreign born)	--	0.73*** (0.25)	0.68*** (0.25)	--
Constant	-14.61 (850.73)	-2.25*** (0.27)	-2.14*** (0.29)	-15.66 (983.94)
Observations	378	2596	2513	367

Notes: Dependent variable is either Pan-ethnic, National origin, or American identity. I only report Pan-ethnic vs. National origin identity

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table B.1 3Predicting preference for national origin candidate among Asians (Table 2.4)

	Voting for the Pan-ethnic Candidate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
National Origin ID (1=Pan-ethnic ID)	0.08 (0.41)	0.37*** (0.14)	--	--
American ID	1.60*** (0.55)	-0.67** (0.27)	--	--
US Born	13.82 (620.35)	--	0.00 (0.00)	--
Years in US	--	-0.01 (0.01)	--	-0.00 (0.01)
South Asia (1=East Asian)	1.22*** (0.37)	-0.70*** (0.15)	-0.82*** (0.13)	-0.81*** (0.13)
Southeast Asians	0.44 (0.36)	0.48*** (0.14)	0.46*** (0.12)	0.48*** (0.12)
English	-0.80 (0.63)	-0.43*** (0.13)	-0.58*** (0.11)	-0.56*** (0.12)
Female	-0.05 (0.26)	0.12 (0.11)	0.08 (0.10)	0.08 (0.10)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	0.01*** (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Education in US	-0.09 (0.48)	0.02 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.12)
Education				
Discrimination US Bon	0.01 (0.14)	--	--	--
Discrimination Foreign Born	--	0.18*** (0.06)	0.15*** (0.05)	0.14*** (0.05)
Vote Registration	-0.77* (0.46)	0.17 (0.17)	-0.09 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.15)
Vote in 2004	-0.12 (0.35)	-0.17 (0.15)	0.03 (0.12)	0.01 (0.13)
Constant	-14.15 (620.35)	0.17 (0.31)	0.74*** (0.25)	0.77*** (0.26)
Observations	311	1789	2308	2246

Notes: Dependent variable is either Pan-ethnic, National origin, or American identity. I only report Pan-ethnic vs. National origin identity * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table B.1 4Probability of voting for a pan-ethnic “Latino” candidate (Table 2.6)

	Voting for the Pan-ethnic Candidate						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Pan-ethnic	0.08*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	--	--	--
National Origin	0.12*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	--	--	--
US Born	--	-0.16*** (0.02)	--	--	--	--	-0.20*** (0.01)
Cuban (1=Mexican)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.25*** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Puerto Rican	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)
Years in US	-0.00*** (0.00)	--	-0.01*** (0.00)	--	-0.00*** (0.00)	--	--
English	-0.24*** (0.02)	--	--	-0.27*** (0.02)	-0.25*** (0.02)	-0.26*** (0.02)	--
Female	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)
Age	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
Education in US	-0.04 (0.03)	--	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.02)	--
Education	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.19*** (0.03)	--	--	--	--	-0.23*** (0.03)
Discrimination Index	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Vote Registration	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Vote in 2004	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.04** (0.02)
Constant	0.70*** (0.06)	0.53*** (0.03)	0.52*** (0.05)	0.69*** (0.05)	0.77*** (0.04)	0.80*** (0.04)	0.73*** (0.03)
Observations	1443	3441	1443	1540	1539	1643	3677
R ²	0.187	0.143	0.127	0.179	0.168	0.162	0.103

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable is either Pan-ethnic, National origin, or American identity. I only report Pan-ethnic vs. National origin identity

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix B.2 Chapter Three Results

Table B.1 5 Main Treatment Effect on Vote Choice (Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4)

	Asian Vote Choice	Latino Vote Choice
National Origin Treatment	0.37 (0.24)	0.41** (0.18)
Pan-ethnic Treatment	-0.03 (0.25)	-0.13 (0.16)
Vote for Bob	-1.14*** (0.19)	--
Constant	1.61*** (0.31)	0.27** (0.12)
Observations	479	834

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix B.3 Chapter Four Results

Table B.3 1 Willingness to volunteer by treatment and perceived national origin discrimination (East Asians - Table 4.7)

	vs. American (1)
National Origin	-0.009 (0.18)
Pan-ethnic	-0.068 (1.02)
National Origin Discrimination	0.060 (0.65)
National x Discrimination	0.069 (0.61)
Pan-ethnic x Discrimination	0.251* (2.03)
Age	-0.001 (1.08)
Education	-0.03 (0.14)
US Born	-0.004 (0.12)
Female	0.054 (1.52)
Organization Involvement	0.099** (2.80)
Intercept	0.297* (2.45)
R^2	0.15
N	214

Notes: East Asians include Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, and Chinese from the entire sample. I control for age, education, nativity status, female, organization involvement. * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table B.3 2Willingness to volunteer by treatment and perceived national origin discrimination (Latinos - Table 4.8)

	vs. American (1)
National Origin	-0.081 (1.19)
Pan-ethnic	-0.101 (1.28)
National Origin Discrimination	0.014 (0.15)
National x Discrimination	0.251* (2.11)
Pan-ethnic x Discrimination	0.147 (1.09)
Age	-0.002 (1.59)
Education	-0.005 (0.32)
US Born	-0.032 (0.86)
Female	0.036 (1.16)
Organization Involvement	0.173** (5.47)
Cuban (1=Mexican)	0.043 (1.07)
Puerto Rican	-0.003 (0.06)
Central	0.070 (1.35)
South	0.006 (0.11)
Else	-0.056 (0.90)
Intercept	0.486** (4.57)
R^2	0.13
N	419

Notes: I control for age, education, nativity status, female, organization involvement.* p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table B.3 3 Willingness to volunteer by treatment and perceived national origin discrimination (Mexicans- Table 4.9)

	vs. American (1)
National Origin	0.036 (0.33)
Pan-ethnic	-0.245 (1.95)
National Origin Discrimination	0.027 (0.19)
National x Discrimination	0.212 (1.19)
Pan-ethnic x Discrimination	0.476* (2.40)
Age	-0.000 (0.22)
Education	0.029 (1.41)
US Born	-0.069 (1.07)
Female	0.099* (2.32)
Organization Involvement	0.152** (3.43)
Intercept	0.237** (1.63)
R^2	0.24
N	183

Notes: I control for age, education, nativity status, female, organization involvement. * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Appendix C

Additional Analysis

Appendix C.1 Chapter Three Additional Results

Figure C 1 Strength of Pan-ethnic Identification by Experimental vs. National Samples

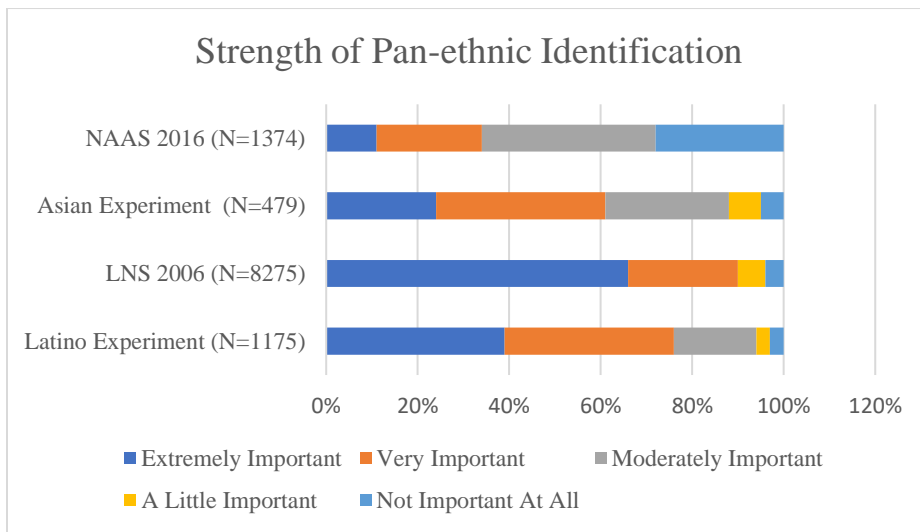


Figure C 2 Strength of National Identification by Experimental vs. National Samples

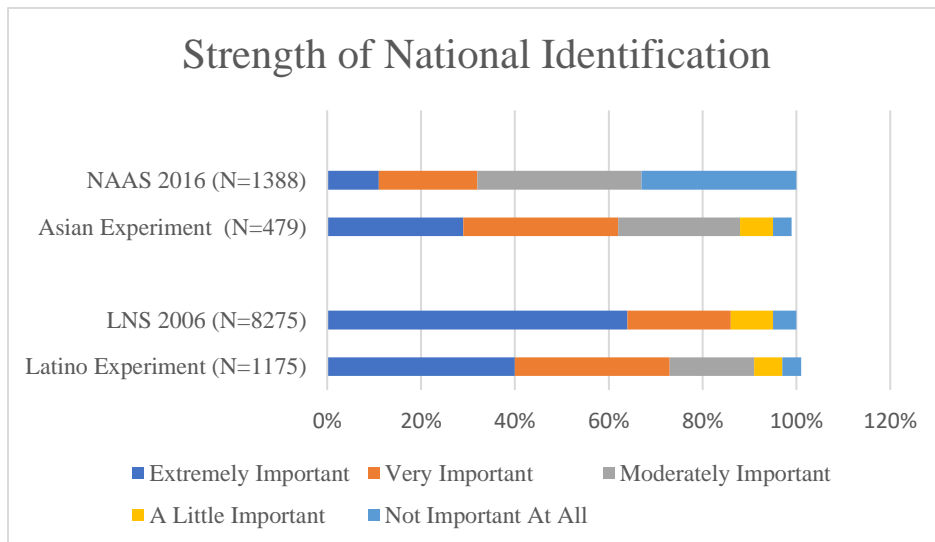
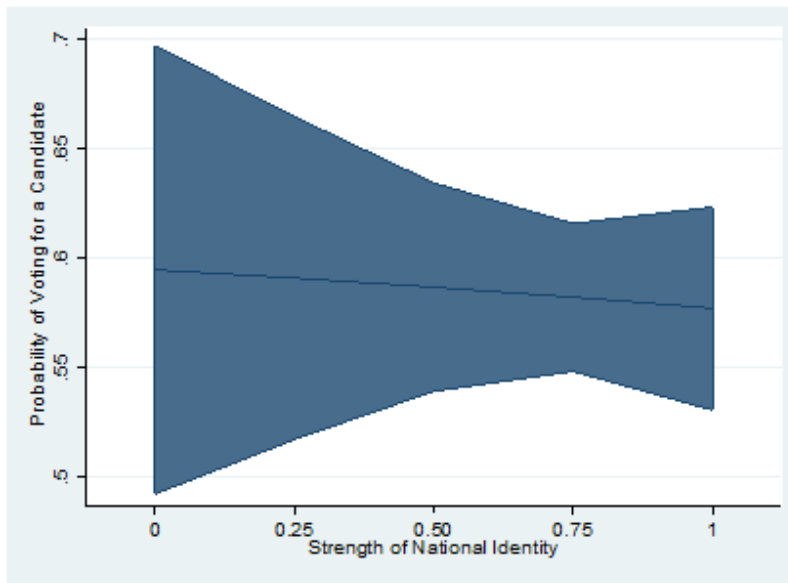
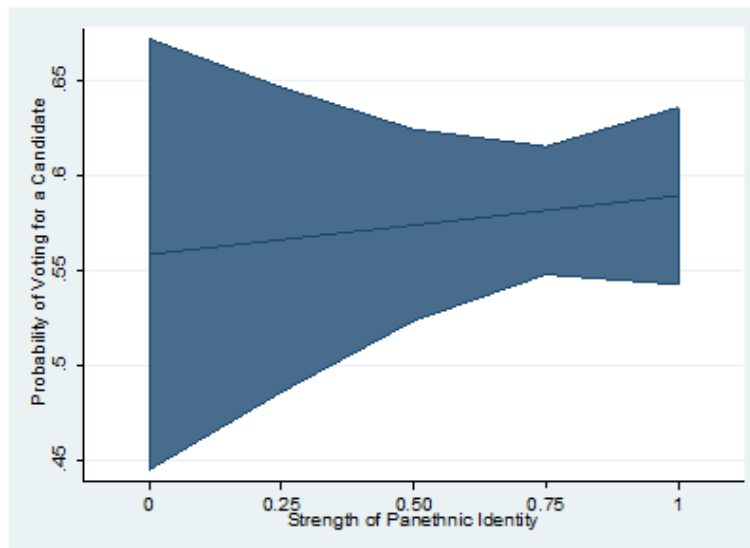


Figure C 3 Treatment Conditional upon “Latino” Pan-ethnic Identity Strength on Vote Preference



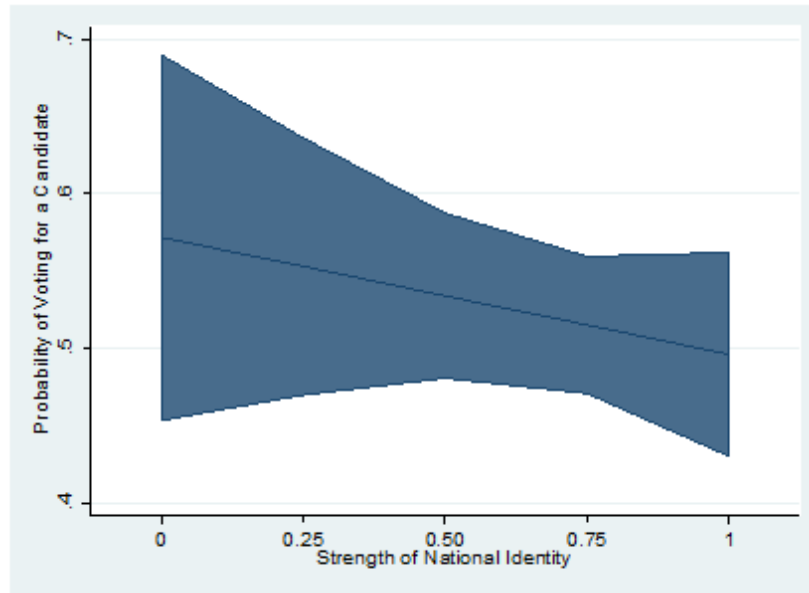
Notes: Latino covariates: (US born, voter registration, income, gender, education, age, Mexican-excluded category, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Else)

Figure C 4 Treatment Conditional upon National Origin Identity Strength on Vote Preference



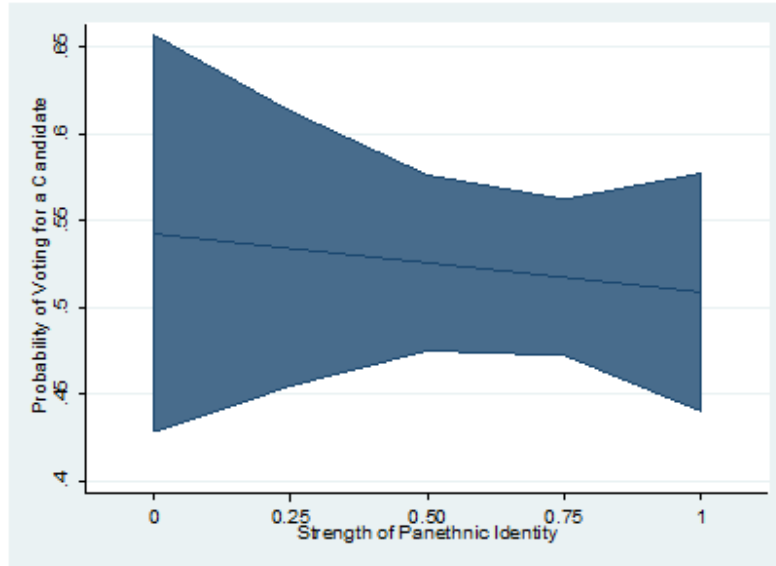
Notes: Latino covariates: (US born, voter registration, income, gender, education, age, Mexican-excluded category, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Else)

Figure C 5 Treatment Conditional upon Asian National Origin Identity Strength on Vote Preference



Notes: Asian American covariates: (US born, voter registration, income, gender, education, age, East Asian-excluded category, South Asian, SouthEast Asian, Native Hawaiian, vote for Bob⁸⁰)

Figure C.6 Treatment Conditional upon Asian Pan-ethnic Identity Strength on Vote Preference



Notes: Asian American covariates: (US born, voter registration, income, gender, education, age, East Asian-excluded category, South Asian, SouthEast Asian, Native Hawaiian, vote for Bob)

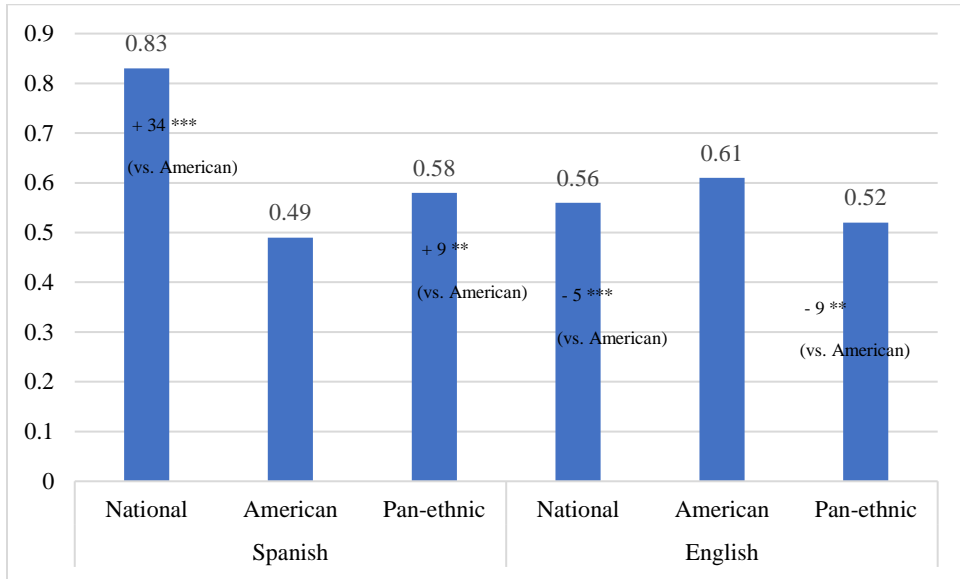
⁸⁰ I control for voting for Bob because about 62% of the sample (N=627) preferred candidate Bob over Dan (38%) when asked to vote for one candidate after being exposed to the treatment. I speculate that the response order mattered such that Bob's name came up first. Since there skew is noteworthy, I control for respondent's tendency to prefer candidate Bob.

Table C 1 Results for Spanish Language and Vote Choice

	Vote Choice		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
National * English	-1.75*** (0.42)	-1.78*** (0.42)	-1.78*** (0.42)
Pan-ethnic * English	-0.68** (0.34)	-0.67** (0.34)	-0.67** (0.34)
National Treatment (1=American)	1.60*** (0.35)	1.60*** (0.35)	1.61*** (0.35)
Pan-ethnic Treatment	0.30 (0.27)	0.30 (0.27)	0.30 (0.27)
English	0.45* (0.24)	0.44 (0.29)	0.43 (0.29)
Registered to Vote	--	-0.30 (0.21)	-0.30 (0.21)
Female	--	0.00 (0.15)	-0.00 (0.15)
Income	--	0.09 (0.30)	0.09 (0.30)
Education	--	0.26 (0.33)	0.24 (0.33)
Age	--	0.14 (0.23)	0.13 (0.24)
Puerto Rican (1=Mexican)	--	0.29 (0.51)	0.30 (0.51)
Cuban	--	0.55* (0.27)	0.53* (0.28)
Else	--	0.03 (0.16)	0.03 (0.16)
US Born	--	0.07 (0.19)	0.07 (0.20)
American Identity	--	--	0.16 (0.31)
Constant	-0.02 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.26)	-0.27 (0.32)
Observations	834	834	834

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table C 2 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions by Spanish Language on Vote Choice (Latinos)



Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Model (2) of Table C.1 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table C 3 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions by Years in the U.S. on Vote Choice (Latinos)

	(1) Vote Choice
Asian American	
National T * Yrs US	0.00 (0.02)
Pan-ethnic T * Yrs US	-0.03 (0.03)
National Treatment	0.70 (0.62)
Pan-ethnic Treatment	1.30* (0.72)
Years in US	-0.01 (0.02)
Voter Registration	0.00 (0.33)
Female	-0.38 (0.32)
Age	0.03** (0.01)
Income	1.75*** (0.61)
Education	-0.14 (0.12)
South Asian (1=East Asian)	-0.25 (0.40)
SouthEast Asians	0.04 (0.36)
Vote Bob	-1.05*** (0.30)
Constant	0.29 (1.03)
Observations	239

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Average number of years lived in the US is about 22 years at about 618 respondents total. This is specifically those who are born outside of the US. US born individuals make up 46.17% (542) while foreign born individuals make up 53.83% (632). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

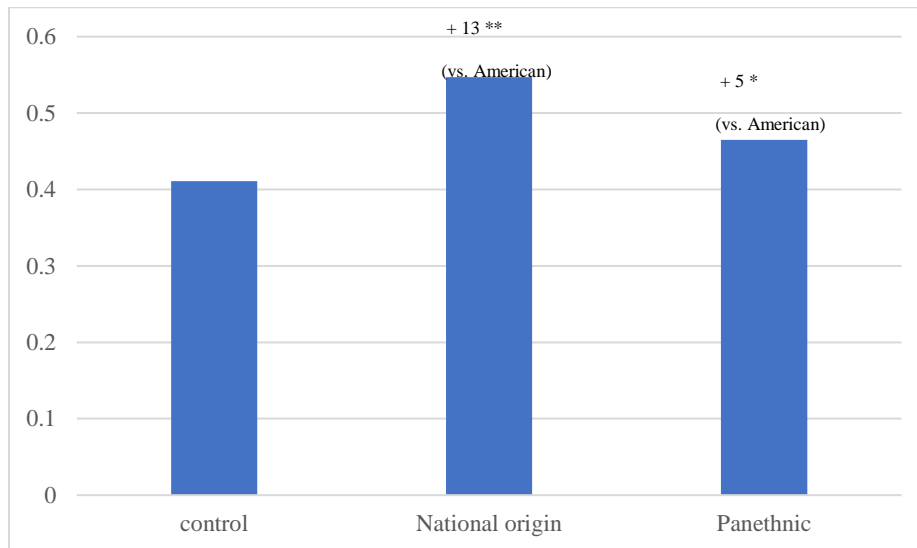
Appendix C.2 Chapter Four Additional Results

Table C.2 1 Willingness to Volunteer for One America by Experiment Conditions (Mexicans)

	vs. AMERICAN	vs. AMERICAN	vs. PAN	vs. PAN
National Origin	0.136 (2.41)*	0.145 (2.64)**	0.082 (1.60)	0.106 (2.15)*
American			-0.054 (0.89)	-0.039 (0.66)
Pan-ethnic	0.054 (0.89)	0.039 (0.66)		
US Born		-0.051 (0.77)		-0.051 (0.77)
Education		0.020 (0.93)		0.020 (0.93)
Female		0.110 (2.50)*		0.110 (2.50)*
Organization Involvement		0.185 (4.08)**		0.185 (4.08)**
Intercept	0.411 (8.86)**	0.244 (2.05)*	0.465 (11.68)**	0.283 (2.48)*
R^2	0.03	0.15	0.03	0.15
N	184	183	184	183

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table C.2 2 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions on Vote Choice (Mexicans)



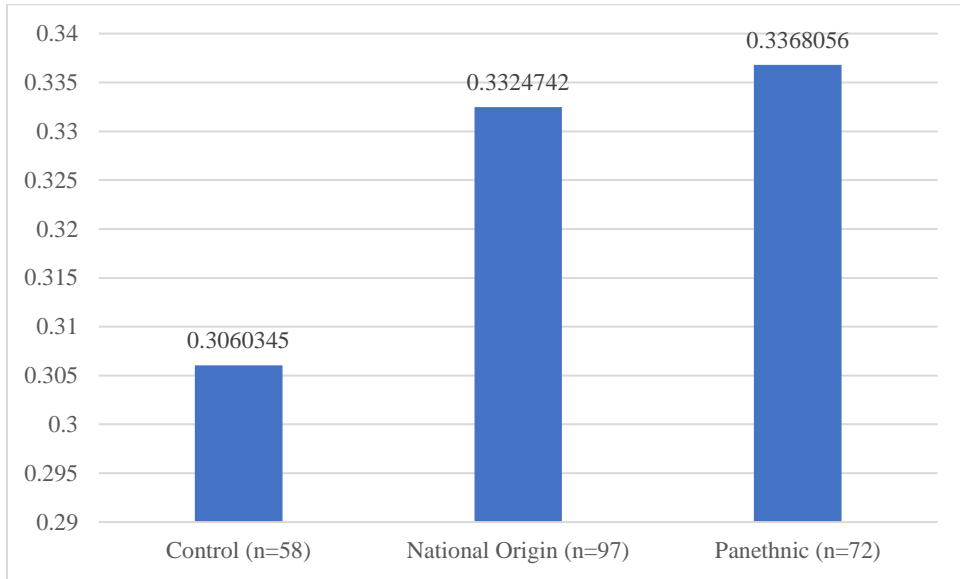
Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table C.2 3 Willingness to Volunteer for One America by Experiment Conditions (East Asians)

	vs. Pan-ethnic	vs. Pan-ethnic	vs. American	vs. American
National Origin	-0.004 (0.11)	-0.006 (0.16)	0.026 (0.61)	0.035 (0.81)
American	-0.031 (0.66)	-0.041 (0.90)	--	--
Pan-ethnic	--	--	0.031 (0.66)	0.041 (0.90)
US Born	--	0.004 (0.12)	--	0.004 (0.12)
Education	--	0.003 (0.18)	--	0.003 (0.18)
Female	--	0.048 (1.37)	--	0.048 (1.37)
Organization Involvement	--	0.132 (3.78)**	--	0.132 (3.78)**
Intercept	0.337 (10.87)**	0.249 (2.55)*	0.306 (8.86)**	0.208 (2.08)*
R^2	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.08
N	227	227	227	227

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. East Asians includes Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table C.2 4 Predicted Probability of Experiment Conditions on Vote Choice (East Asians)



Appendix D

Experiment Conditions

Latino Candidate Experiment Design (English)
Latino Victory Project (2017)

-EXPERIMENT BEGINS HERE-

Randomize respondents into one of three conditions: T1, T2, Control

Below are the biographies of candidates who are considering to run for the City Council in a nearby city. Please read it carefully and answer the questions that follow.

<p>Ethnic Treatment (T₁)</p> <p>Candidate Steven López is running for the City Council in in a nearby city. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the local [ETHNIC⁸¹] American Education Association and [ETHNIC⁸²] American Community Foundation.</p> <p>Steven is a proud graduate of Berkeley Law. He and his wife are happily married and they enjoy spending time with their two sons and daughter.</p>	<p>Vs. Other candidate</p> <p>Candidate Robert Sánchez is running for the City Council to represent your neighboring district. He has a strong record of supporting labor unions and is a longtime advocate for teachers. Robert plans to improve labor conditions and to fight for better pay and more secure pensions for public school teachers. He has been endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union’s local chapter.</p> <p>Robert holds a master in public policy from Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Public Policy. He is married to his wife of 24 years and they have three children together.</p>
<p>Pan-Ethnic Treatment (T₂)</p> <p>Candidate Steven López running for the City Council in in a nearby city. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by local [LATINO/HISPANIC] American Education Association and</p>	<p>Vs. Other candidate:</p> <p>Candidate Robert Sánchez is running for the City Council to represent your neighboring district. He has a strong record of supporting labor unions and is a longtime advocate for teachers. Robert plans to improve labor conditions and to fight for better pay and more secure pensions for public school teachers. He has been endorsed by the Public</p>

⁸¹ Pipe in Latin American ancestry corresponding to each respondent.

⁸² Same as above

<p>[LATINO/HISPANIC] American Community Foundation.</p> <p>Steven is a proud graduate of Berkeley Law. He and his wife are happily married and they enjoy spending time with their two sons and daughter.</p>	<p>Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p> <p>Robert holds a master in public policy from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Public Policy. He is married to his wife of 24 years and they have three children together.</p>
<p>Control</p>	<p>Vs. Other candidate:</p>
<p>Candidate Steven López running for the City Council in in a nearby city. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by local [AMERICAN] Education Association and [AMERICAN] Community Foundation.</p> <p>Steven is a proud graduate of Berkeley Law. He and his wife are happily married and they enjoy spending time with their two sons and daughter.</p>	<p>Candidate Robert Sánchez is running for the City Council to represent your neighboring district. He has a strong record of supporting labor unions and is a longtime advocate for teachers. Robert plans to improve labor conditions and to fight for better pay and more secure pensions for public school teachers. He has been endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p> <p>Robert holds a master in public policy from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Public Policy. He is married to his wife of 24 years and they have three children together.</p>

-EXPERIMENT ENDS HERE-

-EXPERIMENT1 BEGINS HERE-

Randomize respondents into one of three conditions: T1, T2, Control

Debajo están las biografías de candidatos que están considerando postularse para el Concejo Municipal en una ciudad cercana. Por favor léalo cuidadosamente y conteste las siguientes preguntas que siguen.

Ethnic Treatment (T ₁)	Vs. Other candidate
<p>El Candidato Steven López se está postulando para el Concejo Municipal de una ciudad cercana. Al haber crecido en una familia que trabajaba muy duro, el entiende la lucha de las familias de recursos modestos. Steven cree que debemos trabajar duro para proteger y expandir la clase media y para mejorar la calidad de las escuelas locales. Él ha sido respaldado por la Asociación de Educación [ETHNIC] local y la Fundación de la Comunidad [ETHNIC] Americana.</p> <p>Steven es un graduado orgulloso de la Universidad de Derecho de Berkeley. Él y su esposa están alegremente casados y disfrutan pasar tiempo con sus dos hijos y su hija.</p>	<p>El Candidato Robert Sánchez se está postulando para el Concejo Municipal para representar su distrito vecino. Él tiene un sólido récord de apoyar a los sindicatos y es un defensor de los maestros de hace mucho tiempo. Robert planea mejorar las condiciones laborales y luchar para un mejor sueldo y pensiones más seguras para los maestros de las escuelas públicas. Él ha sido respaldado por la Red Pública de Educación y por la división local del Sindicato Internacional de Empleados Públicos.</p> <p>Robert tiene una Maestría en política pública de la Escuela Kennedy de Políticas Públicas de la Universidad de Harvard. Lleva casado 24 años con su esposa y tienen tres hijos juntos.</p>
Pan-Ethnic Treatment (T ₂)	Vs. Other candidate:
<p>El Candidato Steven López se está postulando para el Concejo Municipal de una ciudad cercana. Al haber crecido en una familia que trabajaba muy duro, el entiende la lucha de las familias de recursos modestos. Steven cree que debemos trabajar duro para proteger y expandir la clase media y para mejorar la calidad de las escuelas locales. Él ha sido respaldado por la Asociación de Educación [LATINA/HISPANA] local y la Fundación de la Comunidad [LATINA/HISPANA] Americana.</p> <p>Steven es un graduado orgulloso de la Universidad de Derecho de Berkeley. Él y su</p>	<p>El Candidato Robert Sánchez se está postulando para el Concejo Municipal para representar su distrito vecino. Él tiene un sólido récord de apoyar a los sindicatos y es un defensor de los maestros de hace mucho tiempo. Robert planea mejorar las condiciones laborales y luchar para un mejor sueldo y pensiones más seguras para los maestros de las escuelas públicas. Él ha sido respaldado por la Red Pública de Educación y por la división local del Sindicato Internacional de Empleados Públicos.</p> <p>Robert tiene una Maestría en política pública de la Escuela Kennedy de Políticas Públicas de la Universidad de Harvard. Lleva casado</p>

esposa están alegremente casados y disfrutan pasar tiempo con sus dos hijos y su hija.	24 años con su esposa y tienen tres hijos juntos.
Control	Vs. Other candidate:
<p>El Candidato Steven López se está postulando para el Concejo Municipal de una ciudad cercana. Al haber crecido en una familia que trabajaba muy duro, el entiende la lucha de las familias de recursos modestos. Steven cree que debemos trabajar duro para proteger y expandir la clase media y para mejorar la calidad de las escuelas locales. Él ha sido respaldado por la Asociación de Educación [AMERICANA] local y la Fundación de la Comunidad [AMERICANA].</p> <p>Steven es un graduado orgulloso de la Universidad de Derecho de Berkeley. Él y su esposa están alegremente casados y disfrutan pasar tiempo con sus dos hijos y su hija.</p>	<p>El Candidato Robert Sánchez se está postulando para el Consejo Municipal para representar su distrito vecino. Él tiene un sólido récord de apoyar a los sindicatos y es un defensor de los maestros de hace mucho tiempo. Robert planea mejorar las condiciones laborales y luchar para un mejor sueldo y pensiones más seguras para los maestros de las escuelas públicas. Él ha sido respaldado por la Red Pública de Educación y por la división local del Sindicato Internacional de Empleados Públicos.</p> <p>Robert tiene una Maestría en política pública de la Escuela Kennedy de Políticas Públicas de la Universidad de Harvard. Lleva casado 24 años con su esposa y tienen tres hijos juntos.</p>

-EXPERIMENT ENDS HERE-

-EXPERIMENT1 BEGINS HERE-

Randomize respondents into one of three conditions: T1, T2, Control

Below are the biographies of candidates who are considering to run for the City Council in a nearby city. Please read it carefully and answer the questions that follow.

Ethnic Treatment (T ₁)	Vs. Other candidate
<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN⁸³SURNAME 1] grew up in a family of modest means and understands the struggles of working class families. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the local [ETHNIC] American Education Association and [ETHNIC] American Community Foundation.</p> <p>Bob/Dan is a proud graduate of Berkeley Law. He and his wife are happily married and they enjoy spending time with their two sons and daughter.</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN⁸⁴ SURNAME 2] was raised in a union household and has a strong record of supporting organized labor. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union’s local chapter.</p> <p>Bob/Dan holds a master in public policy from Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Public Policy. He is married to his wife of 24 years and they have three children together.</p>
Pan-Ethnic Treatment (T ₂)	Vs. Other candidate
<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME 1] grew up in a family of modest means and understands the struggles of working class families. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the local Asian American Education Association and Asian American Community Foundation.</p> <p>Bob/Dan is a proud graduate of Berkeley Law. He and his wife are happily married and</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME 2] was raised in a union household and has a strong record of supporting organized labor. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union’s local chapter.</p> <p>Bob/Dan holds a master in public policy from Harvard University’s Kennedy School of</p>

⁸³ I’ve piped in one common Latin American ancestry surname.

⁸⁴ I’ve piped in another common Latin American ancestry surname held by other Latin American and/or Spanish speaking person residing in the U.S.

<p>they enjoy spending time with their two sons and daughter.</p>	<p>Public Policy. He is married to his wife of 24 years and they have three children together.</p>
<p>Control</p>	<p>Vs. Other candidate</p>
<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME] grew up in a family of modest means and understands the struggles of working class families. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the local American Education Association and American Community Foundation.</p> <p>Bob/Dan is a proud graduate of Berkeley Law. He and his wife are happily married and they enjoy spending time with their two sons and daughter.</p>	<p>Candidate Bob/Dan [NATIONAL ORIGIN SURNAME 2] was raised in a union household and has a strong record of supporting organized labor. Growing up in a hardworking family, he understands the struggles of families of modest means. Steven believes we must work harder to protect and expand the middle class and to improve the quality of local schools. He is endorsed by the Public Education Network and Service Employees International Union's local chapter.</p> <p>Bob/Dan holds a master in public policy from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Public Policy. He is married to his wife of 24 years and they have three children together.</p>

Asian American Civic Organization Experiment
Asian American Civic Organization Survey (2019)

-EXPERIMENT BEGINS HERE-

Below are descriptions of a few organizations. Please take a moment to read through each of them, and then we will ask you some questions about the content you just read.

[EVERYONE GETS THE FIRST TWO & THIRD WILL VARY BY CONDITIONS]



Neighborhood Gardens Trust (NGT) is dedicated to preserving and supporting community gardens and other shared open spaces across the city. NGT's work is grounded in the belief that an equitable and sustainable city is one in which all neighborhoods have vibrant green spaces for residents to cultivate food, flowers, and community.

How important does the work this organization is doing sound to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- A little important
- Not at all important

How strongly do you support the goals of this organization?

- Very strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat strongly
- A little strongly
- Not strongly at all



The American Kennel Club has been the country's leading authority on all things dog, acting as the premier resource for dog lovers, from dog enthusiasts to the everyday owner. Along with our affiliated organizations, we encourage dogs as family companions; advance canine health and well-being; advocate for dog owner rights; and educate the public about responsible dog ownership.

How important does the work this organization is doing sound to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- A little important
- Not at all important

How strongly do you support the goals of this organization?

- Very strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat strongly
- A little strongly
- Not strongly at all

[CONDITION A – PAN-ETHNIC. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America is committed to protecting and advancing the rights of all individuals. Founded as a non-partisan organization in 2001, it advocates for educational access, economic justice, immigrant rights as well as voting rights. We believe that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [**Asian Americans**], the working poor, elderly, and unemployed. Please help our organization by volunteering with us.

[CONDITION B – NATIONAL ORIGIN. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America is committed to protecting and advancing the rights of all individuals. Founded as a non-partisan organization in 2001, it advocates for educational access, economic justice, immigrant rights as well as voting rights. We believe that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [**ETHNIC⁸⁵ AMERICAN[S]**], the working poor, elderly, and unemployed. Please help our organization today by volunteering with us.

⁸⁵ I've matched the Asian ancestry background of each respondent.

[CONDITION C - CONTROL. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America is committed to protecting and advancing the rights of all individuals. Founded as a non-partisan organization in 2001, it advocates for educational access, economic justice, immigrant rights as well as voting rights. We believe that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [] the working poor, elderly, and unemployed. Please help our organization today by volunteering with us.

-EXPERIMENT ENDS HERE-

Latino Civic Organization Experiment (English)
Latino Civic Organization Survey (2019)

-EXPERIMENT BEGINS HERE-

Below are descriptions of a few organizations. Please take a moment to read through each of them, and then we will ask you some questions about the content you just read.

[EVERYONE GETS THE FIRST TWO & THIRD WILL VARY BY CONDITIONS]



Neighborhood Gardens Trust (NGT) is dedicated to preserving and supporting community gardens and other shared open spaces across the city. NGT's work is grounded in the belief that an equitable and sustainable city is one in which all neighborhoods have vibrant green spaces for residents to cultivate food, flowers, and community.

How important does the work this organization is doing sound to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- A little important
- Not at all important

How strongly do you support the goals of this organization?

- Very strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat strongly
- A little strongly
- Not strongly at all



The American Kennel Club has been the country's leading authority on all things dog, acting as the premier resource for dog lovers, from dog enthusiasts to the everyday owner. Along with our affiliated organizations, we encourage dogs as family companions; advance canine health and well-being; advocate for dog owner rights; and educate the public about responsible dog ownership.

How important does the work this organization is doing sound to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- A little important
- Not at all important

How strongly do you support the goals of this organization?

- Very strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat strongly
- A little strongly
- Not strongly at all

[CONDITION A – PAN-ETHNIC. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America is committed to protecting and advancing the rights of all individuals. Founded as a non-partisan organization in 2001, it advocates for educational access, economic justice, immigrant rights as well as voting rights. We believe that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [**Asian Americans**], the working poor, elderly, and unemployed. Please help our organization by volunteering with us.

[CONDITION B – NATIONAL ORIGIN. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America is committed to protecting and advancing the rights of all individuals. Founded as a non-partisan organization in 2001, it advocates for educational access, economic justice, immigrant rights as well as voting rights. We believe that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [**ETHNIC⁸⁶ AMERICAN[S]**], the working poor, elderly, and unemployed. Please help our organization today by volunteering with us.

⁸⁶ I've matched the Asian ancestry background of each respondent.

[CONDITION C - CONTROL. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America is committed to protecting and advancing the rights of all individuals. Founded as a non-partisan organization in 2001, it advocates for educational access, economic justice, immigrant rights as well as voting rights. We believe that these activities are good for everyone in the U.S. including [] the working poor, elderly, and unemployed. Please help our organization today by volunteering with us.

-EXPERIMENT ENDS HERE-

Latino Civic Organization Experiment (Spanish)
Latino Civic Organization Survey (2019)

-EXPERIMENT BEGINS HERE-

[EVERYONE GETS THE FIRST TWO & THIRD WILL VARY BY CONDITIONS]



Neighborhood Gardens Trust (NGT) está dedicado a preservar y apoyar los jardines comunitarios, y otros espacios abiertos compartidos a través de la ciudad. El trabajo de NGT está basado en la idea que una ciudad equitativa y sostenible, en la cual todos los barrios tienen espacios verdes y brillantes para que los residentes cultiven comida, flores y comunidad.

¿En qué medida está de acuerdo con las metas de esta organización?

- Extremadamente de acuerdo
- Muy de acuerdo
- Algo de acuerdo
- No muy de acuerdo
- Nada de acuerdo

Para usted, ¿qué tan importante suena el trabajo que está haciendo esta organización?

- Extremadamente importante
- Muy importante
- Algo importante
- No muy importante
- Nada importante



El *American Kennel Club* ha sido la autoridad principal del país sobre cuestiones de perros, actuando como el recurso principal para los amantes de los perros, desde los entusiastas hasta el dueño más cotidiano. Junto con sus organizaciones afiliadas, promueve a los perros como acompañantes familiares, avanza la salud canina y el bienestar, promueve los derechos de los dueños de perros, y educa al público sobre cómo ser un dueño responsable.

¿En qué medida está de acuerdo con las metas de esta organización?

Extremadamente de acuerdo

Muy de acuerdo

Algo de acuerdo

No muy de acuerdo

Nada de acuerdo

Para usted, ¿qué tan importante suena el trabajo que está haciendo esta organización?

Extremadamente importante

Muy importante

Algo importante

No muy importante

Nada importante

[CONDITION A – PAN-ETHNIC. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America se ha comprometido a proteger y avanzar los derechos de todos los individuos. Fundada como una organización apartidista en el 2001, la organización promueve el acceso a la educación, justicia económica, derechos para los inmigrantes y también derechos al votar. Creen que estas actividades son buenas para todos en Estados Unidos, incluyendo **LATINOS o HISPANOS**, los trabajadores pobres, los ancianos y los desempleados.

[CONDITION B – NATIONAL ORIGIN. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America se ha comprometido a proteger y avanzar los derechos de todos los individuos. Fundada como una organización apartidista en el 2001, la organización promueve el acceso a la educación, justicia económica, derechos para los inmigrantes y también derechos al votar. Creen que estas actividades son buenas para todos en Estados Unidos, incluyendo **MEXICANO/CUBANO/ETC Americanos**, los trabajadores pobres, los ancianos y los desempleados.

[CONTROL – NATIONAL ORIGIN. RANDOM ONE-THIRD OF RESPONDENTS RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING *ONE AMERICA* DESCRIPTION:]



One America se ha comprometido a proteger y avanzar los derechos de todos los individuos. Fundada como una organización apartidista en el 2001, la organización promueve el acceso a la educación, justicia económica, derechos para los inmigrantes y también derechos al votar. Crean que estas actividades son buenas para todos en Estados Unidos, incluyendo los trabajadores pobres, los ancianos y los desempleados.

Appendix E

Identity Appeals through Candidates' Personal Websites

Latino sample: Basic frequency of “Latino” mentions in candidate websites

There was about 363,289 words counted in the total of N=416 valid webpages. I examine how many times the terms: *Latino*; *Latinos*; *Latina*; *Latinas*; *Hispanic*; *Hispanics*; *Hispaniola*; *Chicano*; *Chicana* gets mentioned in the paragraphs. The baseline 363,289-word count is from main paragraphs of full texts that systematically excludes navigation button and tab labels on the webpage. Overall, it seems to be that pan-ethnic identity labels, regardless of the variants of the pan-ethnic identity label, were very infrequent among Latino candidates.

Here are the breakdowns for terms *Latino*; *Latinos*; *Latina*; *Latinas*

Total words	Latino	Latinos	Latina	Latinas
363,289	222 (0.06%)	32 (0.01%)	73 (0.02%)	10 (0.00%)
	Combined (337; 0.08%)			

The outcome variable was constructed so that “1” was given to those who mentioned a pan-ethnic (i.e., *Latino*; *Hispanic*) while “0” was given to those who did not mention the label at all. Here, I am only concerned about whether a pan-ethnic appeal was employed rather than the frequency of the label. Therefore, I combine the “*Latino*” and “*Hispanic*” labels as one pan-ethnic category. According to Figure 4, about **37% (N=172)** of the candidates mention the pan-ethnic identity (i.e., *Latino* and *Hispanic*) in their websites.

Asian American – sample: Basic frequency of “Asian American” mentions in candidate

About 84% (N=322; 84.3%) out of the 382 Asian American candidates’ websites were properly working. The remainder 16% of the candidate websites were missing or their website addresses were not working properly.

There was about 300,328 words counted in the total of N=322 valid webpages. I examine how many times *Asian American* and *Pacific* were mentioned in the selected paragraphs. The baseline 300,328-word count is from main paragraphs of full texts systematically which excludes website navigation buttons and miscellaneous texts. I also investigated national origin identity mentions in these websites. I will report them in the next section below.

Asian American distribution

Total words	Asian American	Pacific
300,328	101 (0.03%)	197 (0.07%)

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