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The nurturing hypothesis: residence in a progressive environment and its impact on political engagement among Latinos and Asian Americans in the United States

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University of Iowa

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THE NURTURING HYPOTHESIS: RESIDENCE IN A PROGRESSIVE
ENVIRONMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AMONG
LATINOS AND ASIAN AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

by
Hoi Ok Jeong

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Political Science
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

December 2009

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Michael S. Lewis-Beck

ABSTRACT

My dissertation examines how an environment containing politically favorable policies influences political engagement of Latinos and Asian Americans in the United States. The threat hypothesis claims that living in a threatening environment provokes a sense of anxiety, which leads to active engagement in politics. The assumption underlying the hypothesis is that living in a non-threatening, or favorable, environment, conversely, will not motivate individuals to be engaged in politics. The dissertation aims to investigate this untested assumption: How does a favorable environment influence individuals' political involvement? I examine this question using two separate survey data-sets for Latinos and Asian Americans, combined with aggregate-level data for contextual variables.

The dissertation argues that, opposite of the assumption of the threat hypothesis, those living in a favorable environment will be more likely to be engaged in politics. I call this the "nurturing hypothesis." My argument builds on social identity theory, which emphasizes the importance of collective membership and the significant impacts that group membership can have on behavior. Latinos and Asian Americans in a favorable environment will be offered with both opportunity and motive for active political participation. In terms of opportunity, due to high publicity regarding the adoption of minority policies, a progressive environment provides Latinos and Asian Americans with more political information. Since individuals need information in their political decision-making, it will nurture their political involvement.

In terms of motive, residing in a progressive environment will mobilize Latinos and Asian Americans. The progressive context leads to a heightened concern with the issue of fairness and equality. Considering that minority policies have been mostly concerned with distributive equality in the society, this situation will trigger concerns for group entitlements in procedures. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive

states will feel that there still exists inequality. Ironically, for Latinos and Asian Americans, having pro-minority policies is actually perceived as threatening or unsatisfying. The perception of social injustice will result in feelings of resentment or dissatisfaction, which in turn will motivate people to be actively involved in politics in order to improve the situation.

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Date

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Graduate College
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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To my parents, Hong Ki Jeong and Bok Rae Park

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

My dissertation examines how an environment containing politically favorable policies influences political engagement of Latinos and Asian Americans in the United States. The threat hypothesis, one of the most prominent theories of contextual impact in social and political science, claims that living in a threatening environment provokes a sense of anxiety, which leads to more active engagement in politics. The assumption underlying the hypothesis is that living in a non-threatening, or favorable, environment, conversely, will not motivate individuals to be engaged in politics. The dissertation aims to investigate this untested assumption: How does a favorable or progressive¹ environment influence individuals' political involvement? Does it depress or mobilize political engagement? I examine this question using two separate survey data-sets for Latinos and Asian Americans, combined with aggregate-level data for contextual variables.

The central argument of the dissertation is that, opposite of the assumption of the threat hypothesis, those living in a favorable or progressive environment — measured by the number of pro-minority policies in states² — will be more likely to be engaged in politics. I call this the “nurturing hypothesis.” My argument builds on social identity theory, which emphasizes the importance of collective membership and the significant impacts that group membership can have on behavior. Latinos and Asian Americans who

¹ The term “progressive” can mean many things. In the dissertation, I strictly define it as meaning “pro-minority.”

² I focus on minority policy traditions across the American states because for many significant elements of minority policies, the states have pursued their own policy preferences, and the states have differed considerably from one another (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Hero and Preuhs (2006) also justified their focus on states because the United States does not have an official policy of multiculturalism at the national level, and the extensive “devolution revolution” in American federalism allowed for great flexibility in state minority policy, thereby creating considerable state variation.

live in a favorable environment will be offered with both opportunity and motive for active political participation for their own racial group. In terms of opportunity, due to high publicity regarding the adoption of minority policies, a progressive environment provides Latinos and Asian Americans with more political information. Since individuals need information in their political decision-making, it will nurture their political involvement. Furthermore, those residing in progressive states have been more exposed to racial/ethnic issues; therefore, as social identity theory posits, they will be more likely to frame politics in racial terms and to be more sensitive to the issue of racial equality. These circumstances will nurture their need to be engaged in politics in order to improve their disadvantaged minority status. In terms of motive as well, residing in a progressive environment will mobilize Latinos and Asian Americans. Many minority policies have been focused on distributive, rather than procedural equality. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment, who have been exposed to many minority policies, will be more likely to perceive inequality in procedures. The perceived procedural inequality will lead to a stronger sense of resentment or dissatisfaction, which in turn will motivate Latinos and Asian Americans to be more involved in politics in order to improve their groups' unequal status.

The dissertation is important for several reasons. First, it directly examines an important, but thus far unexplored, assumption of the threat hypothesis. By doing so, it will call for a need for further refinement of the threat hypothesis. Also, by providing a new hypothesis — the nurturing hypothesis — this dissertation opens a new venue for future research. Furthermore, by building on psychology literature and social identity theory, this dissertation will reveal psychological underpinnings of minority groups' political engagement and offer all-encompassing understanding of the threat hypothesis.

Second, the dissertation emphasizes the importance of context in studying political behavior. Furthermore, by examining a new dimension of political context — residing in a progressive policy context — my dissertation will make a contribution to the

understanding of the relationship between context and political behavior. Individuals can be pulled or pushed into political process by the context in which they reside. Therefore, to understand individuals' political behavior, we need to place them in context. The importance of context in individuals' political action has been recognized by many scholars, dating back to some early investigations of American political behavior (Campbell et al. 1960; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1944). For example, Huckfeldt and Kohlfeld (1989) contended that preferences are not constructed in a social vacuum. Similarly, Abowitz (1990, 544) stated that "Beyond these individual characteristics, however, the social context or milieu in which participation occurs shapes political behavior. Participation is a social activity, performed by persons located within a complex of social roles, groups, and contexts, all of which pattern interaction and create a political opportunity structure." Also, Hero and Tolbert (1996), Pantoja and Segura (2003), and Rocha and Espino III (2009) all agreed that political behaviors and attitudes are explicitly tied to one's political context.³ Accordingly, without considering the external stimulus that an environment offers, the understanding of political engagement is incomplete.⁴

If context is important, the next question is, what specific dimensions of social context act as determinants of individual participation (Abowitz 1990). Regarding this question, several dimensions of context have been suggested. For instance, Tate (1993) emphasized the impact of residential segregation; residence in a predominantly black community facilitates interpersonal contact and increases the likelihood that shared values and fate will be perceived. Consequently, residential segregation draws attention

³ There have been many other works that recast the participation issue by considering the role that political environment plays. See, for example, Gay (2001, 2004), Huckfeldt (1979), Huckfeldt and Sprague (1988), Leighley (1995), Mitchell and Wlezien (1995), and Rosenstone and Hansen (1993).

⁴ In a similar vein, Knoke (1990, 1058) stated that "The dominant academic paradigm was built around national election surveys that stripped individual respondents out of their social contexts. ... Small wonder that these researchers have yielded incomplete and unsatisfactory explanations of political involvement."

to the importance of collective political participation. On the other hand, other scholars, such as Gay (2004), Giles and Dantico (1982), and Oliver (1999), focused on the impact of socioeconomic environments and claimed that differences in the socioeconomic characteristics of one's environment explain his/her political participation.⁵ Also, other dimensions of contexts, such as registration laws⁶ and political campaigns,⁷ have been examined. However, the most studied contextual explanation of racial behaviors in political science has been the threat hypothesis; that is how living in a threatening environment will influence one's political behavior. Building on the threat hypothesis, my research focuses on the converse phenomenon — living in a non-threatening or favorable environment. By identifying another significant contextual variable, my dissertation will make a meaningful contribution to the literature.

Next, my dissertation takes into account a critical component of the political environment since the 1960s in the U.S.: the increasingly large size of the Hispanic and Asian populations and increased need for progressive minority policies. After decades of tight restrictions on immigration, policy changes in the 1960s and in the years following have allowed millions of immigrants to enter the country. Latin American immigrants now make up more than half (51.3%) of all foreign-born residents in the U.S., with immigrants from Asia making up another 26.8% (Jones-Correa 2001). By examining the impact of minority policies on Latinos' and Asian Americans' political behavior, the

⁵ Giles and Dantico (1982) concentrated on the effects of the socioeconomic status or social class composition of the neighborhood on individual political activity. Gay (2004) focused on the quality and socioeconomic composition of neighborhoods, which she argued affects whether blacks view race as a defining interest in their lives. On the other hand, Oliver (1999) argued that economic heterogeneity stimulates interest in local politics. However, the evidence for the impact of economic context on political participation is rather mixed. Humphries's (2001) analysis revealed that contrary to many contemporary claims, retail size, retail density, and independent ownership have little effect on political participation.

⁶ Timpone (1998) argued that registration laws depress political participation.

⁷ Tate (1991) claimed that political campaigns can promote activism.

dissertation fully recognizes and considers the political significance of a key political change happening in the country.

This dissertation begins with the recognition that the idea of the threat hypothesis is rooted in the literature on political psychology, especially literature on intergroup relations. In Chapter 2, I cover the long-standing debate on intergroup relations. Particularly, I focus on two theories: social identity theory and social dominance theory. Then, I explain why my dissertation builds on social identity theory. Chapter 2 continues with the detailed examination of threat hypothesis and its problems. In Chapter 3, I explain my argument and introduce the “nurturing hypothesis.” In this chapter, I explain how living in a favorable environment will offer Latinos and Asian Americans opportunity and motive, which nurture their active political engagement. Chapter 4 provides empirical evidence for political opportunity and motive that a progressive environment provides.

From Chapters 5 to 7, I test the nurturing hypothesis. In Chapter 5, I evaluate the relationship between residence in a progressive environment and political interest. First, results for data analysis for Latinos are introduced and the case of Asian Americans follows. This chapter shows that Latinos and Asian Americans living in a progressive environment are more likely to be interested in politics. Chapter 6 is devoted to testing the impact of living in a progressive environment on voting participation. The results of data analysis show that for Latinos and Asian Americans, residence in states with many pro-minority policies makes them more likely to take part in voting. Chapter 7 evaluates the last part of the nurturing hypothesis: Latinos and Asian Americans residing in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote for candidates from their own racial group, even if there are is an equally qualified non-Latino or non-Asian candidate.

This dissertation concludes in Chapter 8 with a discussion of the general implications and importance of the empirical findings. This final chapter offers an answer

to the untested assumption of the threat hypothesis and calls for a further study on the threat hypothesis. Finally, this chapter closes by explaining necessary future works.

CHAPTER 2

THREAT HYPOTHESIS REVISITED

In this chapter, I first examine the literature on intergroup relations, in which the idea of threat hypothesis is rooted. I then delve further into the threat hypothesis and explain some important works that have investigated the threat hypothesis. The last part of Chapter 2 is devoted to the problems of the threat hypothesis.

Literature on Intergroup Relations

Study on the threat hypothesis in political science focuses on the relationship between whites and blacks by asking how whites would behave against threat from blacks. Although some works do not delve deeply into the psychological underpinnings of whites faced with threat, the complete understanding of threat mechanism is not possible without resorting to psychological literature on intergroup relations. Therefore, examination of the literature on intergroup relations is necessary before the dissertation moves forward. There are two major theoretical approaches to intergroup relations.

The first is social identity theory, which is developed by Tajfel (1981), Turner (1987), and others. Social identity theory has emphasized the idea that people use social categories to structure their social environment and to define their own place. Social categories help to provide us with meaningful identities, which allow us to make sense of the world around us (Tajfel 1981). The theory sees that identification of oneself with other people who share common characteristics is an important aspect of self-definition (Ethier and Deaux 1994).

Before delving deep into social identity theory, it should be noted that the original conception of party identification in The American Voter (1960) is a precursor of social identity theory years ahead of its time (Greene 2004). The authors clearly stated that just as people identify with various racial, ethnic, and religious groups, so too do they identify with political parties. Therefore, in the view of the authors of The American Voter,

partisanship is a social identification. Also, the authors explained that group membership has a “slow and cumulative influence over a period of time,” leading “simple contact and familiarity” to be a significant factor in the growth of group identification (Campbell et al. 1960, 324). The group identity theory that was presented in The American Voter is a clear link of identity theory to political behavior; since then, scholars have repeatedly stressed the role of intra-group contact and communication which fashion group identities into political blocs. Based on extensive experimentation and development, social identity theory is able to build on this foundation and provide a rich theoretical framework for understanding group membership and its impact on one’s attitude and behavior (Greene 2004).

Social identity theory assumes that a person strives for and that his behavior is partly motivated by a desire to achieve or maintain positive self-esteem. One way in which this can be achieved or maintained is by positively evaluating one’s own social category (an ingroup) in comparison to an outgroup (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

From the perspective of social identity theory, a salient context easily leads to the categorization of group into social groupings (Tajfel 1981; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell 1987). Many experiments in psychological literature confirm this. For example, scholars have found that grouping people into a certain group according to a certain standard — such as blue eyes, calling some people dot overestimators and others underestimators, or a preference for the painter Kandinsky over Klee — were sufficient to yield a preference for the group that they belong to and produce discrimination against outgroup (Allen and Wilder 1975; Billing and Tajfel 1973; Brewer and Silver 1978; Doise and Sinclair 1973). Therefore, categorization itself can explain the creation of social identity and intergroup bias (Tajfel 1981). Based on this idea, social identity theory claims ubiquitous ingroup bias and resultant intergroup conflict. That is, the theory says that ingroup loyalties and outgroup antipathies are readily aroused and widespread.

From the view of the social identity theory, attitudes and behaviors are shaped by individuals' memberships in social groups and the structural context in which those groups are situated (Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen 2003). In other words, the need for and expression of social identity is not static (Ethier and Deaux 1994), but dependent on contexts. What particular identity is claimed can depend on situational cues that make an identity salient (Deaux and Major 1987; Oakes 1987). Contextual change that increases the salience of a particular identity leads to an increase in group identification (Emler and Hopkins 1990; Oakes 1987; Waddell and Cairns 1986). For instance, Christian et al. (1976) found that, in their study of Welsh identity, when group conflict was made salient by having subjects write essays about Welsh-English conflict, group identification was stronger.

With regard to the threat hypothesis, the theory sees threat as one of the important contextual factors. When individuals think of themselves in terms of their membership in a social group, they are motivated to protect the identity of that group, especially when status boundaries between groups are rigid, and status differences between groups are contestable (Tajfel 1978). Therefore, threats to group identity by an outgroup can lead to increased antagonism between groups, and people will attempt to defend the value of an important group membership. The argument underlying this phenomenon is that people are motivated to differentiate the ingroup from similar outgroups on relevant dimensions of comparison in order to maintain or enhance social identity. People can obtain or maintain positive feelings about their own group to the extent that a positive comparison with another group can be achieved (Branscombe et al. 1999). While different strategic responses are feasible, exposure to a negative social comparison between the ingroup and a relevant outgroup can be perceived as sufficiently threatening to evoke ingroup favouritism and/or outgroup derogation as a means of defending that identity (Branscombe et al. 1999). For example, in the work of Bourhis et al. (1979), Belgian Flemish speakers were exposed to an outgroup member (a French-speaking Belgian) who

was insulting about the ingroup's language group membership. Compared with control condition, the Flemish respondents who were exposed to the language group insult were more likely to retaliate with obscenities directed towards the offending French-speaking experimental confederate. This shows that explicit attacks on a social identity can directly evoke outgroup derogation. Branscombe et al. (1999) noted that group-level defensive strategies are also apparent when the threatening behavior of the outgroup is more chronic. For example, in the examination of blacks, perceived discrimination by whites predicted elevated minority group identification (Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey 1999). Thus, feeling discriminated against based on one's own group membership encourages derogation of the rejecting outgroup members who discriminate, and psychological movement towards an accepting ingroup. For another example, Ellemers, Wilke, and Van Knippenberg (1993) found that when people collectively suffered unjust treatment that resulted in low ingroup status, ingroup identification was strengthened, and increased intergroup competition occurred. When such outgroup-based threats to the ingroup's value are severe enough, it is expected that most ingroup members would behave in this defensive fashion to protect their well-being (Branscombe, Schmitt, and Havey 1999).

While social identity theory emphasizes the importance of collective membership and significant impacts of group membership on members' behavior, the second theoretical approach — social dominance theory — differs in that it focuses on the individual differences in social dominance orientation. Sidanius and colleague's social dominance theory attempts to explain why some individuals and groups wish to dominate lower-status groups, engage in discrimination, and maintain intergroup inequality. In doing so, the theory proposes a psychological mechanism, called 'social dominance orientation,' Which is defined as 'a very general individual differences orientation expressing the value that people place on nonegalitarian and hierarchically structured relationship among social groups' (Sidanius and Pratto 1999, 61). That is, social

dominance orientation is a general desire for unequal relations among social groups, and through social dominance orientation, inequality in societies is maintained.

From the perspective of social dominance theory, individuals who are high in social dominance orientation are to accept ‘hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths’ which justify social practices that maintain or increase social inequality (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). On the other hand, individuals low in social dominance orientation are more likely to support ‘hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myths’ and justify social practices that reduce social inequality (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). In a similar vein, social dominance theory posits that the experience of intergroup relations differs significantly for members of subordinate (minority) and dominant (majority) groups. Members of dominant groups are motivated to subjugate groups lower down on the social ladder, whereas members of subordinate groups support the status quo and readily support their own subjugation.

In contrast to social identity theory, social dominance theory examines fundamental differences in the nature of age, gender, and arbitrary-set groups and claims that the nature of intergroup relations differs among these differing types of groups (Sidanius and Pratto 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, and Bobo 1996; Sidanius et al. 2004). For example, social dominance theory claims that women and men evolved to be differentially predisposed to social dominance, with men being higher in social dominance orientation than women (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). Therefore, men attempt to control women in order to regulate their reproductive activities, and men being higher in social dominance orientation increases their chances for reproductive success, but not for women. Therefore, the theory does not aim to derive common characteristics of groups that determine the actions of their members (Huddy 2004) and instead, it views intergroup relations between any set of groups as static.

Social dominance theory’s static perspective of intergroup relations leads to the “invariance hypothesis.” For example, applied to gender groups, the hypothesis says that

the size of gender differences in social dominance orientation would be insensitive to contextual variations in differential status (Sidanius et al. 2000). That is, the theory assumes that gender differences in social dominance orientation are invariant across contexts. This perspective can be applied to any arbitrary-set groups such as age, race, and ethnic groups.⁸

Each theoretical approach has its merits and disadvantages. My dissertation builds on social identity theory instead of social dominance theory for the following reasons.

First, this dissertation aims to reexamine the threat hypothesis and asks how Latinos and Asian Americans who are living in a nonthreatening or favorable environment will behave in terms of their political engagement. The research question of this dissertation considers the significance of context in intergroup relations and political behavior. Social identity theory emphasizes the importance of intergroup context, especially the salience of group membership (Huddy 2004); therefore, it can offer theoretical grounding for my dissertation. Context is considered one of the most powerful concepts that emerge from social identity theory. According to the theory, general attitudes toward inequality are constructed in context and context helps explain why group membership can powerfully cue attitudes and behavior in one context and yet have no impact on another (Huddy 2004).⁹ The theory places greater theoretical weight on

⁸ Additionally, similar to social dominance theory, there is system justification theory, which focuses on the existence of quiescence among members of low-status societal group (Jost and Banaji 1994). System justification theory argues that intergroup conflict is markedly absent, especially among members of disadvantaged groups. According to system justification theory, members of subordinate groups do not readily yield to ingroup bias, but rather internalize beliefs that maintain the status quo even though it is harmful to their group interest. System justification theory allows for variations in the development of intergroup relations as a function of societal factors (Huddy 2004) and claims that economic and social inequality is the key factors that explain higher levels of system justification (Jost, Banaji, Nosek 2004). Thus, the theory expects greater support of higher-status groups in countries with unevenly distributed resources. Huddy (2004) noted that system justification theory is one of the least well developed theories.

⁹ Huddy (2004) noted that social identity theory is not without its problems. The theory has ignored the role of culture and history in group development, thereby not having richness. Also, the theory fails to take seriously individual differences in the adoption of group identity or the development of outgroup antipathy.

how the context shapes attitudes toward inequality by making particular forms of inequality salient, and through the emergence of specific social identity concerns (Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen 2003). Therefore, social identity theory provides the great nuance in understanding the conditions under which group membership is likely to translate into ingroup bias and intergroup conflict (Huddy 2004).

In contrast, social dominance theory does not fully take into account the importance of context in intergroup relations; thereby, the theory is not appropriate for the research question of this dissertation. Social dominance theory places theoretical weight on individual differences in a pre-existing orientation toward inequality as a determinant of how individuals respond to inequality in specific social context (Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen 2003). In other words, social dominance theory assumes that the general attitude orientation precedes attitudes toward inequality in its specific forms (Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen 2003). Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen (2003) explained that the individual differences approach taken in social dominance orientation research has been criticized for drawing attention away from the effect of the existing social structure on intergroup relations (Billing 1976), and for not being able to account for the effects of social context and social norms on prejudice (Minard 1952). Furthermore, Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen (2003) claimed that social dominance theory's individual difference approach to attitudes about social inequality risks being a 'zero-variables' theory that explains nothing at all (Wicklund 1990). Simply finding that people who have a general orientation toward inequality readily accept inequality does little to identify the factors that explain people's decision to accept or reject inequality (Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen 2003).

The second reason this dissertation adopts social identity theory is that the dissertation needs a group-based theoretical approach and social identity theory satisfies this need. This dissertation focuses on how one minority group (disadvantaged group) will respond to the environment that is mainly directed by majority group (privileged

group). Thus, group-based theoretical approach is necessary. However, social dominance theory assumes that the complex dynamics of intergroup relations and structural inequality result from individuals' psychological dispositions. Therefore, as Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen (2003, 183) criticized, by placing theoretical weight on individual differences, social dominance theory "obscures the group-based nature of social reality and the politics of intergroup relations." According to Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen (2003, 183), "a fully developed social psychological theory of structural inequality must take into account the differential power held by privileged and disadvantaged groups and the different psychological issues that arise from disadvantaged and privileged groups interpreting and responding to the social context from the in-group's unique perspective." Social identity theory assumes that groups tend to respond to the social context in ways that protect or enhance the in-group's status. Also, social identity theory considers the psychological consequences of the relative position of the in-group in the social structure. Therefore, by addressing these group-natured issues, social identity theory can provide meaningful insight for reexamining the threat hypothesis.

Next, as Huddy (2004) pointed out, social dominance theory leaves little room for change in relations between arbitrary-set groups. This theory argues that dominant groups seek power over subordinate groups and gives no explanation for how or why such relations evolve. For instance, with regards to the relationship between men and women, in Western countries after the postwar period, there have been widespread changes in women's roles and support for the women's movement and gender equality (Huddy 2004). Now it is difficult to reconcile with social dominance theory's argument that men tend to dominate women (Huddy 2004). In contrast, social identity theory does not have a static view of intergroup relations; therefore, it is more appropriate for examining the dynamic nature of intergroup relations.

Lastly, social identity theory has not been much applied to political science research so far. Neither have works in political science that examine the threat hypothesis fully considered psychology literature. However, to have an all-encompassing understanding of intergroup relations and to identify the psychological basis and underpinnings of Latinos' and Asian Americans' political engagement, an appreciation of psychological literature, especially a theoretical approach of social identity, is necessary. Huddy (2001) expressed a concern over the relatively meager impact that social identity theory has had on political research. In her view, social identity theory has had relatively minor subsequent influence on political behavior research and has not had extensive impact within political research, especially in political science. Responding to Oakes's point that social identity theory has been applied to several areas of social psychology with relevance for political psychology (Oakes 2002), Huddy (2002) noted that only a handful of this work is conducted by political psychologists or is expressly political in content, dealing directly with political outcomes such as protest against government actions, political rhetoric designed to influence voter decision-making, or identification with a major political party or ideology. Furthermore, Huddy asked why the rich research tradition spawned by social identity theory within social psychology has not proven to be more beneficial to the study of political behavior. Also, as I reveal shortly after this section, I find that literature on the threat hypothesis in political science often does not delve further into psychology literature and does not examine sufficiently the psychological underpinnings of one group's response toward threat from an outgroup. Considering this tradition of political science research, in order to bridge a gap between psychological literature and political behavior research, it is necessary for this dissertation to adopt a theoretical framework provided by social identity theory.

Threat Hypothesis Literature

The threat hypothesis in political science research postulates that the greater the threat which blacks posed to the political hegemony of whites, the greater whites' hostility toward blacks would be and the more actively would whites participate in politics (Giles and Buckner 1993; Keech 1968; Key 1984 [1949]; Oliver and Wong 2003; Wright 1977; Wrinkle and Polinard 1973). The basic idea in the hypothesis is that political contexts — where actual or perceived threats are present — trigger feelings of anxiety that in turn motivate people to closely monitor political affairs as means of defense (Giles and Evans 1986; Giles and Hertz 1994; Key 1984 [1949]; Marcus, Neuman, and Mackuen 2000; Radcliff and Saiz 1995; Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus 1982).

In political science research, contextual threat mechanism was first identified by Key (1984 [1949]) as typifying southern racial politics. Key claimed that as the size of the black population increased, fear within the white community increased, which led to greater controlling behaviors by whites. Many following works have yielded similar findings. For instance, Matthews and Prothro (1966) argued that as the proportion of blacks in southern counties increased, white support of blacks' right to vote decreased. Also, Giles and Hertz (1994) found the link between high black population concentrations in Louisianan parishes and greater Republican Party identification, while Giles and Buckner (1993) showed that high black population was associated with greater support for conservative segregationist David Duke's senatorial candidacy.

In short, the original threat hypothesis examined in the field of political science explains that as the threat to the majority group (whites) from the minority group (blacks) increases, people in the majority group will be mobilized to protect their interests. Therefore, the threat hypothesis in political science originated as a theory of majority, not minority, political behavior.

There have been some efforts to examine the impacts of threat on Latinos, a minority group, although the number of works is still very limited. For instance, in an examination of California's threatening environments with racially charged ballot propositions, several works have revealed similar implications of the threat mechanism among Latinos. Pantoja and Segura (2003) found that California's threatening environment caused a higher level of political knowledge among Latinos; Barreto and Woods (2000) showed that Latino turnout in general, and among Latino Democrats in particular, was the highest of all the groups in the sample; and, Segura, Falcon, and Pachon (1997) found that there was greater defection from the Republican to the Democratic Party among Latinos in California.

Problems of the Threat Hypothesis Literature

Although the threat hypothesis generated great scholarly attention and discussion in political science, it is also limited for the following several reasons. My dissertation aims to overcome these limitations.

First, a huge body of literature supporting the threat hypothesis claims that the presence of a candidate or policy deemed threatening to an individual will stimulate feelings of anxiety, which motivate him or her to engage in political activities.¹⁰ This claim implicitly assumes that conversely, an unthreatening or favorable environment will not provoke negative feelings, thereby, will not motivate people to be engaged in politics. That is, the presence of a candidate or policy deemed favorable to an individual will act to depress or confine one's political participation. Will this implication be theoretically

¹⁰ One exceptional work against the threat hypothesis is Leighley and Vedlitz (1999). They found that in the case of Anglos, the effect of threat is to depress, rather than mobilize, individuals. They showed that threat acts only on the majority group, as opposed to minority groups. However, they were not able to provide detailed explanations for this findings, except that "it results from a self selection process: that Anglos who find themselves residing in areas of high threat who would otherwise mobilize against such threat choose to relocate, and that what we observed in this cross-sectional data is the result of Anglos who "choose" to remain exhibiting a different response to threat (1104)." They said, although this possibility deserves further examination, they cannot do so with their current research design.

and empirically supported? If this does not hold true, it might indicate that the threat hypothesis works only under certain conditions, thereby calling for further refinement of the hypothesis. By examining the residence in a non-threatening or favorable environment and its impact on political engagement, my dissertation aims to overcome this limitation of the threat hypothesis.

Second, with the exception of several works on Latinos (Barreto and Woods 2000; Pantoja and Segura 2003; Segura, Falcon, and Pachon 1997), the threat hypothesis literature in political science has exclusively examined the political behavior of whites — the majority group. Especially, there have not been any works to my knowledge that have investigated the political behavior of Asian Americans who live in a threatening environment. Therefore, the hypothesis has been mainly focused on “threat to whites (majority group)” aspect and has not paid as much attention to what would happen if threat is perceived among minority groups. Will individuals belonging to minority groups have the same response as that of whites? Or will individuals belonging to minority groups behave in a different way? The aspect of “threat to minority group” should be examined more thoroughly, which will lead to greater understanding of the impact of the threat mechanism on one’s political behavior. By examining Latinos and Asian Americans, two large minority groups in U.S. society, this dissertation focuses on the aspect of threat to minority groups.

The third problem is that most of works on the threat hypothesis in political science consider the size of the black population as a proxy of perceived or actual threat. That is, the hypothesis uses increase in the proportion of blacks in the community to measure the increased feelings of being threatened. For example, Key’s (1984 [1949]) seminal work clearly focused on the size of the black population. According to him, as the size of the black population increased, the fear within the white community increased, which resulted in greater participation by whites. The exclusive focus on the size of population leaves us to question if people would feel threatened for other factors or if the

size of the outgroup is the only factor that makes people perceive threat. The threat hypothesis needs to be analyzed more fully based on other possible threat factors. This dissertation assumes that people can feel threatened by policies deemed advantageous to the outgroup and considers the threat mechanism which works through policy making.

Next, the literature on the threat hypothesis in political science tends to focus on a certain region of the U.S.; thereby, the findings of the threat hypothesis might reflect the salient features of political culture only in a certain region. For example, Key (1984 [1949]) and Matthews and Prothro (1966) have dealt with southern states. Similarly, Giles and Buckner (1993) and Giles and Hertz (1994) examined the Louisiana parishes in which high black population was found to be related with greater Republican Party identification. For another example of focusing on a certain region, Pantoja and Segura (2003) investigated California and found that its threatening environment caused a higher level of political knowledge among Latinos. Therefore, some evidence that supports the threat hypothesis relies on particular regional contexts and is not nation-wide. This dissertation relies on nation-wide data and attempts to overcome this problem of previous threat hypothesis research.

CHAPTER 3

MY ARGUMENT AND THE NURTURING HYPOTHESIS

This chapter discusses my argument and supporting theory. Based on my theory, I propose three sets of hypotheses to be tested. I call them the “nurturing hypotheses.”

People may choose not to participate in politics because they cannot or because they do not want to.¹¹ Conversely, people may choose to be engaged in politics because they can or because they want to. This dissertation argues that residing in states with pro-minority policies offers an environment in which Latinos and Asian Americans can and want to be involved in politics. This argument runs counter to the assumption of the threat hypothesis, which assumes that living in a non-threatening or favorable environment will depress political involvement. The dissertation claims that the impact of residing in states with many pro-minority policies on Latinos’ and Asian Americans’ political involvement works through the two factors that facilitate political engagement: 1) opportunity, or the availability of political information and 2) motive, or the desire to be engaged in politics.

Opportunity

Context shapes participation opportunities, and therefore, one’s likelihood of political engagement. That is, political engagement is a function of individuals’ opportunity costs, which are themselves embedded in environment. Individuals’ decisions to react depend on their assessments of personal costs and benefits. People are more willing to engage in politics when there are more resources present. Conversely, many individuals do not participate in the political process because of their lack of social resources (Abowitz 1990).

¹¹ Verba et al. (1991, 15) originally claimed that individuals may choose not to participate “because they can’t, because they don’t want to, or because nobody asked.”

Residing in states with many progressive policies places individuals in a social context where participation resources are plentiful. Due to the publicity surrounding policy adoption, information is abundant in progressive states, and information is a good resource that one can use when making political decisions. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans living in progressive states will have more resources, which will increase individuals' basic levels of knowledge about political affairs, thereby making it easier for them to be engaged in politics. On the other hand, those residing in states without or with few progressive minority policies will have fewer resources. As such, they will not have as many opportunities to be engaged in politics. Therefore, they may opt out of politics altogether, choosing to remain on the sidelines.

Furthermore, the progressive context means not only availability but also salience of information, particularly information concerning race and ethnicity. The plentiful information available in progressive states is concerned with racially charged issues and has a significant racial component. Also, in those states, Latinos and Asian Americans will be more likely to be exposed to race-laden political campaigns. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states will experience a continued salience of information concerning their status as minorities in the society. This will make them more sensitive to racial issues and offer a good opportunity to frame politics in racial/ethnic terms.

Social identity theory supports my argument. The theory provides us with plentiful supportive evidence that category salience shapes identity, which will lead individuals to behave in certain ways. For example, McGuire and colleagues (McGuire and Padawer-Singer 1976; McGuire et al. 1978) noted that children in an ethnic minority in their classroom, and therefore whose identity was more salient, tend to describe themselves more in terms of their ethnicity. For another example, Hogg and Turner's (1985) work found that as the salience of study's participants' gender increased, so did the likelihood that they thought of themselves in gender-stereotypic terms.

Furthermore, the literature on social identity theory shows that the ways people frame problems or issues are important determinants in their behaviors. Tyler et al. (1997) illustrated this with the following example. Consider a female word processor who learns that her male colleague earns two dollars more an hour. If she focuses on herself as an individual, she might decide that she is no good at all or that she does not work very hard, so she does not deserve to receive that extra two dollars. On the other hand, she may focus on herself as a female word processor. If so, she may notice that, not only does she not earn the same as her male colleague, but also most of the female word processors in her company earn less than their male colleagues. In this case, she might decide that there is something wrong with the system and ask her boss for a raise. Also, she might move toward collective action, trying to organize other female employees to engage in a strike.

As shown in these examples, the framing of the situation or problems greatly influences whether one will act or if so, how. Due to the salience of racial information, Latinos and Asian Americans from progressive states will have a heightened awareness of their minority status and have more opportunities to frame the situation in group, not in individual, terms. This will lead them to blame the system for their relatively disadvantaged status, which in turn will encourage them to be more collectively engaged in politics in order to improve the current situation.

In sum, these informational advantages enable Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment to be more actively involved in politics. In contrast, due to the lack of opportunities, those residing in states without or with few pro-minority policies are less able to participate.

Motive

In addition to the informational effects, a progressive environment has a motivational impact on Latinos' and Asian Americans' behavior. Residing in states with

progressive minority policies provides Latinos and Asian Americans with the motivational drive to be politically involved. Before I delve into the motivational aspect of residing in states with many pro-minority policies, I need to examine the nature of existing minority policies in the U.S. The examination reveals that minority policies have been mostly concerned with distributive equality in the society.

Minority Policies: Focus on Distributive Equality

Starting with the civil rights legislation of the 1960s and continuing through the immigrant-related welfare policies in the early 2000s, there has been a shift toward greater consent with the principles of racial equality in the U.S. Progress has been made in employment, education and housing, indicating a slow, but steady movement in an egalitarian and integrationist direction. However, a closer examination of state minority policies reveals a distinct trend: policies adopted have been outcome-directed, distributive policies that aim to achieve equality in distribution.

Policy addresses the intent of the organization and is intended to influence the real world by guiding the decisions that are made. In terms of intended effects, minority policies are mostly concerned with the issue of racial/ethnic equality in the society. Some minority policies aim to create favorable outcomes to beneficiaries and achieve distributive equality — the fairness of allocation outcomes. These distributive policies extend goods and services to members of the society, as well as distributing the costs of the goods and services among the members. Government policies that affect spending for welfare, public education, public safety, or highways are examples of distributive policies. On the other hand, minority policies might be focused on attaining procedural equality — the fairness of decision procedures. These procedural policies are concerned with the extent to which a group has achieved significant representation and influence in political decision-making. Both types of policies have their own intended effects and influence the members of the society in their own way: distributive policies intend to allocate finite

outcomes equally to members of the society, while procedural policies attempt to offer equal representation of all diverse groups of different interest. Therefore, the balanced adoption of the two types of policies is very important in maintaining a diverse society such as the U.S.

However, this balance has not been maintained very well. Despite continued efforts since the 1960s, minority polices have been more concerned with allocating and distributing outcomes equally among the members of the society rather than with making procedure fairer and more equal for the members of diverse groups. The periodical examination of state minority policies reveals this trend. Hero and Preuhs (2006) classified three periods of the development of minority policies: civil rights policies (1960s), multicultural polices (1970s through the early 2000s), and immigrant-related welfare policies (mid-1990s to the early 2000s).

First, in the 1960s, the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and Fair Housing legislation (1968) were landmarks in the American political system. Civil rights policies attempted to remove legal barriers to the political participation and mobilization of racial/ethnic minorities. Centered on procedural equality and equality of opportunity, they were intended to eliminate discrimination against racial minorities and to provide basic procedural equality and rights (Hero and Preuhs 2006). These policies did not have explicit redistributive goals (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Instead, they involved the nondiscriminatory access to, and enforcement of, civil and political rights of citizenship, with specific attention to the members of racial/ethnic minority groups (Hero and Preuhs 2006).

Civil rights and related policies in the 1960s were an important force in fostering new policy initiatives for the periods following (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Minority policies in the 1960s led to significant social and demographic changes — the growth of minority populations, especially Latinos and Asian Americans, through internal demographic factors and immigration (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Those changes gave rise

to a new set of concerns, which yielded to “race-specific” and “multicultural” policies (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Therefore, minority policies since the 1970s have concentrated on language and ethnic criteria. Examples of multicultural policies include Limited English Proficiency (LEP) programs, state funding for LEP programs, English as a Second Language Teacher Certification, Bilingual Education Certification, and a policy that makes undocumented immigrants eligible for resident tuition at state universities. Altogether, these various progressive policies have been characterized as a part of a “minority rights revolution” (Skrentny 2002), geared more towards a distributive orientation.

The most recent development in minority policies is the adoption of immigrant-related welfare policies. In response to the increasing number of immigrants in the U.S, with a larger proportion coming from Latin America and Asian countries, governmental action was needed regarding the extent to which immigrants should be granted access to welfare benefits (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Furthermore, the welfare reform legislation of 1996 gave states greater amounts of discretion in determining immigrants’ eligibility for welfare (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Therefore, from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, immigrant-related welfare policies have been adopted by states. The policies ranged from the continuation of welfare benefits to legal immigrants under the 1996 Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program, to allowing immigrants to participate in state funded food stamp programs, to coverage for immigrants under state-sponsored health-care programs (Hero and Preuhs 2006). Hero and Preuhs (2006) claimed that states differed considerably in their adoption of these policies; for example, forty eight states extended TANF benefits to immigrants who arrived in the country prior to 1996, while only five states provided additional funds to substitute for the loss of federal funding for Supplemental Security Income to immigrants. These recent immigrant policies have a redistributive goal in mind.

In short, even though minority policies in the 1960s attempted to achieve procedural equality and were rooted in orientations of egalitarianism, overall, since the 1960s a significant proportion has been concerned with distributive equality.¹² Several scholars pointed out that support for minority rights was triggered as the U.S. attempted to place itself as a defender and advocate of equality within the context of the Cold War (Hero and Preuhs 2006; Klinkner and Smith 1999; Skrentny 2002). That is, in the Cold War, competition raised compelling concerns about the explicit racial biases in the country's immigration policy (Tichenor 2002). Therefore, under the social pressure to appear liberal, the U.S. had to shift toward an egalitarian direction, however in a superficial way, focusing more on outcome distribution. Tyler et al. (1997) raised a similar concern. They claimed recent efforts to reform immigration policies seemed to involve more instrumental rather than relational considerations. According to them, the general public favors restricting the number of immigrants allowed into the country because of concerns about the negative economic impact on American society. Also, they pointed out that existing immigration policy favors immigrants who can bring financial investments or business ventures into the U.S. These observations imply that minority policies have been more outcome-oriented, rather than attempting to include minorities into the procedural aspects of the political system. Therefore, the neglect of procedural equality in the adoption of minority policies might discount to some extent the meaningfulness of changes made for racial/ethnic equality.

¹² This neglect of procedural equality might be understood as a passive, not active, exclusion of minorities. Opatow (1990) and Tyler et al. (1997) claimed that there is an important distinction between actively excluding others and passively not including others. According to Tyler et al. (1997), the Nazis who persecuted Jews, and the Americans who interned Japanese Americans in concentration camps are examples of actively pursuing a policy of exclusion. In contrast, the American Declaration of Independence, which states that it is "self-evident" that "all Men are created equal," passively excludes many others such as women, African Americans, Native Americans, and other minorities. Thus, state minority policies, which do not extend toward securing equal voices in the political process, might be considered as a form of passively not including minorities.

Motivational Impact of Residing in a Progressive Environment

The progressive context leads to a heightened concern with the issue of fairness and equality. Latinos and Asian Americans are presented with a situation within which cues concerning fair outcomes and fair procedures are explicitly called to their attention. As the previous section reveals, considering that minority policies have been mostly concerned with distributive equality in the society, this situation will trigger concerns for group entitlements in procedures. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans residing in progressive states will feel that there exists procedural inequality. The perception of social injustice will result in feelings of resentment or dissatisfaction, which in turn will motivate people to be more actively involved in politics in order to improve or rectify the situation. Ironically, for Latinos and Asian Americans, having pro-minority policies is actually perceived as threatening or unsatisfying, not friendly or favorable. On the other hand, for those who reside in states without many pro-minority policies, those cues concerning fairness are not present; therefore, they are less likely to perceive what their groups are missing, and tend to become politically quiescent.

Furthermore, the informational effect of the progressive context will interact with the motivational effect: information available to Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states will help activate justice concerns among them. People's judgments about what is fair are in part affected by their knowledge about their own positions in society (Tyler et al. 1997), and people often make judgments of fairness relying on their knowledge of their own positions in society (Azzi 1992).¹³ Thus, Latinos and Asian

¹³ Tyler et al. (1997) provided two examples of works which showed that people often endure unfair events without thinking of the events as unfair or unjust until they become knowledgeable about the issue. The first example is Duberman's (1994) work. Duberman explained that gays accepted police harassment for the "crime" of homosexual behavior for many years without organized protest. However, a number of social changes, including the climate of protest against the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement, led to an increasing awareness of unfairness among gays. The increased level of knowledge on their status defined police harassment as unfair, creating a new interpretation of events, and led to the gay liberation movement. Secondly, Luker (1984) described how women underwent illegal and secret abortions in the U.S. without feeling that they were being unjustly treated. However, after the women's liberation

Americans might rely on the information provided by the progressive context to perceive an inequality in procedures. Those who live in states with many progressive policies have a higher level of information available to them; therefore, they will be more likely to actively consider whether they are being fairly treated by the political procedure.

The dissertation's motivational argument of the progressive context is based on two assumptions. First, it assumes that people care about what is fair. The assumption is well-documented. In many interpersonal situations, ranging from negotiating with parents to lovers or friends, people have been found to be sensitive to issues of justice and equality (Frohlich and Oppenheimer 1990; Tyler et al. 1997). Therefore, Tyler et al. (1997) claimed that concerns for social justice are a robust, pan-cultural phenomenon that exists within the minds of all individuals.

Second, the motivational argument of the progressive context assumes that people's justice concern influences their attitude and behavior. This is also well-established (Jennings 1991; Hahn 2007; Tyler et al. 1997).¹⁴ Studies have demonstrated that judgments about what is fair or deserved (or about what one is entitled to receive) are at the heart of people's feelings, attitudes, and behaviors in their interactions with others. Judgments of fairness are related significantly to individuals' interpersonal perceptions (Lerner 1981), political attitudes (Tyler, Rasinski, and McGraw 1985), and feelings of anger (Montada 1994). Furthermore, people's behavior is also strongly linked to views about justice and injustice. Numerous studies have shown links between justice judgments and positive behavior, for instance, willingness to empower group authorities (Tyler and DeGoey 1995), willingness to accept third-party decisions (Lind, Kanfer, and Earley 1990), or willingness to help the group (Organ and Moorman 1993). On the other

movement changed social consciousness, many women reinterpreted their earlier experiences and decided that they had been unfairly treated.

¹⁴ Jennings (1991) claimed that although justice is but one motive driving the amount and nature of political action, the study of felt injustice is incomplete without paying attention to its motivational component.

hand, a lack of justice or equality has been found to be linked with negative behavior, such as sabotage, theft, or the willingness to rebel or protest (Huggins 1991; Moore 1978; Muller and Jukam 1983). Also, it has been shown that perceptions of injustice are very much at work as citizens monitor their governments and make important choices (Jennings 1991).

If people care about justice and equality, and their justice concern affects attitudes and behavior, some might predict that Latinos and Asian Americans living in states with many pro-minority policies should feel that justice is served, thereby, having less reason to participate in politics. However, this is not correct. This prediction misses important psychological dynamics underlying one's justice concern: people might care about procedural justice as well as distributive justice.

Traditionally, it was assumed that satisfaction is linked either directly or indirectly to outcomes obtained (Tyler and Caine 1981). For example, Leventhal, Karuza, and Fry (1980) argued that distributions of resources are more likely to be visible than the procedures that generate those distributions. Therefore, the major determinant of satisfaction with the social system and its leaders is outcome, not procedure. Leventhal, Karuza, and Fry (1980) reasoned that people do not know the procedures of allocations very well and that people tend to take procedures for granted. According to their argument, minorities living in states with many progressive policies should be pleased with the outcomes favorable to them and would not find reasons to be engaged in politics.

However, much recent evidence contradicts their argument. First of all, in the examination of affirmative action, Nacoste (1990) found that people react not simply to the distribution of outcomes that is the anticipated result of the policy, but to the anticipated policy implementation procedure. Potential subjective emptiness of objective gains can occur through affirmative action programs (Nacoste 1990). Such objective gains do not enhance a minority member's sense of self if one feels that he or she is not gaining the respect of those in the occupations that he or she joins. Therefore, Nacoste

(1990) claimed that a procedural justice model of the psychology of affirmative action makes it clear that the presence of affirmative action is not necessarily enough to lead to perceptions of fairness and that the procedures play a major role in responses to affirmative action. In a similar vein, much research has found that citizens' support for government strongly relies on the belief that government functions according to fair and just procedures, rather than outcomes gained from government decisions (Engstrom and Giles 1972; Murphy and Tanenhaus 1969; Scheingold 1974; Thibaut and Walker 1975; Tyler and Caine 1981). These works all suggest that because people care about the adequacy and fairness of rules governing the process of politics, believing that a fair process will lead to just outcomes, maintaining the "appearance of justice" in government is critical (Tyler and Caine 1981).

In legal or managerial areas as well, the primacy of procedural justice concern is well demonstrated. For instance, Greenberg and Folger (1983) showed that defendants viewed trial verdicts (distributions) positively if they were seen as the results of fair procedures, an effect called the "fair process effect." As for example in managerial areas, Cropanzano and Folger (1989) found that resentment was highest when subjects perceived that unfair procedures prevented them from receiving high rewards for task performance. Also, McFarlin and Sweeney (1992) found that when employees perceived high levels of procedural justice, evaluations of supervisors are higher across all levels of distributive justice. This moderating effect indicates that regardless of the personal rewards received, an employee's judgments about supervisors and organizations may be tempered by the extent to which he believes fair procedures have been used. McFarlin and Sweeney (1992) explained that the fairness of a firm's procedures has a greater impact on organizational commitment than the fairness of personal outcomes that workers receive because procedures define the organization's capacity to treat employees fairly.

In short, individuals care about procedure, and procedural justice acts as a heuristic for determining whether the outcomes one receives are fair (Lind, Huo, and Tyler 1994). Additionally, it should be noted that a focus on the fairness of procedures is a phenomenon that exists in different ethnic groups (Tyler et al. 1997). Previous research found that preferences about how to resolve disputes are not different among the members of different ethnic groups (Lind, Huo, and Tyler 1994) and that the members of different ethnic groups seem to agree that procedural justice is the key criterion for evaluating the fairness of dispute resolution procedures (Tyler et al. 1997). Similarly, in an examination of one's evaluations of the fairness of congressional decision-making procedures, Tyler (1984) found no differences in the criteria used to evaluate procedural fairness that could be linked to demographic characteristics of the respondents. Based on these findings, I assume that Latinos and Asian Americans do not differ in their focus on perceived procedural justice.

Then, how do justice perceptions motivate Latinos and Asian Americans residing in progressive states to be more actively engaged in politics? There are four aspects of procedural justice consideration with the potential to increase Latinos' and Asian Americans' political engagement.

The first aspect is outcome-ambiguous situations. There are many situations in which outcome ambiguity is unavoidable (Thibaut and Walker 1978; Tyler et al. 1997). It is not at all clear what policies or actions of the government are fair in an objective sense. From Thibaut and Walker's (1978) example, in a trial, jurors typically lack any completely clear evidence of guilt or innocence. They can never be certain whether their verdict is actually just in an objective sense. In a similar vein, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states will not be sure if minority policies are actually beneficial to their groups. Also, they cannot really say whether their gains from minority policies are high or low. As a result, knowledge of procedures might be most confidently held and acted upon (Tyler et al. 1997). That is, without objective indicators of the

fairness or correctness of a policy, the best guarantee of a good judgment is to rely on the fairness of procedures (Thibaut and Walker 1978). Therefore, Latinos and Asians residing in progressive states will depend more on whether the political procedures are established to guarantee the equal representation of their interests. Given that minority policies have been more outcome-oriented, this will lead to the perception that equality in the political procedures has been neglected. The perception will provoke a sense of resentment and dissatisfaction, which will result in more active political engagement in order to improve their group's unequal status.

The second aspect of procedural justice consideration is “imagined possibility” (Tyler et al. 1997). The referent cognition theory argues that feelings of deprivation are the product of the stories people tell themselves about what might have been — that is, of imagined possibilities (Folger 1987).¹⁵ Building on the referent cognition theory, Kahneman and Tversky (1982) suggested a detailed path that imagination generally follows. They explained that mental habits comprise a simulation heuristic for reconstructing reality. The most fundamental principle such simulation tendencies follow is the replacement of unusual elements with normative ones. Consequently, when people encounter a deviation from accepted ways of doing things, they are prone to “run a simulation” of what might have resulted if standard practice had been followed. Similarly, when people encounter the use of an improper or poorly justified procedure, their belief about whether it made a difference in outcomes will be guided by considering what might have happened if a fair procedure had been used instead. The most reasonable expectation, and the result most likely to be simulated, is that it would have produced fair outcomes. Therefore, actual outcomes will be presumed inferior to what a fair procedure would have yielded.

¹⁵ Numerous results from laboratory studies provide evidence for the referent cognition model. See, for example, Ambrose, Harland, and Kulik (1991), Folger (1987), Folger, Rosenfield, and Robinson (1983), and Folger et al. (1983).

The idea of imagined possibility explains the mindset of Latinos and Asians residing in progressive environments. Faced with policies containing favorable outcomes, Latinos and Asians will wonder how the outcomes might have turned out if better or fairer procedures had been used. They will imagine that they would have gained better distributional outcomes if fairer procedures, allowing for their own voices, had been implemented. This mentality will make Latinos and Asian Americans perceive pro-minority policies as rather threatening or unfavorable. Accordingly, the imagined possibility will lead to feelings of dissatisfaction and will motivate Latinos and Asian Americans to be attentive to politics to improve or rectify the situation so that they can actually achieve the imagined possibility.

The next aspect in which procedural justice perception serves as a motivational base for political engagement is that procedural justice judgments are primarily relational in character (Tyler et al. 1997). In other words, procedural equality informs people about their social connection and relation to the government. Fair decision-making procedures communicate to group members two symbolic messages about their group memberships (Lind and Tyler 1988). First, procedural equality indicates a positive, respected position within the group while inequality in procedures indicates marginality and disrespect (Tyler and Lind 1992). Second, the use of fair or unfair decision-making procedures in groups indicates whether members can take pride in their group membership (Deutsch and Steil 1988; Lind and Earley 1992). Procedures can communicate this kind of identity-relevant information because authorities act as prototypical representatives of groups, and their actions can be seen as highly salient indicators of group opinions (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tyler and Lind 1992). Feelings of pride and respect that result from fair procedures encourage conformity to group rules, while feelings of negativity motivate people to act, demanding more respect. For Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive environments, the perceived procedural inequality will inform them of their relationship with the government: that they are not valued members of the society and that their status is

marginal. This will provoke a sense of resentment toward the government; thereby, Latinos and Asian Americans will be more willing to take part in politics to restore justice.

Lastly, increased advantages provide the disadvantaged with a new expectation that makes them more sensitive to potential violations of social justice standards (Tyler et al. 1997). When people expect to receive little, they do not become dissatisfied if they receive little; however, if they become accustomed to improvement, then receiving a static level of outcomes is upsetting because their expectations of what they deserve are violated (Tyler et al. 1997). Thus, opposite of common conjectures, scarcity does not always lead to feelings of dissatisfaction, whereas abundance often does (Brickman and Campbell 1971; Greenberg 1981). This is because one rapidly increases one's expectations as resources increase; as a result, it becomes difficult to sustain the psychological feeling of abundance (Tyler et al. 1997). Resources increasingly take on a symbolic role, reflecting relational issues of status and self-worth (Tyler et al. 1997). Therefore, having a considerable number of objectively favorable outcomes is not necessarily linked to positive feelings.¹⁶

These findings explain the greater willingness of Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment to pursue political involvement. Latinos and Asian Americans who have experienced a series of progressive minority policies will have higher expectations for social equality and justice; therefore, they will be more sensitive to the perceived neglect in government's providing procedural equality. Accordingly, in spite of favorable minority policies, Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment will be more likely to feel dissatisfied with the government and resentful about the way

¹⁶ Tyler et al. (1997) offered several good examples for this. First, although East Germans' objective standard of living has increased dramatically since the German reunification, their level of satisfaction has not. Similarly, dissatisfaction among blacks in the United States since the 1960s increased even though their objective economic situation has improved. Lastly, military police officers faced a scarcity of promotion opportunities with apparent equanimity, while the pilots faced an abundance of promotion opportunities with unhappiness and dissatisfaction (Stouffer et al. 1949).

government treats them. These negative feelings will increase their willingness to be engaged in politics as a defense mechanism.

In sum, by having both informational and motivational impacts on political engagement, a progressive environment serves as a good context in which Latinos and Asian Americans can and will want to participate in politics. Figure 3.1 illustrates a schematic of my theory.

The Nurturing Hypothesis

Based on my theoretical framework, I generate three sets of hypotheses about the relationship between residence in a progressive environment and political involvement. I name the set of hypothesis the “nurturing hypotheses.” Regarding political involvement, I focus on the following three activities: political interest, voting participation, and racialized voting choice. These three do not by any means exhaust the full range of political engagement. Nonetheless, they are, most would agree, critical forms of political engagement.

Nurturing Hypothesis 1: Political Interest

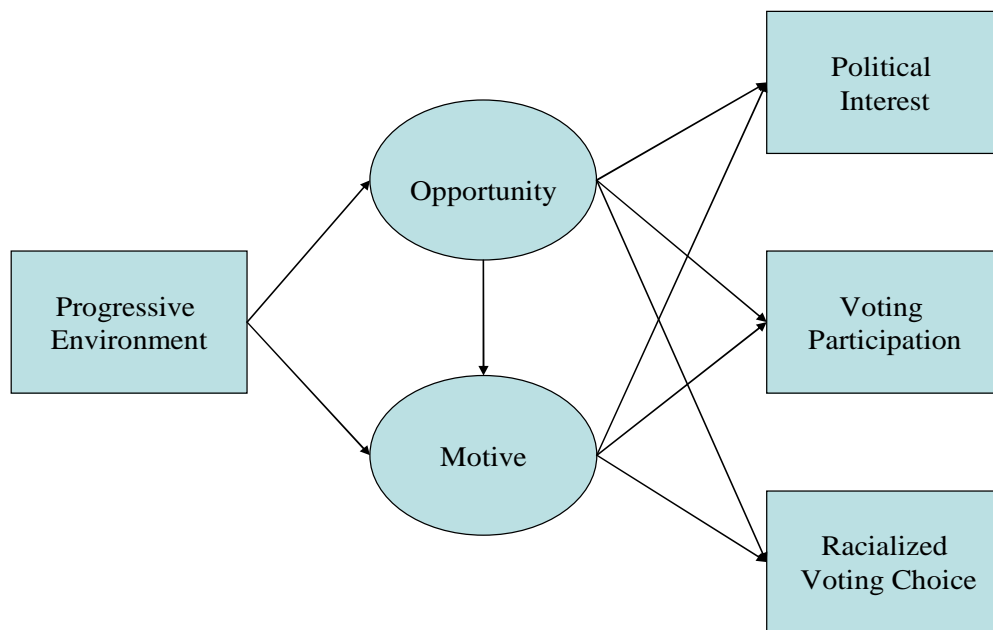
- (a) Latinos who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to be interested in politics.
- (b) Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to be interested in politics.

Nurturing Hypothesis 2: Voting Participation

- (a) Latinos who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote.
- (b) Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote.

Nurturing Hypothesis 3: Racialized Voting Choice

- (a) Latinos who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote for Latino candidates, even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino candidate.
- (b) Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote for Asian American candidates, even if there is an equally qualified non-Asian candidate.

Figure 3.1: Theoretical Framework

CHAPTER 4

TESTING THE PROGRESSIVE ENVIRONMENT'S IMPACT ON POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY AND MOTIVE

The idea behind the nurturing hypothesis is that a progressive environment offers Latinos and Asian Americans political opportunity and motive, which nurture them to take part in politics. Before directly testing whether residence in a progressive context contributes to active political engagement, this chapter tests the intermediate stage in which a progressive environment provides opportunity and motive for active political engagement. First, the dissertation presents the analysis of political opportunity created by the progressive environment, and then, empirical evidence of the political motive provided by the progressive environment follows. This dissertation uses separate individual-level data-sets for Latinos and Asian Americans, combined with aggregate level data-set. In including control variables and coding those variables, I matched the data-set used for each minority group as closely as possible, although data availability sometimes did not allow me to do so.

Progressive Environment's Impact on Political Opportunity

Data and Methods

In this part, I examine whether residing in a progressive environment will increase one's political knowledge. First, I discuss data and variables for the case of Latinos, and the case of Asian Americans follows.

Latinos

To see if Latinos living in a progressive environment have more opportunities for active political engagement, I use the following two individual-level data-sets: the Latino National Survey and the 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation. The Latino National Survey contains 8,634 interviews of Latino residents from November 17, 2005 through August 4, 2006. The survey was conducted using

computer-assisted telephone interviewing software.¹⁷ The 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation was conducted by Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation by telephone between April 21 and June 9, 2004 among a nationally representative sample of 2,288 Latino adults, 18 years and older, who were selected at random.¹⁸ I decide to use two data-sets because one data-set alone does not contain all the questions that perfectly measure what needs to be measured. By employing the two data-sets, limits in one measure in one data-set can be complimented by the other measure in the other data-set. Along with these individual-level data-sets, for contextual variables, I employ an aggregate-level data-set. For the purpose of data analysis, I combine the individual-level data-set with the aggregate-level data-set.

For the dependent variables that represent political opportunity provided by residence in a progressive environment, I need questions that measure if respondents are knowledgeable about politics. I use two questions. The first is from the data of the Latino National Survey. In the survey, respondents were asked to answer which political party, Democrat or Republican, has a majority in the United States House of Representatives. During the period of the survey, Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives; therefore, I code one (1) for respondents who answered Democrat and consider them having knowledge on politics. Those who answered Republican or said do not know are coded as zero (0) and considered as not having political knowledge. This variable is named Opportunity 1. For the detailed discussion of question wordings and coding using the Latino National Survey, see Table 4.1.

¹⁷ The Latino National Survey Codebook. 2007. The University of Washington's Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Sexuality (WISER). <http://depts.washington.edu/uwiser/LNS.shtml>

¹⁸ The National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation Codebook. 2004. Pew Hispanic Center. <http://pewhispanic.org/datasets/signup.php?DatasetID=3>

The second question that this dissertation uses to measure political knowledge is from the 2004 National Survey of Latinos.¹⁹ This survey contains the question that indirectly taps into respondents' political knowledge on a recent tax cut. If a person is knowledgeable about this political change, it can be assumed that he or she knows more about politics, compared to the person who said that he or she is not knowledgeable about the tax cut. I name this variable Opportunity 2. Table 4.2 presents the detailed discussion of question wordings and coding using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos.

As for independent variables, I identify six sets of variables that might affect one's level of political knowledge. First, the independent variable of main interest is whether respondents reside in a progressive environment. This variable, which contains the information on the number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states, is obtained from Hero and Preuhs (2006).²⁰ The policies included are, for instance, state laws regarding fair employment, fair housing and open accommodations, the presence of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) programs, funding for those programs, certification for English as a Second Language and Bilingual curriculum instructors, welfare benefits to legal immigrants under the 1996 TANF programs, allowing immigrants to participate in state-funded food stamp programs, coverage for immigrants under state-sponsored health-care programs, and so on.²¹ In their work, Hero and Preuhs classified three types of pro-minority policies and created three scales of minority policies: civil rights scale, multicultural disposition scale and immigrant welfare scale. They found that the three scales of minority policies have a positive and high correlation between them. Also,

¹⁹ I looked for several other data-sets to see if they have questions that measure political knowledge. However, when they have proper political knowledge questions, they did either not contain enough Latinos in the sample, or did not have questions that could be included in the analysis as control variables.

²⁰ I obtain the data from email correspondences with Preuhs. Hero and Preuhs used the index in their 2006 article.

²¹ Detailed information on pro-minority policies included in creating a scale of progressive environment can be found in Hero and Preuhs (2006, 22-23).

Cronbach's alpha of the three scales is .74. Therefore, I combine the three scales and create a scale of progressive environment for the purpose of the analysis of the dissertation. A more progressive political context is reflected in higher values on the scale. I expect that this variable has a positive impact on political knowledge: a respondent who resides in a progressive context will be more likely to have political information.

Second, I control for state ideology and state education level. These two aggregate-level variables are included in order to see if the independent variable of main interest — progressive environment — in fact represents the progressive context. The progressive context could be simply a more liberal or well-educated environment. By controlling for these two variables, the impact of residence in a progressive context can be isolated from that of living in a liberal or well-educated environment. As for state ideology, I adopt Erikson, Wright, and McIver's estimate from their 2006 work. They estimated the mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls.²² Higher values on the scale indicate more liberal state policies. With regard to state education level, I use the estimates of bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003.²³

Next, I control for Latino population, segregation level, religion, and church attendance. These variables are concerned with social connectedness. When one is well connected socially, he or she will have more chance to have access to political information; thereby will be more knowledgeable about politics. The population size of one's own race and the level of residential segregation have been found to influence one's political attitude and behavior. Social psychological theories emphasize the importance of intragroup contact to group identification and consciousness, thereby

²² The estimates can be downloaded from <http://mypage.iu.edu/~wright1/correctappendix.xls>

²³ The estimates are from U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Data System, various years; and U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division.

promoting participation (Bledsoe et al. 1995; Demo and Hughes 1990). For instance, Bledsoe et al. (1995) examined the impact of residential context — where people live and who their neighbors are — on racial solidarity among blacks. They found that racial solidarity is highest among blacks who live in nearly all-black areas of the city. As they experience an increasing degree of contact with other blacks, their group awareness and cohesiveness are heightened. The results indicate that residential context and racial attitude/behavior are closely linked. Based on the previous research, my analysis includes the population size of Latinos and the level of segregation. Latino population size is obtained from the 2000 Census estimates of the percentage of Latinos at the county level, and the level of residential segregation is taken from the dissimilarity index computed from the 2000 Census data.²⁴ The impact of religious membership and church attendance on political attitude and behavior has been much documented (Harris 1994; Leege, Wald, and Kellstedt 1993; Tate 1991). For instance, Tate (1991) found that blacks who belong to a politicized church are more likely to vote in presidential primary elections. Also, considering that religion plays an important part in the life of Latinos, with almost 70% of Latinos being Catholic, and 20% being Protestants and other Christian (Perl, Greely, and Gray 2006), religion-related variables might influence one's level of political knowledge.

The fourth set of variables is demographic and socioeconomic status (SES) variables. I include gender, age, homeownership, income, and education. Gender is a dichotomous variable, coded two (2) for female and one (1) for male. Age is a continuous variable. Homeownership is a dichotomous variable with one (1) indicating owning one's residence and zero (0) meaning otherwise. As for SES variables, many scholars have repeatedly shown the importance of socioeconomic status as a determinant of political knowledge (e.g., Kenny 1992; Leighley and Nagler 1992; Verba and Nie 1972; Verba,

²⁴ William Kandel provided me with the dissimilarity indices for Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites for 2000.

Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). They argued that individuals with high levels of socioeconomic resources are more likely to have access to the skills necessary to be involved in the political process — one of which is political knowledge. Therefore, I expect that people with higher levels of SES tend to have higher levels of political knowledge. The significant impact of SES on political knowledge is generally supported whether one uses level of education, income, or occupation as the measure of social status (Verba and Nie 1972).

Next, I control for political attitudinal variables: party identification, political efficacy, political trust, political cynicism, government responsiveness and political ideology. Many works have emphasized the importance of psychological orientation in political sophistication and involvement (e.g, Abramson and Aldrich 1982; Conway 1991; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). Based on the consistent findings of the previous literature, I include them in the analysis.

Lastly, previous research emphasizes the impact of acculturation into U.S. society on Latinos' political attitude and behavior (de la Garza and Desipio 1992; Desipio 1996; Lien 1994; Pachon and DeSipio 1994). To control for the impact of acculturation, I include length of residency in the U.S. and citizenship status. A longer period of stay in the U.S. means a reduction of ties with immigrants' countries of origin, and simultaneously, a strengthening of ties in the U.S., thereby increasing the likelihood that one will have more information on American politics. Also, a longer period of stay will lead to greater fluency in English, which can be an advantage in collecting political information. Citizenship status, as well, indicates how much individuals have become acculturated into the U.S. Those who achieve U.S. citizenship are expected to be better exposed to political information.

All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond to a greater likelihood of being knowledgeable about the two political knowledge questions asked.

Additionally, one's country of origin might influence the level of political knowledge. Particularly, Cuban origin Latinos are found to differ in their political attitude and behavior from Latinos of other countries of origin (Alvarez and Bedolla 2003; Uhlaner and García 2001). However, including the country of origin as a control variable is not possible because N's per state and per county are so small that the estimates can be unreliable. Therefore, instead of including the country of origin as a control variable, I run data analysis twice, once with Cuban Latinos included and again without Cuban Latinos, to see if there is any difference.

Since my data are mixed-level data and include multiple observations from the same state, it is possible that the scores within each state may not be independent, and this could lead to residuals that are not independent within states. Thereby, it violates a standard assumption in regression analysis that errors are independently and identically distributed. Also, it is related to heteroskedasticity (Primo, Jacobsmeier, and Milyo 2007). To the extent that these observations are non-independent because they are linked by state, the observations are in the same "cluster" (Primo, Jacobsmeier, and Milyo 2007). Therefore, in the contextual analysis, it is important to correct regression coefficients' standard errors for clustered observations. The failure to account for this clustering may cause an understatement of standard errors for the estimated regression coefficients, especially for state-level variables (Moulton 1990; Steenbergen and Jones 2002). For these reasons, I use the clustered standard errors technique.²⁵ This approach uses the OLS point estimates of the slopes, but adjusts the estimates of their standard

²⁵ Another approach to deal with clustered data is to model the multilevel nature of the data explicitly by using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). However, Primo, Jacobsmeier, and Milyo (2007) argued that calculating clustered standard error is more straightforward and practical. According to them, HLM has several disadvantages: (1) because HLM involves estimating all the components of the model using MLE, assumptions about the distribution of all error terms in equations are required. Point estimation and inference will suffer if any of those assumptions do not hold; (2) HLM does not work if there are too few clusters because it is data- and computation-intensive. Similarly, Steenbergen and Jones (2002) maintained that researchers should not blindly use HLM because multilevel models make heavy demands on data and theory.

errors to account for non-independence (Primo, Jacobsmeier, and Milyo 2007).

Clustered-adjustments allow the observations within a cluster to be correlated, while requiring that observations across clusters are independent (Primo, Jacobsmeier, and Milyo 2007).

Asian Americans

To test if Asian Americans residing in a progressive state are more likely to have political opportunities for active political engagement, I use the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey. The survey was conducted among a semi-random sample of households occupied by adults from one of the six major Asian-American ancestries selected to approximate the size of the ethnic population among Asian Americans according to the 1990 Census. The survey method was telephone interviews.²⁶

For dependent variables that represent one's political knowledge, I employ the following two questions: (1) "To your best knowledge, have you heard of Dr. Wen Ho Lee, the nuclear scientist charged with downloading classified data and spent 9 months in jail?" and (2) "Have you heard of the 80-20 Initiative or a movement to help organize the presidential choice of Asian American voters?" These two questions specifically ask if a respondent is familiar with the current issues. Also, since these two issues are racially/ethnically charged issues, these questions are appropriate to measure one's level of political knowledge affected by pro-minority policy environment. The detailed

²⁶ While larger than any other comparable dataset, my data are not perfect. The Latino data covers 43 states, which allows ample room for state-to-state comparison. However, the Asian American data consists of samples of residents of five large metropolitan areas, not necessarily a representative national sample of Asian Americans. The data may not reflect Asians who live outside of these metropolitan areas or who do not live in urbanized areas. However, given that about 40 percent of the nation's Asian American population resides in the five major metropolitan areas (Lien 2000-2001), I do not think that this characteristic of the sample would seriously limit my ability to generalize to Asian American population at large. Furthermore, considering relatively limited data availability for studies of Asian Americans, I believe that the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey is the best data currently available for the dissertation.

information on variables and their coding using the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey is reported in Table 4.3.

The independent variable of main interest is progressive environment. Same as for the Latino analysis, this variable measures the number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states and is obtained from Hero and Preuhs (2006). I expect that this variable has a positive impact on the political opportunity variables.

Next, I control for state ideology and state education level. These aggregate-level data are merged with the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey for the purpose of analysis. The sources of the aggregate-level data are the same as for the Latino analysis. State ideology is from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006). State education level is employed from the Census estimates of bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old in 2003.

To control for the possible impact of social connectedness on political knowledge, I include the following variables: Asian American population, religion, and church attendance. Asian American population is measured by the question that asks, "How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic makeup is pretty evenly mixed?" I code one (1) for a response that said mostly Asian, and zero (0) for a response that said otherwise.²⁷ With respect to religion variable, I divide up the variable into six dichotomous variables. Church attendance is measured by the question, "How often do you attend religious services? Would you say every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?"

²⁷ The 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey does not carry any geographic information on respondents. In the correspondence with a principal investigator, Pei-te Lien, she confirmed that there is no such information collected in the data. For this reason, I am not able to use figure estimates of Asian American population size by county. Instead, I use the question that asks respondents' subjective estimate of their neighborhood's ethnic makeup. I believe that the use of this subjective estimate does not significantly affect the substantive results of the analysis. Also, this limit in the data does not allow me to include the residential segregation level of Asian Americans in the analysis.

Demographic and SES variables might affect one's level of political information. Therefore, the analysis includes gender, age and income. Gender is a dichotomous variable, coded two (2) for female and one (1) for male. Age is a continuous variable. Income variable represents total annual household income, which is coded as a 7-point scale from 1 (less than \$10,000) through 7 (over \$80,000).

Next, the analysis controls for political attitude variables, such as party identification and political efficacy. Party identification is divided into three dichotomous variables with Democrat, Republican and Independent. Political efficacy is measured by the question that asks, "How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decisions — a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all?"

Lastly, I include a citizenship variable.²⁸ All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond to a greater likelihood of being knowledgeable about the two political knowledge questions asked. Since my data are mixed-level data and include multiple observations from the same state, I use the clustered standard errors technique.

Data Analysis and Results

Table 4.4 presents the logistic regression results of Latino analysis using the Latino National Survey. First, as for the results that include Cuban origin Latinos, the model has a Pseudo R^2 of 0.034 and predicts 83.5 percent of cases correctly. The most important finding from the results is that the progressive environment variable is

²⁸ The analysis does not include country of origin as a control variable because N's per state and per county are so small that the estimates can be unreliable. Also, the literature on various Asian nationalities reveals that whatever the differences in their backgrounds, there is considerable commonality in their experiences in the U.S. (Kitano 1969; Kitano and Daniels 1988). Immigrants from Vietnam, Hong Kong, Korea, and other countries quickly find that whatever their particular nationality, in the U.S., they are generally considered to be Asians. Therefore, I believe that as many other researches typically do, the grouping together of Asian respondents into one category will not distort substantive findings of the dissertation.

statistically significant and in the expected direction. This means that Latinos who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to be knowledgeable about politics. The estimated change in predicted probabilities in column 2 shows that Latinos residing in the most progressive environment are about 10 percent more likely than those in the least progressive environment to have political knowledge.

The substantive findings do not change when we take a look at the results of data analysis that excludes Cuban Latino sample. The progressive environment variable turns out significant with a positive sign, which indicates that Latinos living in a progressive environment are more likely to know which political party has a majority in the United States Houses of Representatives. The magnitude of the effect is a little less than that of the results including Cuban Latino sample; however, it still is in the expected direction. Latinos residing in the most progressive context are 8.8 percent more likely than those residing in the least progressive context to be knowledgeable about politics.

Employing the 2004 National Survey of Latinos demonstrates similar findings. Table 4.5 reports the logistic regression results. The first column shows the results of the analysis including all Latino sample. This model has a Pseudo R^2 of .135 and a model χ^2 of 4832.51 that is significant with 18 degrees of freedom. The model predicts 97.3 percent of cases correctly. Again, the progressive environment turns out to be positively associated with the dependent variable. This indicates that Latinos residing in states with pro-minority policies are more likely to have political knowledge. With respect to the magnitude of the effect, Latinos residing in a state with the most pro-minority policies are about 4 percent more likely than those residing in a state with the least pro-minority policies to know about politics.

Several control variables are statistically significant. State ideology has a negative impact on political knowledge, meaning that residents in a state with strong conservatism are more likely to be knowledgeable about politics. State education level turns out significant with a positive sign. This indicates that Latinos in more educated states are

more likely to know about politics. Among control variables that represent social connectedness, only segregation level is statistically significant; the less segregated Latinos are from other ethnic groups, the more knowledgeable about politics they are.

All demographic and SES variables show statistical significance: male, young, and educated Latinos are more likely to have political information. The finding that young Latinos have more political information is consistent with previous findings that political attitudes and behavior among Latinos may differ across generations. There is evidence that socio-economic differences exist among second and third generation Latinos (Branton 2007). For instance, second generation Mexican Americans earn about 20 percent less than did the third generation Mexican Americans, and second generation Cuban Americans earn 18 percent less than the third generation Cuban Americans (Borjas 1999). These socio-economic differences among generations can result in differences in political attitudes and behavior; therefore, the finding that young Latinos are more likely to have political information might reflect the generational differences among Latinos.

Lastly, all control variables that represent one's political attitude reach statistical significance. Republicans, Democrats, and Independents are more likely than those without any party identification to have political knowledge. Those who believe in government responsiveness are more likely to have political knowledge.

To see whether the country of origin makes any difference, the next column in Table 4.5 presents the logistic results of data analysis that excludes Cuban origin Latinos. The exclusion of Cuban Latinos does not make a significant difference in terms of the impact of a progressive environment on political knowledge. The progressive environment variable is still statistically significant and in the expected direction; those living in a progressive state are more likely to be better informed of politics. The impact of control variables on the dependent variable shows similar findings to that of the data analysis including Cuban Latino sample, except that some variables, such as state

ideology, state education level, gender, and government responsiveness, do not reach statistical significance.

Next, I turn to the results of data analysis on Asian Americans. Table 4.6 reports the impact of a progressive environment on Asian Americans' political opportunity. First, Model 1 has a Pseudo R^2 of .166 and predicts 72.4 percent of cases correctly. Model 1 demonstrates that Asian Americans residing in a progressive environment are more likely to know about politics. Residents in the most progressive state are 7.5 percent more likely than those in the least progressive state to have political knowledge.

As for control variables, state ideology is positively associated with the dependent variable; Asian Americans in liberal states are more likely to have political knowledge. Age, gender, and income reach statistical significance, indicating that young, male, high income Asian Americans are more likely to have political information. Additionally, being a Democrat increases the likelihood of being knowledgeable about politics.

Model 2 in Table 4.6, which employs another political knowledge question, Opportunity 2, presents similar findings. This model has a Pseudo R^2 of .090 and predicts 81 percent of cases correctly. The independent variable of main interest, a progressive environment, turns out significant with a positive sign. This means that Asian Americans living in a state with pro-minority policies are more likely to be informed of politics. The progressive environment has the estimated change in the predicted probability of .069, which indicates that Asian Americans in the most progressive context are 6.9 percent more likely than those in the least progressive context to be knowledgeable about politics.

Progressive Environment's Impact on Political Motive

Data and Methods

The nurturing hypothesis posits that residing in a progressive environment provides Latinos and Asian Americans with strong motive for active political participation. Faced with pro-minority policies that are, in general, perceived to be

neglectful of procedural equality, Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment will feel dissatisfied, mistrusting, and resentful toward the government or political system. These negative feelings will spark Latinos and Asian Americans' willingness to participate in politics in order to improve their disadvantaged status. In this part of the dissertation, I investigate whether a progressive environment offers a motivational advantage for political engagement to Latinos and Asian Americans. First, I present data and methods for the analysis of Latinos, and then, those of Asian Americans follows.

Latinos

To test the progressive environment's impact on political motive, I rely on the same data used in examining the progressive environment's relationship with political opportunity; the Latino National Survey and the 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation.

With regard to a dependent variable, I need a measure that taps into the feelings of mistrust, dissatisfaction, and resentment that result from the perception of inequality in society. First, I employ the Latino National Survey and use two questions that ask how much respondents agree with each statement; (1) "Most people who do not get ahead should not blame the system. They have only themselves to blame." and (2) "Latinos can get ahead in the U.S. if they work hard." The first question investigates if one perceives problems in the system. If one disagrees with the statement, it means that he or she thinks that there are systemic or procedural obstacles in the society that prohibit one from getting ahead. Therefore, this measure can represent a negative perception of the system or procedure. The second statement as well can represent one's dissatisfaction or resentment about the society. If one does not agree with the second statement, it will indicate one's belief that even if he or she works hard, one cannot succeed in the society. Therefore, this question can serve as a good measure for representing one's negative

feelings toward the system or the government, which can motivate one to take part in political activities in order to rectify the current situation. The dependent variable using the first question is named Motive 1, while the dependent variable from the second question is called Motive 2.

In adopting the 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation, I use the following two questions; (1) “How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do what is right — just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?” and (2) “In the past 5 years, have you or a family member experienced discrimination?” Some might think that these two questions are not the best ones because they do not directly ask if respondents have negative feelings toward the government or the system. However, unfortunately, it is very difficult to find data that contains questions that tap into the feelings of resentment and distrust resulting from one’s perception of inequality in the society. Furthermore, my choice of these questions is supported by previous research. Much psychological literature has employed the feelings of dissatisfaction, mistrust, or resentment to measure the degree of one’s perceived procedural inequality. For instance, Folger and Martin (1984) showed in their experiment that subjects whose experimenter followed an acceptable procedure showed a level of discontent that was equally minimal regardless of whether actual outcomes were concordant or discordant with previous expectation. That is, people express their discontent when there is perceived inequality in procedures, but not always when there is inequality in outcomes. For another example, Tyler (1984) and Tyler and Caine (1981) showed that a person’s trust is undermined and he or she expresses resentment when he or she perceives the procedural injustice. Also, Alexander and Ruderman (1987) examined 2,800 employees of the U.S. federal government and found that indices of these employees’ assessments of procedural justice were significantly related to such key measures as their trust in management, job satisfaction, and evaluation of their supervisor.

Besides, with respect to the political motive for active political engagement that a progressive environment offers to Latinos and Asian Americans, the most important aspect is that many pro-minority policies do not necessarily produce ‘positive’ feelings among Latinos and Asian Americans. The nurturing hypothesis argues that despite a seemingly positive and nurturing political context, Latinos and Asian Americans would feel dissatisfied, resentful, and mistrustful. The two questions from the 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation successfully tap into those negative feelings among Latinos and Asian Americans; thereby, serving as good measures. The dependent variable from the first question is named Motive 3. I call the dependent variable from the second question Motive 4.

As for independent variables, many variables used in testing the progressive environment’s opportunity are included. I identify six sets of variables that might affect Latinos’ motive for political engagement.

First, the independent variable of main interest is whether respondents reside in a progressive environment. This variable contains the information on the number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states, which is obtained from Hero and Preuhs (2006). I expect that this variable has a positive impact on the dependent variable: Latinos who reside in a progressive context will be more likely to perceive problems in the system, to think that even if one works hard, he or she cannot succeed in the society, to feel mistrustful of the government, and to say they have experienced discrimination.

Secondly, I control for state ideology and state education level. As in testing the impact of progressive environment on political opportunity, I adopt Erikson, Wright, and McIver’s estimates of state ideology. For state education level, I use the Census estimates of bachelor’s degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003.

To control for the possible impact of social connectedness on the dependent variable, Latino population size, segregation level, religion, and church attendance are included. Also, demographic and SES variables, such as gender, age, homeownership,

income, and education, are controlled for. Next, I control for political attitudinal variables: party identification, political efficacy, political cynicism, trust, and political ideology. Lastly, the acculturation into U.S. society may affect Latinos' motive for active political engagement. Therefore, I include the length of residency in the U.S. and the citizenship status. All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond to a greater likelihood of having negative feelings and perceptions of the system or the society.

To see if respondents' country of origin makes any difference, the results of data analysis are reported, first, including all Latinos and then, excluding Cuban origin Latinos. I use the clustered standard errors technique.

Asian Americans

Do Asian Americans who reside in a progressive state have stronger motive for active political engagement? To test this question, I use the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey, combined with aggregate-level data for contextual variables.

For a dependent variable that represents negative feelings resulting from perceived inequality, I use the question that asks respondents if they ever personally experienced discrimination in the U.S.²⁹

I include several sets of independent variables. For the independent variable of main interest, a progressive environment, I use the number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states obtained from Hero and Preuhs (2006). It is expected that Asian

²⁹ This question might not be a perfect one because it does not directly tap into respondents' feelings of the system or the government; however, first, it is very difficult to find data with sufficient samples of Asian Americans and second, not many data include questions that measure perceived inequality. Furthermore, since the experience of discrimination is related with the perception of injustice or inequality and provokes dissatisfaction or resentment of the system or procedure, this question indirectly taps into what needs to be measured.

Americans who reside in a state with progressive minority policies are more likely to say that they have experienced discrimination, thereby being more motivated for active political engagement.

Next, I control for state ideology and state education level. Also, I include Asian population, religion, and church attendance to control for the possible impact of social connectedness on the dependent variable. Asian population is measured by the question that asks, “How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic makeup is pretty evenly mixed?” For religion, I divide up the variable into six dichotomous variables, and church attendance is measured by asking how often one attends religious services.

Demographic and SES variables need to be controlled for. The analysis includes gender, age, and income. Next, the analysis controls for party identification and political efficacy because these political attitudinal variables might affect one’s motive for active political involvement. The last control variable included is citizenship status. All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond to a greater likelihood of feeling discriminated against in the U.S., thereby having stronger motive for political engagement. Since my data are mixed-level data and include multiple observations from the same state, I use the clustered standard errors technique.

Data Analysis and Results

The dissertation chapter first discusses the results of Latino analysis. Table 4.7 presents the ordered logistic regression results from using the Latino National Survey. Model 1 uses the dependent variable named Motive 1. In Model 1 with Cuban Latino sample included, the progressive environment is statistically significant and in the expected direction. Latinos who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to perceive that the system is responsible for one’s failure. The results imply that those who

live in a state with pro-minority policies, while seeming to benefit from the system, tend to think that their system has problems. The results do not change when excluding Cuban origin Latinos. Still, the progressive environment variable turns out statistically significant with a positive sign.

Model 2 uses the dependent variable named Motive 2. The first column in Model 2 reports the results with all Latinos sample included and the second column without Cuban Latino sample. This model has a Pseudo R^2 of .045 (with Cuban Latino sample) and .047 (without Cuban Latino sample), and a model χ^2 of 161.90 (with Cuban Latino sample) and 952.70 (without Cuban Latino sample) that is significant with 16 degrees of freedom. The model predicts 83.3 percent (with Cuban Latino sample) and 83.0 (without Cuban Latino sample) percent of cases correctly. The results in Model 2 do not differ substantively from those in Model 1. Progressive environment is significant and in the expected direction in both analyses of including Cuban Latinos and excluding Cuban Latinos. That is, Latinos living in a progressive context are more likely to think that even though they work hard, they cannot succeed in the society. This implies that Latinos who reside in a seemingly more favorable environment tend to feel dissatisfied with or disappointed with the society or the system.

Table 4.8 reports the change in predicted probabilities derived from Model 1 and Model 2 in Table 4.7. That is, it presents the change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means. First, in Model 1, compared to those who reside in the most progressive environment, people in the least progressive context are about 20 percent more likely to say that they blame an individual for one's failure. On the other hand, when we take a look at those who said that they blame the system for one's failure, Latinos who reside in the most progressive environment are about 8 percent more likely to say so than those who live in the least progressive context. The substantive results do not change when excluding Cuban Latino

sample. In Model 2 as well, people in the least progressive context are about 14 percent more likely than those in the most progressive environment to think that if they work hard, they can succeed in the society.

Now, the dissertation turns to Table 4.9, which presents Model 3 and Model 4 from using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos. The results imply similar findings with Model 1 and 2. First, in Model 3, the negative sign of progressive environment indicates that Latinos who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to not trust the government. One would expect that if Latinos benefit from favorable pro-minority policies, they will be more likely to trust the government. However, opposing the common expectation, Latinos who reside in a more progressive context are found to be less trusting of the government, which can motivate them to be more actively engaged in politics as the expression of their mistrust and as a means to rectify the current situation. The results do not change when excluding Cuban origin Latinos sample. Table 4.10 reports the change in predicted probabilities derived from Model 3 in Table 4.9 and gives similar implications. Compared to those in the most progressive context, Latinos in the least progressive context are about 3.4 percent more likely to say that they trust the government. When we take a look at those who said they never trust the government, the probability increased about 10 percent when moving from the least progressive context to the most progressive context.

Several other control variables are statistically significant. Most variables that represent social connectedness show a positive sign. This means that those Latinos who are socially well connected are more likely to be trusting of the government. More educated Latinos tend to be less trusting of the government. Among political attitudinal variables, being a Republican and believing in government responsiveness increase the likelihood of trusting the government.

The last model for the Latino analysis is presented in Model 4 in Table 4.9. Model 4 uses the dependent variable named Motive 4. Progressive environment turns out

significant in the expected direction in the analyses of both including and excluding Cuban Latino sample. That is, ironically enough, Latinos in a seemingly more favorable environment are more likely to say that they have experienced discrimination, thereby leading them to have negative feelings toward the government or the society.

Next, I turn to the results of Asian American analysis. Table 4.11 reports the logistic regression results, with the dependent variable measuring if respondents have ever personally experienced discrimination. Same as in the Latino analysis, progressive environment is statistically significant and in the expected direction. This indicates that Asian Americans residing in a seemingly favorable environment with more pro-minority policies are more likely to say that they have experienced discrimination in the society. The estimated change in the predicted probability of progressive environment is .360, which means that Asian Americans residing in the most progressive environment are 36 percent more likely than those in the least progressive environment to say that they have experienced discrimination. Again as in the Latino analysis, the results are not what one would expect. One would think that if individuals reside in a politically favorable environment, they would feel satisfied and would be more likely to say that they have benefited from the system. However, the results of the analysis show otherwise; the residence in a progressive environment does not necessarily make Asian Americans have a positive perception of the system, which could provide Asian Americans with strong motive for active political engagement in order to rectify the current discriminated situation.

Several control variables turn out statistically significant. State ideology is positively associated with the dependent variable, which means that residents in states with strong liberalism tend to say that they have experienced discrimination. State education level is found to be negatively associated with the dependent variable; Asian Americans living in more educated states are less likely to say that they have experienced discrimination. Protestant, Democrat and high income Asian Americans tend to say that

they have experienced discrimination, while Buddhist and non-citizen Asian Americans are not likely to say that they have experienced discrimination.

Discussion

The results of data analysis in this chapter demonstrate that the idea behind the nurturing hypothesis is sound. A progressive environment offers both opportunity and motive for active political engagement to Latinos and Asian Americans. By increasing one's political knowledge, a residence in the progressive environment offers more opportunities for active political participation. As can be seen in the data analysis presented in this chapter, both Latinos and Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to be able to answer political knowledge questions correctly. Being more knowledgeable about politics, Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive context will find it easier to be engaged in politics.

With respect to the progressive environment's impact on political motive as well, the results of the data analysis show that a progressive environment provides Latinos and Asian Americans with strong motive for active political engagement. Ironically, those living in a state with pro-minority policies are more likely to have negative perceptions of the system or political procedures and to have experienced discrimination in the society. These negative perceptions and feelings that Latinos and Asian Americans have toward the system will motivate them to be more actively involved in politics in order to improve their disadvantaged status.

In addition, the results in this chapter offer both a complement to and a departure from the minority empowerment literature. The empowerment literature finds that minorities residing in empowered areas have higher levels of political knowledge. For instance, Bobo and Gilliam (1990) found that blacks in high empowerment areas become more knowledgeable about politics. In a similar vein, Banducci, Donovan, and Karp (2004) found that in both the U.S. and New Zealand, minorities living in empowered

areas are more likely to recall the name of their representative, which indicates that they are more knowledgeable about politics. This finding of the minority empowerment literature nicely complements what is found in this chapter.

However, the results in this chapter also depart from the minority empowerment literature. This chapter finds that Latinos and Asian Americans living in a favorable environment are more likely to have negative perception of the system or society and to be less trusting of the government. In contrast, the empowerment literature finds that minorities residing in empowered areas are less alienated; they are more likely to feel trustful toward the government and to have more positive evaluation of governmental responsiveness. For instance, Howell and Fagan (1988) and Bobo and Gilliam (1990) found that black citizens in a more empowered area are much more trusting. Similarly, Banducci, Donovan, and Karp (2004) showed that empowered minorities have a more positive evaluation of the government. This difference might result from a different operationalization of a progressive environment and an empowered area. However, since these two concepts are related with how well minorities are represented in the political system and are closely linked with one another, the dissertation's departure from the literature opens an interesting venue for further research.

In sum, this chapter offers empirical evidence that the theoretical background of the nurturing hypothesis is solid. Therefore, I turn to the next chapter that begins a probe into the nurturing hypothesis.

Table 4.1: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the Latino National Survey

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Opportunity 1	Question: Which political party, Democrat or Republican, has a majority in the United States House of Representatives? (1=respondents who answered Democrat, 0=respondents who answered Republican or said do not know.)
Motive 1 (system blame)	Question: Would you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree with the following statement? Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system. They have only themselves to blame (1=strongly agree, 2=somewhat agree, 3=somewhat disagree, 4=strongly disagree).
Motive 2 (Latino success)	Question: For the following question, please indicate how much you agree with the statement. Latinos can get ahead in the United States if they work hard (1=strongly agree, 2=somewhat agree, 3=somewhat disagree, 4=strongly disagree).
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Latino population	County-level Latino population percentage from the U.S. Census data
Segregation level	Dissimilarity index computed from the 2000 Census data
Religion	Two dummy variables for Protestant and Catholic
Demographics and SES	
Age	Continuous variable
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Income	Question: Which of the following best describes the total income earned by all members of your household during 2004? Coded as a 7-point scale from 1 (below \$15,000) through 7 (above \$65,000)
Homeownership	Question: Do you own or rent your residence in the United States? Coded as 1 if one owns one's residence and 0 if otherwise
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent

Table 4.1 Continued

Political cynicism	Question: Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: Government is pretty much run by just a few big interests looking out for themselves, and not for the benefit of all the people. Coded as 1 if strongly agree, 2 if somewhat agree, 3 if somewhat disagree, and 4 if strongly disagree.
Political efficacy	Question: Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. Coded as 1 if strongly agree, 2 if somewhat agree, 3 if somewhat disagree, and 4 if strongly disagree.
Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you trust the government to do what is right — just about always, most of the time, some of the time or never? (1=never, 2=some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Political ideology	Question: Do you consider yourself more like a liberal, or more like a conservative, or truly middle-of-the-road? Coded as 1 if lean liberal, 2 if firmly middle of the road, and 3 if lean conservative.
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Are you a naturalized American citizen? Coded as 1 if one says yes and 0 if one says no.
Length of residency	Question: When did you first arrive to live in the US? Respondents are asked to write year of arrival. I subtracted the year from 2008.

Table 4.2: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Opportunity 2	Question: Overall, do you think the tax cuts enacted in 2001 have been good for the economy, bad for the economy, or don't you think they've made much difference one way or the other? (1=good for economy, 2=bad for the economy, 3=haven't made much difference, 4=not aware of tax cuts). I combined responses to 1, 2, and 3 as 1 for knowledgeable respondents, and 4 as 0 for not knowledgeable respondents.
Motive 3 (Trust)	Question: How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do what is right (1=never, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Motive 4 (Experience of discrimination)	Question: In the past 5 years, have you or a family member experienced discrimination? (0=no, 1=yes)
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Latino population	County-level Latino population percentage from the U.S. Census data
Segregation level	Dissimilarity index computed from the 2000 Census data
Religion	Three dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, and other religions
Church attendance	Question: Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? Would you say more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 98
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Education	Coded as a 8-point scale from 1 (none, or grade 1-8) through 8 (post-graduate training/professional schooling after college)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent

Table 4.2 Continued

Government responsiveness	Question: Please tell me whether you agree with this statement: Political leaders do not care much what people like me think (1=agree strongly, 2=agree somewhat, 3=disagree somewhat, 4=disagree strongly)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Now we would like to ask you about US citizenship. Are you a US citizen, currently applying for citizenship, planning to apply for citizenship, not planning to become a citizen?
Length of residency	Question: How many years have you lived in the United States? From 0 to 84

Table 4.3: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Opportunity 1	Question: To your best knowledge, have you heard of Dr. Wen Ho Lee, the nuclear scientist charged with downloading classified data and spent 9 months in jail? (1=yes, 0=no).
Opportunity 2	Question: Have you heard of the 80-20 Initiative to help organize the presidential choice of Asian American voters? (1=yes, 0=no).
Motive (Experience of discrimination)	Question: Have you ever personally experienced discrimination in the United States? (1=yes, 0=no).
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data.
Social Connectedness	
Religion	Six dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and other religions.
Church attendance	Question: How often do you attend religious services? (1=never, 2=a few times a year, 3=once or twice a month, 4=almost every week, 5=every week)
Asian population	Question: How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic make up is pretty evenly mixed? (1=mostly Asian, 0=otherwise)
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 97
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Income	Total annual household income. Coded as a 7-point scale from 1 (less than \$10,000) through 7 (over \$80,000)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political efficacy	Question: How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decisions? (1=none at all, 2=a little, 3=a moderate amount, 4=a lot)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Are you planning to apply for U.S. citizenship or to become a U.S. citizen? (1=yes, 0=no)

Table 4.4: Progressive Environment's Impact on Latino Political Opportunity Using the Latino National Survey

Variable	With Cuban sample		Without Cuban sample	
	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.089* (.05)	.101	.075* (.05)	.088
State Ideology	-.036 (.03)	-.113	-.025 (.03)	-.076
State Education Level	-.000 (.00)	-.001	-.000 (.00)	-.012
Social Connectedness				
Latino population	-.010* (.01)	-.110	-.010 (.01)	-.104
Segregation level	1.336 (1.18)	.107	1.582 (1.16)	.129
Catholic	.085 (.41)	.011	-.027 (.38)	.004
Other religion	.164 (.53)	.022	-.082 (.52)	-.011
Demographics and SES				
Age	-.011 (.01)	-.084	-.005 (.01)	-.038
Gender	-.204 (.18)	-.027	-.175 (.18)	-.023
Income	-.000 (.00)	-.014	-.000 (.00)	-.014
Home ownership	.046 (.42)	.006	.115 (.42)	.015
Political Attitude				
Republican	.243 (.35)	.034	.430 (.41)	.064
Democrat	.702** (.29)	.098	.740** (.31)	.106
Independent	-.009 (.26)	-.001	.105 (.28)	.014
Political cynicism	.004 (.12)	.002	-.004 (.12)	-.002
Efficacy	.035 (.08)	.014	.063 (.08)	.026
Trust	.224 (.16)	.092	.220 (.16)	.092
Political ideology	.178 (.23)	.046	.206 (.25)	.055
Acculturation				
Citizenship status	.004 (.22)	.001	.072 (.21)	.010
Length of residency	.002 (.02)	.017	-.002 (.02)	-.024
Constant	-3.546*** (1.06)	-	-3.715*** (1.23)	-
N	571		540	
Pseudo R ²	.034		.034	
% Correctly Predicted	83.5		83.1	

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is Opportunity 1 that measures whether respondents know which political party, Democrat or Republican, has a majority in the United States House of Representatives. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 4.5: Progressive Environment's Impact on Latino Political Opportunity Using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Variable	With Cuban sample		Without Cuban sample	
	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.170* (.09)	.038	.226** (.11)	.038
State Ideology	-.056*** (.02)	-.017	-.035 (.03)	-.006
State Education Level	.000** (.00)	.016	.000 (.00)	.000
Social Connectedness				
Latino population	-.007 (.01)	-.010	.004 (.02)	.003
Segregation level	-.054* (.03)	-.033	-.094*** (.03)	-.032
Catholic	.448 (.89)	.007	.766 (.98)	.007
Protestant	-.109 (.82)	-.002	.190 (.86)	.001
Other religion	.185 (.91)	.003	.815 (1.00)	.005
Church attendance	-.134 (.09)	-.009	-.054 (.15)	-.002
Demographics and SES				
Age	-.025*** (.01)	-.050	-.045*** (.01)	-.093
Gender	-.680** (.31)	-.010	-.408 (.51)	-.003
Education	.164** (.08)	.017	.240** (.11)	.014
Political Attitude				
Republican	1.584*** (.34)	.017	2.326*** (.85)	.011
Democrat	1.128*** (.25)	.015	2.048*** (.35)	.014
Independent	1.738*** (.46)	.018	1.766*** (.42)	.010
Government responsiveness	.318** (.14)	.013	.315 (.26)	.007
Acculturation				
Citizenship status	-.171 (.21)	-.008	-.464 (.30)	-.016
Length of residency	.010 (.01)	.008	.030 (.02)	.009
Constant	4.715*** (1.10)	-	6.330*** (1.23)	-
N	1387		1120	
χ^2 (df=18)	4832.51		14121.52	
Pseudo R ²	.135		.197	
% Correctly Predicted	97.3		97.9	

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is Opportunity 2 that measures whether respondents are aware of the tax cut enacted in 2001. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

Table 4.6: Progressive Environment's Impact on Asian American Political Opportunity Using the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.047*** (.01)	.075	.090*** (.01)	.069
State Ideology	.042*** (.01)	.068	-.028* (.02)	-.027
State Education Level	.000 (.00)	.026	.000*** (.00)	.139
Social Connectedness				
Asian American population	.186 (.23)	.043	.612*** (.14)	.092
Catholic	-.985*** (.23)	-.238	-1.068*** (.30)	-.116
Protestant	.756* (.44)	.158	-.198 (.15)	-.025
Christian	.236 (.28)	.054	-.718*** (.27)	-.083
Buddhist	-.319 (.36)	-.076	-.370 (.35)	-.045
Hindu	-.723*** (.20)	-.177	-1.564*** (.43)	-.133
Other religion	-1.221*** (.09)	.296	-1.021 (.63)	-.099
Church attendance	-.341*** (.13)	-.308	.183** (.09)	.098
Demographics and SES				
Age	.030*** (.00)	.459	.011 (.01)	.129
Gender	-.381** (.19)	-.089	-.029 (.09)	-.004
Income	.292*** (.02)	.400	.016 (.07)	.013
Political Attitude				
Republican	.338 (.24)	.076	-.066 (.58)	-.009
Democrat	.407** (.18)	.094	-.031 (.19)	-.004
Independent	-.012 (.24)	-.003	-.279 (.34)	-.035
Efficacy	-.004 (.07)	-.003	.086 (.08)	.035
Acculturation				
Citizenship status	.064 (.09)	.015	.244* (.14)	.034
Constant	-1.043** (.45)	-	-4.755*** (.88)	-
N	813		811	
Pseudo R ²	.166		.090	
% Correctly Predicted	72.4		81.0	

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable in Model 1 is Opportunity 1 and the dependent variable in Model 2 is Opportunity 2. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 4.7: Progressive Environment's Impact on Latino Motive Using the Latino National Survey

Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	With Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	Without Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	With Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	Without Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)
Progressive Environment	.093* (.06)	.096* (.06)	.125* (.07)	.129* (.07)
State Ideology	-.038 (.03)	-.043 (.03)	-.062** (.03)	-.061** (.03)
State Education Level	.000 (.00)	.000 (.00)	.000 (.00)	.000 (.00)
Social Connectedness				
Latino population	-.005 (.01)	-.004 (.01)	.003 (.01)	.002 (.01)
Segregation level	.303 (.72)	.262 (.74)	-1.247 (.80)	-1.493 (.94)
Catholic	-.403 (.41)	-.508 (.39)	-.800 (.67)	-.742 (.70)
Other religion	-.156 (.47)	-.211 (.45)	-.114 (.57)	.006 (.56)
Church attendance	-.030 (.09)	-.019 (.08)	.072 (.11)	.054 (.12)
Demographics and SES				
Age	-.011 (.01)	-.009 (.01)	.001 (.01)	.002 (.01)
Gender	.173 (.13)	.188 (.14)	.167 (.28)	.156 (.32)
Income	.000 (.00)	.000 (.00)	-.000 (.00)	-.000 (.00)
Education	-.055 (.06)	-.051 (.06)	.070 (.07)	.054 (.07)
Home ownership	-.350 (.23)	-.402* (.23)	-.073 (.31)	-.135 (.34)
Political Attitude				
Republican	.029 (.40)	.128 (.42)	-.028 (.44)	.117 (.47)
Democrat	.160 (.23)	.204 (.23)	-.198 (.23)	-.181 (.23)
Independent	-.026 (.25)	-.096 (.26)	-.450** (.22)	-.553** (.24)
Political cynicism	.191*** (.07)	.194*** (.07)	.194 (.12)	.158 (.12)
Efficacy	.327*** (.07)	.292*** (.08)	.172 (.17)	.182 (.18)
Unfair experience	-.029 (.07)	-.015 (.08)	.387*** (.12)	.399*** (.11)
Political ideology	-.182 (.19)	-.187 (.19)	-.221 (.29)	-.153 (.32)
Acculturation				

Table 4.7 Continued

Citizenship status	.232 (.26)	.189 (.26)	-.008 (.31)	-.025 (.30)
Length of residency	.013 (.01)	.011 (.02)	.003 (.01)	.004 (.01)
Cut point #1	1.534 (.95)	1.618 (.99)	3.264** (1.34)	3.253**(1.47)
Cut point #2	2.370** (.93)	2.433** (.97)	4.904*** (1.34)	4.865***(1.47)
Cut point #3	3.431***(.93)	3.505***(.98)	5.960*** (1.46)	5.924***(1.58)
N	548	518	558	528
χ^2 (df=16)	157.95	451.84	161.90	952.70
Pseudo R ²	.028	.028	.045	.047
% Correctly Predicted	55.1	55.2	83.3	83.0

Note: Entries are ordered logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable in Model 1 is Motive 1 (system blame) and the dependent variable in Model 2 is Motive 2 (Latino success). Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 4.8: The Change in Predicted Probabilities Derived from Model 1 and Model 2 in Table 4.7

Model 1								
Independent Variable of Main Interest	With Cuban sample				Without Cuban sample			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Progressive Environment	-.204	.049	.078	.077	-.211	.049	.082	.080

Model 2								
Independent Variable of Main Interest	With Cuban sample				Without Cuban sample			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Progressive Environment	-.138	.103	.022	.013	-.145	.107	.024	.014

Note: Change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means (1=strongly agree, 2=somewhat agree, 3=somewhat disagree, 4=strongly disagree).

Table 4.9: Progressive Environment's Impact on Latino Motive Using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Variable	Model 3		Model 4			
	With Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	Without Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	With Cuban sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max	Without Cuban Sample Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	-.080** (.03)	-.074*** (.02)	.096*** (.02)	.228	.074*** (.02)	.182
State Ideology	.017 (.01)	.015 (.01)	-.037*** (.01)	-.216	-.025*** (.01)	-.150
State Education Level	.000 (.00)	.000 (.00)	-.000 (.00)	-.054	-.000 (.00)	-.084
Social Connectedness						
Latino population	.008*** (.00)	.008** (.00)	-.007 (.00)	-.150	-.004 (.00)	-.094
Segregation level	-.004 (.01)	-.004 (.01)	-.013** (.00)	-.145	-.015*** (.01)	-.174
Catholic	.496*** (.14)	.527*** (.16)	-.165 (.21)	-.038	-.211 (.30)	-.050
Protestant	.589*** (.11)	.709*** (.19)	-.016 (.23)	-.004	-.012 (.28)	-.003
Other religion	.332** (.13)	.383* (.21)	-.135 (.17)	-.030	-.110 (.22)	-.026
Church attendance	.069** (.02)	.075*** (.03)	.082** (.03)	.092	.087** (.03)	.102
Demographics and SES						
Age	.000 (.00)	-.003 (.00)	-.021*** (.00)	-.323	-.020*** (.00)	-.319
Gender	-.077 (.06)	-.082 (.08)	.153 (.13)	.035	.157 (.14)	.037
Education	-.055* (.02)	-.067*** (.02)	.126*** (.03)	.202	.123*** (.03)	.204

Table 4.9
Continued

Political Attitude						
Republican	.861*** (.19)	.868*** (.25)	-.466 (.28)	-.102	-.634** (.31)	-.141
Democrat	-.267 (.18)	-.260 (.20)	.231 (.21)	.053	.227 (.21)	.054
Independent	-.079 (.20)	-.052 (.20)	-.031 (.18)	-.007	.006 (.18)	.002
Government responsiveness	.277*** (.04)	.312*** (.03)	-.192** (.07)	-.129	-.184** (.08)	-.129
Acculturation						
Citizenship status	.144 (.08)	.053 (.06)	-.018 (.07)	-.012	-.011 (.06)	-.008
Length of residency	-.010 (.01)	-.007 (.01)	.000 (.00)	.006	.001 (.00)	.017
Cut point #1	-2.401*** (.71)	-2.386*** (.73)				
Cut point #2	1.132 (.61)	1.157* (.64)				
Cut point #3	2.781*** (.58)	2.855*** (.64)				
Constant			-.055 (.61)		.258 (.61)	
N	1851	1498	1889		1527	
χ^2 (df=18)	7196.28	7210.94	1860.14		1029.85	
Pseudo R ²	.061	.052	.066		.053	
% Correctly Predicted	56.0	58.3	65.3		63.2	

Note: Entries in Model 3 are ordered logit coefficients. Entries in Model 4 are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable in Model 3 is Motive 3 (trust) and the dependent variable in Model 4 is Motive 4 (Experience of discrimination). Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<0.01

Table 4.10: The Change in Predicted Probabilities Derived from Model 3 in Table 4.9

	Model 3							
	With Cuban sample				Without Cuban sample			
Independent Variable of Main Interest	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Progressive Environment	.034	.177	-.116	-.095	.034	.158	-.114	-.078

Note: Change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means (1=never, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always).

Table 4.11: Progressive Environment's Impact on Asian American Motive Using the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Variable	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.295*** (.03)	.360
State Ideology	.171*** (.01)	.270
State Education Level	-.000*** (.00)	-.289
Social Connectedness		
Asian American population	.011 (.23)	.003
Catholic	-.050 (.13)	-.012
Protestant	.599* (.31)	.148
Christian	.100 (.16)	.024
Buddhist	-.633* (.38)	-.142
Hindu	-.098 (.20)	-.023
Other religion	.345 (.48)	.085
Church attendance	-.006 (.02)	-.006
Demographics and SES		
Age	.000 (.00)	.007
Gender	.042 (.07)	.010
Income	.121*** (.03)	.170
Political Attitude		
Republican	.177 (.27)	.043
Democrat	.349** (.15)	.084
Independent	.326 (.38)	.080
Efficacy	-.013 (.06)	-.009
Acculturation		
Citizenship status	-.348* (.19)	-.081
Constant	-2.161*** (.49)	
N	817	
Pseudo R ²	.038	
% Correctly Predicted	60.7	

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is Motive (Experience of discrimination). Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

CHAPTER 5

NURTURING HYPOTHESIS 1: RESIDENCE IN A PROGRESSIVE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON POLITICAL INTEREST

In Chapter 3, I proposed the three sets of hypotheses and named them the nurturing hypotheses. In the following three chapters, I test each of them. First, this chapter examines nurturing hypothesis 1, which investigates whether residence in a progressive environment will increase residents' political interest. Specifically, nurturing hypothesis 1 posits that (1) Latinos who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to be interested in politics and (2) Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to be interested in politics. The reasoning behind nurturing hypothesis 1 is that as shown in Chapter 4, a progressive environment offers Latinos and Asian Americans political opportunity and motive for having interest in politics. Due to adoption of many pro-minority policies, Latinos and Asian Americans living in progressive contexts have more political opportunities by being able to gain political information. Also, salient racial/ethnic issues in a progressive environment make Latinos and Asian Americans have a negative perception of the system or politics, which serves as a strong motive for being interested in politics.

This chapter first discusses the case of Latinos and then the case of Asian Americans. Since I use two separate data-sets for Latinos and Asian Americans, questions used for each variable slightly differ from one minority group to the other. However, I attempt to match them as closely as possible. By including similar variables in the analyses for each group, the regression models will highlight similar processes of political engagement across both Latinos and Asian Americans residing in progressive environments.

Data and Methods

Latinos

An examination of the contextual impact on individuals' political interest requires a research design that incorporates both individual and aggregate-level data. The individual-level data-set for Latino analysis comes from the 2004 National Survey of Latinos. The aggregate-level data-set of main interest, which contains the information on the number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states, is drawn from Hero and Preuhs (2006). Individual and aggregate-level data-sets are merged to provide a data-set proper for the purpose of my analysis.

The dependent variable in testing nurturing hypothesis 1 is political interest. The 2004 National Survey of Latinos asks the question, "How much attention would you say you pay to politics and government? A lot, a fair amount, not much, or none at all?" This question directly asks if respondents are interested in politics and measures the degree of political interest.

The independent variable of main interest is a progressive policy environment, which represents states' progressive minority policies since the 1960s. Due to political opportunity and motive that a progressive environment provides, it is expected that Latinos residing in a progressive environment will be more likely to be interested in politics. Therefore, Latinos in a state with many pro-minority policies will tend to say that they pay attention to politics and government. Table 5.1 reports the detailed discussion of questions and their coding for the Latino analysis.

To see the impact of residence in a progressive environment on political interest, data analysis controls for variables that might affect the level of political interest. First, state ideology and state education level need to be controlled for. Nurturing hypothesis 1 suggests the positive impact of the residence in a progressive environment on political interest; however, a liberal or a well-educated environment can also increase residents'

political interest. Therefore, to test nurturing hypothesis 1, it is necessary to control for state ideology and state education level and isolate the impact of a progressive environment from that of being liberal or being well-educated. By doing so, we can clearly see the impact of a progressive environment on political interest. The sources of these two variables are the same as mentioned in Chapter 4.

Next, the analysis controls for variables that represent one's social connectedness, such as religion, church attendance, Latino population, and segregation level. Putnam (1995) and Teixeira (1992) maintained that the decline in political participation over the past 20 years is caused by the lack of connectedness between individuals and the larger political community. Particularly, the impact of religious membership and church attendance on political mobilization has been much documented (Harris 1994; Legee, Wald, and Kellstedt 1993; Tate 1991). For instance, Tate (1991) found that blacks who belong to a politicized church are more likely to vote in presidential primary elections. Next, the population size of one's own race and the level of residential segregation have been found to influence one's political engagement. Social psychological theories emphasize the importance of intragroup contact to group identification and consciousness, thereby promoting political engagement (Bledsoe et al. 1995; Demo and Hughes 1990). In short, if one has an active social life, he or she might be more likely to be stimulated for political life as well, which will increase one's level of political interest.

I include three variables that represent one's group consciousness. Membership in disadvantaged minority communities leads people to develop strong feelings of group attachment and group consciousness. These feelings create the emergence of group norms that call for political action to improve the status of the group (Miller et al. 1981). Some scholars have investigated group consciousness to account for blacks' higher participation than whites after controlling for socioeconomic status (Guterbock and London 1983; Williams, Babchuk, and Johnson 1973). Also, Wilcox and Gomez (1990) found that group identity significantly increases black participation. In a similar vein,

suggesting four components of group consciousness — group identification, polar affect, polar power, and system blame, Miller et al. (1981) found that group consciousness is associated with participation for blacks, women, and the poor. Although my data does not include all measures of the four components of group consciousness, I attempt to include several measures to control for the possible impact of group consciousness on political interest.

The analysis includes demographics and SES variables (age, gender, education), and political attitudinal variables. The effects of demographics and SES in political involvement have been well documented (e.g., Kenny 1992; Leighley and Nagler 1992; Verba and Nie 1972; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). As for political attitudinal variables, the analysis includes party identification and political trust. Many works have emphasized the importance of psychological orientation in political involvement (Abramson and Aldrich 1982; Conway 1991; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). Having a party identification will increase one's political interest, compared to those without a party identification. And, those who feel trusting toward the government will be more likely to show interest in politics.

Lastly, since the subject of the analysis is Latinos who comprise a large immigrant group, the role of acculturation in U.S. society needs to be considered. Previous research emphasizes the role of acculturation into U.S. society in political participation (de la Garza and Desipio 1992; Desipio 1996; Lien 1994; Pachon and DeSipio 1994). It is possible that the better acculturated Latinos are, the higher their level of political interest is. To control for the impact of acculturation, the analysis includes length of residency in the U.S., citizenship status, and English ability. Jones-Correa (1998) maintained that a longer period of stay in the U.S. means a reduction of ties with immigrants' countries of origin, and simultaneously, a strengthening of ties in the U.S., thereby increasing the level of political involvement. Bass and Casper (1999) agreed and claimed that years in the U.S. correspond with greater familiarity with the country's

political system, which makes it easier for minorities to participate in politics. Also, they explained that a longer period of stay will lead to greater fluency in English, which can be an advantage in interaction with political institutions. With respect to English ability, de la Garza and Desipio (1992) argued that primary language can significantly influence political engagement, because English-speaking Latinos have greater access to the resources necessary to participate. Citizenship status, as well, indicates how much individuals become acculturated into the U.S. Those who achieved U.S. citizenship are expected to be more actively engaged in politics.

All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond with a greater likelihood of being interested in politics. Also, to see if one's country of origin influences the level of political interest, the analysis is run twice, first, including all Latinos and then, excluding Cuban origin Latinos.

Since my data are mixed-level data and include multiple observations from the same state, I use the clustered standard errors technique in order to correct regression coefficients' standard errors for clustered observations.

Asian Americans

For the analysis of Asian Americans, I use the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey. The dependent variable — political interest — is measured by the question that asks “How interested are you in politics and what’s going on in government in general? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, only slightly interested, or not at all interested in politics and what goes on in government?” Table 5.2 summarizes questions and their coding for the analysis of Asian Americans.

The main independent variable — progressive environment — is measured in the same way as in the Latino analysis, drawing upon Hero and Preuhs (2006)'s estimates of pro-minority policies by U.S. states.

The Asian American analysis also includes two aggregate-level variables — state ideology and state education level — as control variables. As for variables that represent one's social connectedness, the analysis includes the following: Asian American population, religion, and church attendance. Age, gender, income, and marital status are included to control for the possible impacts of demographics and SES in political interest.

The variables that measure political attitude need to be controlled for. The analysis includes party identification, political efficacy, trust, and knowledge. These variables are expected to have a positive relationship with political interest.

Next, the analysis includes responses to immigrant-related issues. Immigrants have been found to display a greater concern and sensitivity over immigrant-related policies (Binder, Polinard and Wrinkle 1997; de la Garza et al. 1991; Newton 2000). The greater the concern over these issues, the more likely Asian Americans will be interested in politics.

Another control variable included is experience of discrimination as a proxy for group consciousness. The concept of group consciousness connotes a complex phenomenon which requires several measures to begin to understand. However, the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey does not carry sufficient questions that tap into one's group consciousness. One question that indirectly represents the concept of group consciousness is the one that asks if one has ever personally experienced discrimination in the U.S. Experience of discrimination helps frame one's thought in racial/ethnic terms, which can strengthen one's attachment to his or her own racial group. Therefore, as a proxy for group consciousness, I include experience of discrimination. Lastly, citizenship status and English ability are included in the analysis to control for the possible impact of acculturation on political interest. I use the clustered standard errors technique for the data analysis of Asian Americans.

Data Analysis and Results

Table 5.3 presents the results of data analysis for Latinos. The results support nurturing hypothesis 1 for the case of Latinos. First, when including all Latinos, progressive environment turns out significant in the expected direction, indicating that Latinos residing in a progressive environment are more likely to pay attention to politics. The results do not change when excluding Cuban origin Latinos. Still, progressive environment is statistically significant with a positive sign. Therefore, residence in progressive states is more likely to increase Latinos' political interest, regardless of what countries they are from. Table 5.4 reports the change in predicted probabilities of political interest for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means. When we take a look at those who said that they pay no attention at all to politics, Latinos in the least progressive environment are 2.4 percent more likely to say so than those in the most progressive environment. In contrast, when we examine those who said that they pay a lot of attention to politics, Latinos in the most progressive context are 6 percent more likely to say so, compared to those in the least progressive context.

Several control variables reach statistical significance. Church attendance is found to have a positive impact on political interest. Considering that many Latinos are religious, the results imply that Latinos' relatively strong religiosity connects them socially, which leads them to be more involved in politics. Age, gender, and education influence Latinos' political interest. Old, male, well-educated Latinos are more likely to say that they pay attention to politics. All political attitudinal variables have an impact on one's level of political interest. Republicans, Democrats, Independents tend to have higher level of political interest, compared to those who said they consider themselves something else or said they do not know. Also, those who trust the government are more likely to say that they pay attention to politics.

As for variables that measure acculturation, English ability is found to have a positive impact on political interest: Latinos who can speak English better are more likely to be interested in politics. However, interestingly, length of residency has a negative influence on political interest, indicating that the shorter the time Latinos have resided in the U.S., the more they are interested in politics. It was expected that the long length of residency means acculturation into the U.S., which will lead to more interest in politics. The unexpected findings of relationship between the length of residency and political interest among Latinos require further research. However, it might be that as Latinos reside longer in the U.S., they gradually lose their interest in politics. That is, at first when Latinos arrived in the U.S., they might have stronger interest in how politics function in their new home country. However, as they have become accustomed to the new country's political system, they might experience disappointment or dissatisfaction toward politics, which makes them to lose interest in politics. Michelson (2001) argued that acculturation into American society is associated with lower levels of Latino political trust; more acculturated Latinos are more likely to view the government as wasteful and to perceive government officials as crooked. Therefore, it is possible that as Latinos reside in the U.S. for a long time, they become mistrustful toward politics and government, and accordingly lose interest in politics.

Next, I turn to the results of data analysis for Asian Americans. Table 5.5 reports the results of ordered logistic regression. Essentially, the results support nurturing hypothesis 1. Progressive environment is statistically significant in the expected direction. Same as for Latinos, Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to have political interest. Table 5.6 gives similar implications. It reports the change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means. First, when we examine respondents who said that they are not at all interested in politics, the predicted probability of saying so

decreases by about 7 percent for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment. In contrast, when we look at those who said that they are very interested in politics, the probability of saying so increases by about 13 percent for an increase from the least progressive context to the most progressive context.

As for other control variables, state ideology is found to have a positive impact on Asian Americans' political interest. This means that those living in states with liberalism tend to have more interest in politics. Protestant, old, and male Asian Americans are more likely to say that they pay attention to politics and what is going on in government.

However, income does not reach statistical significance. The implication of this result is similar to Leighley and Vedlitz's (1999) claim that the empirical evidence on the importance of SES in political engagement is mixed. Leighley and Vedlitz (1999) pointed out that most studies that confirm the importance of SES have relied on samples of whites and that the studies simply assume SES works similarly across ethnic groups. For instance, Lien (1994) found that education influences participation among Latinos, but not Asian Americans. Since education and income are equally used as a proxy for SES, Lien's results are consistent with that of this chapter.³⁰ Similarly, Dawson, Brown, and Allen (1990), Harris (1994), and Tate (1993) found that education and income are only occasionally related to participation among blacks. Given the mixed findings, the impact of SES on Latinos' or Asian Americans' political engagement needs to be further investigated.

With respect to political attitudinal variables, Democrats, Independents, those who are knowledgeable about politics and who are politically efficacious are more likely to say that they are interested in politics.

³⁰ The data-set used for Asian American analysis asks respondents' education, but does not release the information to the public.

Discussion

The results of data analysis are supportive of nurturing hypothesis 1. In both cases of Latinos and Asian Americans, this chapter shows that residence in a progressive environment increases residents' political interest.

The results of this chapter run counter to the assumption of the well-known threat hypothesis. The threat hypothesis argues that living in a threatening environment provokes a sense of anxiety, which leads to more active engagement in politics. The assumption underlying the threat hypothesis is that living in a non-threatening or favorable environment, conversely, will not motivate individuals to be engaged in politics. However, this chapter shows that this is not the case. Latinos and Asian Americans in states with many pro-minority policies tend to say that they pay attention to politics and what goes on government. That is, residence in a seemingly favorable or nurturing context does not necessarily provoke a sense of satisfaction nor demobilize Latinos and Asian Americans. On the contrary, this chapter shows that Latinos and Asian Americans that seem to benefit from the system through pro-minority policies are more likely to show strong interest in politics.

This is because of the interesting characteristics of a progressive environment; a progressive environment provides Latinos and Asian Americans with opportunity and motive for active political engagement. As shown in Chapter 4, residing in a progressive state offers Latinos and Asian Americans more political information. Since individuals need information for their political activities, having more information will facilitate their gaining political interest.

Furthermore, the psychological dynamics underlying the minds of Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states explain the process through which Latinos and Asian Americans become attentive to politics. It should be emphasized that there is the "irony" of living in progressive states leading to a more negative perception of the system or politics. Due to high publicity regarding the adoption of minority policies, Latinos and

Asian Americans residing in progressive states have been more exposed to racial/ethnic issues; therefore, as social identity theory posits, they will be more likely to frame politics in racial terms and to be more sensitive to the issue of racial equality. The perceived lack of progress made in advancing procedural equality will be more salient to Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states, which in turn will enhance their need to be interested in politics in order to improve their disadvantaged minority status.

In sum, this chapter examined nurturing hypothesis 1 and demonstrated that residence in a progressive environment has a positive influence on Latinos' and Asian Americans' political interest.

Table 5.1: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Political Interest	Question: How much attention would you say you pay to politics and government? A lot, a fair amount, not much, or none at all? (1=none at all, 2=not much, 3=a fair amount, 4=a lot).
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Latino population	County-level Latino population percentage from the U.S. Census data
Segregation level	Dissimilarity index computed from the 2000 Census data
Religion	Three dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, and other religions
Church attendance	Question: Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? Would you say more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 98
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Education	Coded as a 8-point scale from 1 (none, or grade 1-8) through 8 (post-graduate training/professional schooling after college)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do what is right? (1=never, 2=some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Group consciousness	
Group consciousness 1	Question: Which comes closer to your views: 1. The U.S. has a single core Anglo-Protestant culture, 2. The U.S. is made up of many cultures (1=single culture, 2=many cultures)
Group consciousness 2	Question: Do you think the U.S. should increase the number of Latin Americans allowed to come and work in this country LEGALLY, reduce the number, or allow the same number as it does now? (1=reduce, 2=allow the same number, 3=increase)

Table 5.1 Continued

Group consciousness 3	Question: In the past 5 years, have you or a family member experienced discrimination? (0=no, 1=yes)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Now we would like to ask you about US citizenship. Are you a US citizen, currently applying for citizenship, planning to apply for citizenship, not planning to become a citizen?
English ability	Question: Would you say you can carry on a conversation in English, both understanding and speaking, -- very well, pretty well, just a little, or not at all? (1=not at all, 2=just a little, 3=pretty well, 4=very well)
Length of residency	Question: How many years have you lived in the United States? From 0 to 84

Table 5.2: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Political Interest	Question: How interested are you in politics and what's going on in government in general? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, only slightly interested, or not at all interested in politics and what goes on in government? (1=not at all interested, 2=only slightly interested, 3=somewhat interested, 4=very interested)
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Asian population	Question: How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic make up is pretty evenly mixed? (1=mostly Asian, 0 otherwise)
Religion	Six dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and other religions.
Church attendance	Question: How often do you attend religious services? Would you say every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 97
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Income	Total annual household income. Coded as a 7-point scale from 1 (less than \$10,000) through 7 (over \$80,000)
Marital status	Question: What is your marital status? (1=married, 0=otherwise)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political efficacy	Question: How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decisions? (1=none at all, 2=a little, 3=a moderate amount, 4=a lot)
Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you think you can trust your local and state government officials to do what is right — just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or none at all? (1=none at all, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)

Table 5.2 Continued

Political knowledge	Question: Have you heard of the 80-20 Initiative or a movement to help organize the presidential choice of Asian American voters? (1=yes, 0=no)
Immigration-related Issues	
Immigration issue 1	Question: Please indicate, in a score from 1 to 7, how much you agree with the statement: Government should provide public information and services important to the immigrant community in English as well as in the immigrants' native languages (1=strongly disagree,....., 7=strongly agree).
Immigration issue 2	Question: Please indicate, in a score from 1 to 7, how much you agree with the statement: Non-U.S. citizens who are legal permanent residents should be permitted to make donations to political campaigns (1=strongly disagree,....., 7=strongly agree).
Experience of discrimination	Question: Have you ever personally experienced discrimination in the United States? (0=no, 1=yes)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Are you planning to apply for U.S. citizenship or to become a U.S. citizen? (1=yes, 0=no)
English ability	Question: What language do you usually use to conduct personal business and financial transactions? English, something else, mixed between English and other? (1=something else, 2=mixed between English and other, 3=English)

Table 5.3: Residence in a Progressive Environment and its Impact on Latino Political Interest

Variable	With Cuban sample	Without Cuban sample
	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Progressive Environment	.032* (.02)	.034* (.02)
State Ideology	-.002 (.01)	.002 (.01)
State Education Level	-.000 (.00)	-.000** (.00)
Social Connectedness		
Latino population	.001 (.00)	.001 (.00)
Segregation level	.005 (.00)	.004 (.00)
Catholic	-.191 (.18)	-.150 (.27)
Protestant	-.070 (.20)	-.014 (.29)
Other religion	-.237 (.20)	-.119 (.32)
Church attendance	.127*** (.03)	.135*** (.04)
Demographics and SES		
Age	.023*** (.00)	.022*** (.00)
Gender	-.185*** (.05)	-.193*** (.07)
Education	.136*** (.02)	.137*** (.03)
Political Attitude		
Republican	.976*** (.15)	.865*** (.11)
Democrat	.539*** (.17)	.525*** (.15)
Independent	.450*** (.17)	.447** (.17)
Political trust	.246*** (.08)	.243*** (.08)
Group Consciousness		
Group consciousness 1	.003 (.17)	-.136 (.18)
Group consciousness 2	.005 (.09)	.059 (.08)
Group consciousness 3	.201 (.15)	.162 (.17)
Acculturation		
Citizenship status	.041 (.03)	.066*** (.02)
English ability	.307*** (.04)	.338*** (.04)
Length of residency	-.010*** (.00)	-.014*** (.00)
Cut point #1	1.374*** (.38)	1.171*** (.40)

Table 5.3 Continued

Cut point #2	3.507*** (.35)	3.361*** (.42)
Cut point #3	5.201*** (.38)	5.027*** (.43)
N	1684	1366
χ^2 (df=22)	6177.99	5644.87
Pseudo R ²	.066	.067

Source: the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Note: Entries are ordered logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is political interest (1=pay no attention at all to politics, 2=do not pay much attention to politics, 3=pay a fair amount of attention to politics, 4=pay a lot of attention to politics).

Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 5.4: The Change in Predicted Probabilities Derived from Table 5.3

Independent Variable of Main Interest	With Cuban sample				Without Cuban sample			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Progressive Environment	-.024	-.060	.024	.060	-.026	-.065	.029	.062

Note: Change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means (1=pay no attention at all to politics, 2=do not pay much attention to politics, 3=pay a fair amount of attention to politics, 4=pay a lot of attention to politics).

Table 5.5: Residence in Progressive Environment and its Impact on Asian American Political Interest

Variable	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Progressive Environment	.117** (.06)
State Ideology	.035*** (.01)
State Education Level	-.000 (.00)
Social Connectedness	
Asian American population	.027 (.22)
Catholic	-.129 (.37)
Protestant	.755*** (.23)
Christian	.206 (.50)
Buddhist	.213 (.20)
Hindu	.413 (.29)
Other religion	.502 (.44)
Church attendance	-.025 (.11)
Demographics and SES	
Age	.015*** (.01)
Gender	-.406* (.25)
Income	.033 (.05)
Marital status	-.093 (.13)
Political Attitude	
Republican	.424 (.28)
Democrat	.628*** (.10)
Independent	.721*** (.20)
Efficacy	.649*** (.11)
Political trust	.016 (.06)
Political knowledge	.320** (.13)
Immigration-related Issue	
Immigration issue 1	-.014 (.08)
Immigration issue 2	.084*** (.03)
Experience of discrimination	-.106 (.12)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	-.070 (.13)
English ability	-.146* (.08)
Cut point #1	.137 (.69)

Table 5.5 Continued

Cut point #2	1.712** (.69)
Cut point #3	3.679*** (.76)
N	573
χ^2 (df=4)	5.41
Pseudo R ²	.071

Note: Entries are ordered logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is political interest. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 5.6: The Change in Predicted Probabilities Derived from Table 5.5

Independent Variable of Main Interest	1	2	3	4
Progressive Environment	-.072	-.105	.051	.127

Note: Change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means (1=not at all interested, 2=only slightly interested, 3=somewhat interested, 4=very interested).

CHAPTER 6

NURTURING HYPOTHESIS 2: RESIDENCE IN A PROGRESSIVE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON VOTING PARTICIPATION

This chapter examines nurturing hypothesis 2, which investigates whether residence in a progressive environment will increase residents' voting participation. Specifically, nurturing hypothesis 2 proposes that (1) Latinos who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote and (2) Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote. The dissertation argues that because of opportunity and motive that a progressive environment offers, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states tend to take part in voting. While nurturing hypothesis 1 focuses on political interest, nurturing hypothesis 2 investigates another significant political activity — voting. Voting is considered as one of the most common political activities that citizens can take part in. However, compared to saying that one is interested in politics, voting participation might be an activity that requires more energy and resolution. Therefore, it would be interesting to see if the impact of a progressive environment on political interest reappears on voting participation. This chapter employs the same data-set and methodology for the analysis of Latinos and Asian Americans as those used in testing nurturing hypothesis 1. The chapter first discusses the case of Latinos and then the case of Asian Americans is presented.

Data and Methods

Latinos

The dependent variable in testing nurturing hypothesis 2 is voting participation. The 2004 National Survey of Latinos asks the question, “Have you ever voted in an election in the U.S., or not?” I coded as one (1) for respondents who said that they have voted and as zero (0) for those who said that they have not voted.

The independent variable of main interest is a progressive policy environment. Nurturing hypothesis 2 expects that Latinos residing in a progressive environment will be more likely to take part in voting. Living in states with many pro-minority policies will increase Latinos' political opportunity and motive for active political engagement, thereby increasing their likelihood of taking part in voting. Table 6.1 reports the detailed discussion of questions and their coding for the Latino analysis.

Regression analysis controls for seven sets of variables that might affect one's decision to take part in voting. First, the analysis includes state ideology and state education level. A progressive environment — an independent variable of main interest — represents a context which might be confused with liberal or well-educated places. Therefore, if one wants to see the impact of a progressive environment on voting participation, it is necessary to isolate the impact of a progressive environment from being liberal or being well-educated. To do so, the analysis includes state ideology and state education level.

Second, it has been argued that one's level of social connectedness influences one's political participation (Harris 1994; Legee, Wald, and Kellstedt 1993; Putnam 1995; Tate 1991; Teixeira 1992). Therefore, the analysis includes several variables that tap into one's social connectedness, such as Latino population, segregation level, religion and church attendance.

Third, three variables that represent one's group consciousness are controlled for. Not many data-sets contain proper questions that measure the multi-dimensional concept of group consciousness. Neither does my data-set. However, by including three variables that most closely tap into the concept of group consciousness, I attempt to control the possible impact of group consciousness on voting participation.

Fourth, the data analysis controls for political interest. If one is interested in politics and what goes on in government, it is more likely that one will participate in voting. Next, the regression analysis includes demographics and SES variables and

political attitudinal variables. As for demographic and SES variables, age, gender, and education are included. As for political attitudinal variables, the analysis includes party identification and political trust. Lastly, the role of acculturation in U.S. society needs to be taken into account. Therefore, the analysis includes length of residency in the U.S., citizenship status, English ability, and voter registration.

All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond to a greater likelihood of voting. I use the clustered standard errors technique in order to correct regression coefficients' standard errors for clustered observations. Also, to examine if one's country of origin influences the substantive findings, I run the analysis twice, first, including all Latinos and then, excluding Cuban origin Latinos.

Asian Americans

The dependent variable — voting participation — is measured by the question that asks “Thinking about the November 2000 presidential election when Al Gore ran against George Bush, did you vote in the election?” While the question used for the Latino analysis asks if one had any voting experiences in the past, this question differs by pointing to a certain election and asks if one voted in the election. To see a similar process of the impact of a progressive context on voting participation, it would be better to employ the same questions. However, the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey does not contain the same question as used for the Latino analysis. Also, to my knowledge, there are not many findings that the slightly different types of questions on respondents' voting participation induce substantively different results. Furthermore, since the date of collection of the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey is November 2000 through January 2001 and the question asks about voting participation in the most recent election, this question relies on the freshest memory of respondents, which can reduce the response errors caused by a lapse of memory. Table 6.2 reports questions and their coding for the analysis of Asian Americans.

The main independent variable — progressive environment — is measured in the same way as in the Latino analysis, drawing upon Hero and Preuhs (2006)'s estimates of pro-minority policies by U.S. states.

Several variables are included as control variables in the regression analysis. First, two aggregate-level variables — state ideology and state education level — are merged into the individual-level data-set. To control for the impact of one's social connectedness on voting participation, the analysis includes Asian American population, religion, and church attendance. Also, age, gender, income, and marital status are included.

The regression analysis controls for political interest, since political interest can increase one's likelihood of participating in voting. Next, variables that measure political attitude need to be controlled for. The analysis includes party identification, political efficacy, trust, and knowledge. These variables are expected to have a positive relationship with voting.

Another control variable included is responses to immigrant-related issues. Since many Asian Americans are immigrants, they are likely to have a greater concern over immigrant-related policies; the greater the concern over these issues, the more likely Asian Americans will take part in voting. Additionally, experience of discrimination is included in the regression analysis. The variable is employed as a proxy for group consciousness. Due to data availability, I am not able to use several questions that tap into group consciousness. Lastly, I include English ability.

I use the clustered standard errors technique in order to correct regression coefficients' standard errors for clustered observations.

Data Analysis and Results

Now, the dissertation turns to the data analysis and results for Latinos. Table 6.3 presents the results of logit regression analysis, which are supportive of nurturing hypothesis 2. When including all Latinos, progressive environment turns out statistically

significant in the expected direction. This means that Latinos who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to take part in voting. The estimated change in predicted probabilities in column 2 indicates that Latinos residing in the most progressive environment are about 15 percent more likely than those in the least progressive environment to have voted in an election.

The next column in Table 6.3 reports the results when excluding Cuban origin Latinos. This is to see if a country of origin makes any difference in the impact of a progressive environment on voting participation. The results show that the country of origin does not change the positive effect of a progressive context on voting participation. The estimated change in predicted probabilities in the next column decreases a little bit from about 15 percent when including all Latino sample to about 11 percent when excluding Cuban Latinos. However, when excluding Cuban origin Latinos, still, progressive environment is statistically significant with a positive sign. Therefore, regardless of Latinos' country of origin, as nurturing hypothesis 2 posits, residence in progressive states increases Latinos' voting participation.

Several control variables reach statistical significance. First, state ideology is found to have a negative impact on voting participation, which indicates that residents in states with more conservative ideology tend to vote more. Political interest, as expected, has a positive impact on voting participation. Latinos who are interested in politics are more likely to take part in voting. With regard to party identification, Republicans and Democrats are more likely to have voted in an election. Age and education turn out significant with a positive sign, which means that old and well-educated Latinos are more likely to participate in voting. As for the impact of acculturation, English ability and voter registration increase one's likelihood of taking part in voting. As expected, those who speak English better and who are registered to vote are more likely to vote.

Next, I turn to the results of logit regression analysis for Asian Americans, which is reported in Table 6.4. In essence, the results support nurturing hypothesis 2. The

independent variable of main interest — progressive environment — is statistically significant in the expected direction; Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to vote. These results are the same as for the case of Latinos. In both minority groups, residence in a progressive environment increases one's likelihood of voting.

Same as for the Latino analysis, political interest is found to have a positive influence on voting participation. Asian Americans who are interested in politics are more likely to take part in voting. These consistent results confirm the importance of political interest in voting participation. Having interest in politics certainly increases one's likelihood of actually taking part in political activities. Also, the results show that being identified with the Republican party or the Democratic party influences one's likelihood of voting in a positive way.

However, most variables that represent social connectedness do not reach statistical significance, or when they reach statistical significance they have a negative impact on voting participation. This indicates that Asian Americans' religious affiliation or Asian population size itself does not influence their voting participation. Furthermore, being Catholic or having other religious membership is found to decrease one's likelihood of voting. Church attendance is the only social connectedness variable that has a positive impact on voting participation.

Income does not reach statistical significance, which is consistent with the results from testing nurturing hypothesis 1. Again, Leighley and Vedlitz's (1999) claim that the empirical evidence on the importance of SES in different racial/ethnic groups' political engagement is mixed is confirmed. These results ask for further investigation of why SES is influential in political engagement of some groups and not in others.

Discussion

This chapter investigated nurturing hypothesis 2, which proposes a positive effect of residence in a progressive environment on voting participation. An empirical test on both cases of Latinos and Asian Americans demonstrated that Latinos and Asian Americans who reside in states with many pro-minority policies are more likely to take part in voting.

These results oppose the threat hypothesis and the common expectation. The threat hypothesis assumes that a threatening environment mobilizes individuals into active political participation. However, the results of this chapter show that contexts that are the opposite of threatening, that is, favorable or progressive contexts, increase one's political engagement. Therefore, the results of this chapter ask for further refinement of the threat hypothesis.

Also, the results of this chapter are different from the common expectation. It is commonly expected that those living in places with policies that benefit them are satisfied with politics; therefore, they do not have a strong need for active voting participation. On the contrary, this chapter shows that residents in progressive states have a strong need for taking part in politics and voicing their opinion. As Chapter 4 of the dissertation shows, residents in states with many pro-minority policies have a negative perception of the system. In other words, a nurturing context does not necessarily equal satisfied and compliant residents, which leads to residents' voting participation in order to improve their dissatisfying condition.

The supportive results of nurturing hypothesis 2 imply that there are psychological dynamics underlying the minds of Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment. First, as explained in Chapter 3, the saliency of the problems of racial/ethnic inequality in progressive states makes Latino and Asian American residents face the issue of "imagined possibility." Witnessing many policies containing favorable outcomes, Latinos and Asian Americans will wonder how the outcomes might have

turned out if better or fairer procedures had been used. They will imagine that they would have gained better policies if fairer procedures, allowing for their own voices, had been implemented. This mentality will make Latinos and Asian Americans perceive pro-minority policies as rather threatening or unfavorable. Accordingly, the imagined possibility will lead to feelings of dissatisfaction and will motivate Latinos and Asian Americans to take part in voting in order to improve or rectify the situation so that they can actually achieve the imagined possibility.

Another psychological dynamic working in Latinos and Asian Americans in a progressive environment is that increased advantages provide the disadvantaged with a new expectation that makes them more sensitive to potential violations of social justice standards. Based on Tyler et al. (1997), Chapter 3 argued that when people expect to receive little, they do not become dissatisfied if they receive little; however, if they become accustomed to improvement, then receiving a static level of outcomes is upsetting because their expectations of what they deserve are violated. This argument well explains the result of this chapter. Latinos and Asian Americans who have experienced a series of progressive minority policies will have higher expectations for social equality and justice; therefore, they will be more sensitive to the government's neglect in providing more equality in other aspects, such as equality in procedures. Accordingly, in spite of favorable policies, they will be more likely to feel dissatisfied with the government and resentful about the way government treats them. These negative feelings will increase their willingness to take part in voting as a defense mechanism.

In sum, the empirical test of this chapter supports nurturing hypothesis 2. Nurturing hypothesis 2 focuses on voting participation and nurturing hypothesis 1 examines political interest. Given that participating in voting might require more energy and resolution than having political interest, the supportive results of nurturing hypothesis 2 indicate that the impact of residence in a progressive environment on political engagement is stronger, possibly being able to exercise influence on other types of

political activities. Therefore, the dissertation next turns to testing nurturing hypothesis 3, which examines another strong type of political activity — racialized voting choice.

Table 6.1: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Voting Participation	Question: Have you ever voted in an election in the U.S., or not? (0=no, 1=yes)
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Latino population	County-level Latino population percentage from the U.S. Census data
Segregation level	Dissimilarity index computed from the 2000 Census data
Religion	Three dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, and other religions
Church attendance	Question: Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? Would you say more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?
Political Interest	Question: How much attention would you say you pay to politics and government? A lot, a fair amount, not much, or none at all? (1=none at all, 2=not much, 3=a fair amount, 4=a lot).
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 98
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Education	Coded as a 8-point scale from 1 (none, or grade 1-8) through 8 (post-graduate training/professional schooling after college)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do what is right — just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time? (1=never, 2=some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Group consciousness	
Group consciousness 1	Question: Which comes closer to your views: 1. The U.S. has a single core Anglo-Protestant culture, 2. The U.S. is made up of many cultures (1=single culture, 2=many cultures)

Table 6.1 Continued

Group consciousness 2	Question: Do you think the United States should increase the number of Latin Americans allowed to come and work in this country LEGALLY, reduce the number, or allow the same number as it does now? (1=reduce, 2=allow the same number, 3=increase)
Group consciousness 3	Question: In the past 5 years, have you or a family member experienced discrimination? (0=no, 1=yes)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Now we would like to ask you about US citizenship. Are you a US citizen, currently applying for citizenship, planning to apply for citizenship, not planning to become a citizen?
English ability	Question: Would you say you can carry on a conversation in English, both understanding and speaking, -- very well, pretty well, just a little, or not at all? (1=not at all, 2=just a little, 3=pretty well, 4=very well)
Length of residency	Question: How many years have you lived in the United States? From 0 to 84
Voter registration	Question: Some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you currently registered to vote at your current address? (1=yes, 0=otherwise)

Table 6.2: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Voting Participation	Question: Thinking about the November 2000 presidential election when Al Gore ran against George Bush, did you vote in the election? (0=no, 1=yes)
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Asian population	Question: How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic make up is pretty evenly mixed? (1=mostly Asian, 0=otherwise)
Religion	Six dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and other religions.
Church attendance	Question: How often do you attend religious services? Would you say every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?
Political Interest	Question: How interested are you in politics and what's going on in government in general? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, only slightly interested, or not at all interested in politics and what goes on in government? (1=not at all interested, 2=only slightly interested, 3=somewhat interested, 4=very interested)
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 97
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Income	Total annual household income. Coded as a 7-point scale from 1 (less than \$10,000) through 7 (over \$80,000)
Marital status	Question: What is your marital status? (1=married, 0=otherwise)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political efficacy	Question: How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decisions? (1=none at all, 2=a little, 3=a moderate amount, 4=a lot)

Table 6.2 Continued

Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you think you can trust your local and state government officials to do what is right — just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or none at all? (1=none at all, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Political knowledge	Question: Have you heard of the 80-20 Initiative or a movement to help organize the presidential choice of Asian American voters? (1=yes, 0=no)
Immigration-related Issues	
Immigration issue 1	Question: Please indicate, in a score from 1 to 7, how much you agree with the statement: Government should provided public information and services important to the immigrant community in English as well as in the immigrants' native languages (1=strongly disagree,....., 7=strongly agree).
Immigration issue 2	Question: Please indicate, in a score from 1 to 7, how much you agree with the statement: Non-U.S. citizens who are legal permanent residents should be permitted to make donations to political campaigns (1=strongly disagree,....., 7=strongly agree).
Experience of discrimination	Question: Have you ever personally experienced discrimination in the United States? (0=no, 1=yes)
Acculturation	
English ability	Question: What language do you usually use to conduct personal business and financial transactions? English, something else, mixed between English and other? (1=something else, 2=mixed between English and other, 3=English)

Table 6.3: Residence in a Progressive Environment and its Impact on Latino Voting Participation

Variable	With Cuban sample		Without Cuban sample	
	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.124*** (.05)	.151	.109* (.06)	.115
State Ideology	-.059*** (.02)	-.114	-.053** (.02)	-.081
State Education Level	.000* (.00)	.101	.000 (.00)	.085
Social Connectedness				
Latino population	.000 (.00)	.002	.003 (.00)	.021
Segregation level	-.014 (.01)	-.058	-.015* (.01)	-.051
Catholic	.215 (.23)	.021	.568* (.30)	.046
Protestant	.409 (.44)	.034	.676 (.64)	.042
Other religion	.064 (.24)	.006	.192 (.34)	.014
Church attendance	-.025 (.11)	-.012	-.034 (.14)	-.013
Demographics and SES				
Age	.085*** (.02)	.481	.112*** (.01)	.536
Gender	.279 (.31)	.027	-.064 (.22)	-.005
Education	.287*** (.09)	.214	.373*** (.07)	.245
Political Interest	.064*** (.10)	.218	.706*** (.13)	.222
Political Attitude				
Republican	.946*** (.29)	.077	.831*** (.16)	.054

Table 6.3 Continued

Democrat	.924*** (.31)	.083	1.125*** (.28)	.084
Independent	.236 (.26)	.021	-.006 (.34)	-.000
Political trust	-.085 (.14)	-.024	-.114 (.17)	-.027
Group Consciousness				
Group consciousness 1	.281 (.57)	.029	.395 (.61)	.035
Group consciousness 2	-.042 (.20)	-.008	.061 (.17)	.010
Group consciousness 3	.170 (.35)	.016	.412 (.30)	.031
Acculturation				
Citizenship status	-.132** (.06)	-.040	-.142* (.08)	-.036
English ability	.620*** (.10)	.290	.777*** (.08)	.358
Length of residency	.011 (.01)	.062	.006 (.01)	.027
Voter registration	2.270*** (.16)	.359	2.325*** (.19)	.321
Constant	-11.380*** (2.07)		-13.511*** (1.55)	
N	1105		894	
χ^2 (df=24)	1225163.53		4937378.66	
Pseudo R ²	.424		.477	
% Correctly Predicted	85.2		86.8	

Source: the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is voting participation. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 6.4: Residence in a Progressive Environment and its Impact on Asian American Voting Participation

Variable	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.182*** (.03)	.041
State Ideology	.131*** (.03)	.029
State Education Level	-.000*** (.00)	-.000
Social Connectedness		
Asian American population	-.224 (.18)	-.053
Catholic	-.716*** (.18)	-.161
Protestant	.028 (.59)	.006
Christian	-.396 (.47)	-.089
Buddhist	-.124 (.18)	-.028
Hindu	-.324 (.27)	-.073
Other religion	-1.176*** (.37)	-.264
Church attendance	.343*** (.07)	.077
Political Interest	.503*** (.04)	.113
Demographics and SES		
Age	.045*** (.01)	.010
Gender	.415 (.29)	.093
Income	.122 (.09)	.027
Marital status	-.327** (.13)	-.073
Political Attitude		
Republican	.496** (.24)	.111
Democrat	.379* (.22)	.085
Independent	.224 (.35)	.050
Efficacy	.245 (.24)	.055
Political trust	-.129 (.14)	-.029
Political knowledge	.275 (.44)	.062
Immigration-related Issue		
Immigration issue 1	.012 (.07)	.003
Immigration issue 2	-.098* (.05)	-.022
Experience of discrimination	-.086 (.08)	-.019
Acculturation		

Table 6.4 Continued

English ability	.044 (.10)	.010
Constant	-4.230** (1.67)	
N	446	
Pseudo R ²	.174	
% Correctly Predicted	72.2	

Source: the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is voting participation. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<.01

CHAPTER 7

NURTURING HYPOTHESIS 3: RESIDENCE IN A PROGRESSIVE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON RACIALIZED VOTING CHOICE

This chapter investigates nurturing hypothesis 3. Nurturing hypothesis 3 focuses on whether residence in a progressive environment will lead to racialized voting choice. It tests (1) if Latinos who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote for Latino candidates, even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino candidate and (2) if Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment will be more likely to vote for Asian American candidates, even if there is an equally qualified non-Asian American candidate. The dissertation argues that because of the political opportunity and motive that a progressive context offers to Latinos and Asian Americans, residents in a progressive context tend to vote more along racial lines. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans living in states with many pro-minority policies are more likely to cast ballots for candidates of shared race/ethnicity, even when there is an equally qualified candidate of another background.

As the last one to be tested among the three sets of nurturing hypotheses, nurturing hypothesis 3 might be the one that focuses on the political activity that requires one's strongest motive and resolution. When Latinos or Asian Americans decide to choose candidates of their own race/ethnicity, even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino candidate or non-Asian American candidate running for the same office, their decision reflects their strong preference for co-ethnic representation. By electing co-ethnic candidates, Latinos and Asian Americans might want to voice their need for someone in office who can represent their interest and who can redress their unequal status in society. Both paying attention to politics, which nurturing hypothesis 1 examines, and participating in voting, which nurturing hypothesis 2 tests, are political activities that Latinos and Asian Americans can be commonly engaged in. However, compared to racialized choice of voting, these two activities might ask for voters' weaker

energy and motive. Therefore, testing nurturing hypothesis 3 will illustrate how significant the impact of residence in a progressive environment on one's political engagement might be.

This chapter employs the same data-sets and methodology as those used in testing nurturing hypothesis 1 and 2. First, the case of Latinos is discussed and then the case of Asian Americans follows.

Data and Methods

Latinos

The dependent variable in examining nurturing hypothesis 3 is racialized voting choice. The 2004 National Survey of Latinos asks the question, "Please tell me whether you agree with this statement: I am more likely to vote for a Hispanic/Latino candidate instead of a non-Hispanic/Latino running for the same office if they have the same qualifications." The question has four answer categories: disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, agree somewhat, and agree strongly. I coded as one (1) for respondents who disagree strongly, two (2) for those who disagree somewhat, three (3) for those who agree somewhat, and four (4) for those who agree strongly.

The most important independent variable in the analysis is a progressive policy environment, which is obtained from Hero and Preuhs (2006). Nurturing hypothesis 3 posits that Latinos residing in a progressive state will be more likely to vote along racial lines. That is, they will choose a Latino candidate even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino candidate. Therefore, according to nurturing hypothesis 3, a positive relationship is expected between residence in a progressive environment and racialized voting choice. I explain in detail about questions and their coding for the Latino analysis in Table 7.1.

The analysis includes variables that are considered to have influence on voting choice. First, as done consistently throughout all the regression analysis in the

dissertation, I control for state ideology and state education level in order to isolate the impact of progressive contexts from that of liberal or well-educated contexts.

Second, several variables that tap into one's level of social connectedness are controlled for. Individual social networks and personal relationships influence Latino identity. Those with more co-ethnic friends and associates have heightened degrees of cultural knowledge and ethnic identification (Garcia 2003; Keefe and Padilla 1987), which will lead them to be more likely to prefer candidates of shared race/ethnicity. Therefore, the regression analysis includes the following: Latino population, segregation level, religion and church attendance. If Latinos are well connected in their social life by living in Latino-populated areas or having religious membership or regularly attending church, they might be more likely to think about politics in racial terms, which will make them more inclined to vote along racial lines.

Third, the analysis includes three variables that measure one's group consciousness. As an important concept that represents one's politicized awareness regarding the group's relative position in society and a commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests (Miller, P. Gurin, and G. Gurin 1978), it is possible that Latinos who have strong group consciousness tend to make racialized voting choices. Therefore, I include three variables that most closely represent the concept of group consciousness within data availability.

Next, the regression analysis includes demographic variables, SES variables, and political attitudinal variables. As for demographic and SES variables, age, gender, and education are included. As for political attitudinal variables, the analysis includes party identification and political trust.

Fifth, the role of acculturation in U.S. society needs to be taken into account. Therefore, the analysis includes length of residency in the U.S., citizenship status, and English ability. Lastly, the data analysis controls for political interest. To be able to make a voting decision along racial lines, one should have a certain level of political interest

and pay attention to what goes on in government. Therefore, to control for the possible effect of political interest on one's voting choice, I include a political interest variable.

Additionally, it is not possible to include country of origin as a control variable because N's per state and per county are so small that the estimates can be unreliable. Therefore, I run the analysis twice, first, with all Latino sample included and then, with Cuban origin Latinos excluded. By doing so, the analysis attempts to control for the possible impact of country of origin on racialized voting choice.

All independent variables are coded so that increases in their values correspond to a greater likelihood of making a racialized voting choice. With respect to methodology, considering that my data are mixed-level data and include multiple observations from the same state, I use the clustered standard errors technique.

Asian Americans

The dependent variable in testing nurturing hypothesis 3 for the case of Asian Americans is measured by employing the following question: "If you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is Asian American, would you be more likely to vote for the Asian American candidate, if the two are equally qualified?" This question is from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey and it has a slightly different wording than the question used for the Latino analysis, but essentially, the two ask the same question: whether one is willing to make a racialized voting choice. Therefore, using this question allows the dissertation to show the similar process of making political choices affected by residence in a progressive environment among both Latinos and Asian Americans. Table 7.2 presents questions and their coding for the analysis of Asian Americans.

As for independent variables, the independent variable of main interest — progressive environment — is measured in the same way as in the Latino analysis.

Progressive environment is drawn from Hero and Preuhs (2006)'s estimates of pro-minority policies by U.S. states.

To see the impact of a progressive environment on racialized voting choice, it is necessary to control for other variables that might affect one's racialized voting choice. The first set of control variables included in the analysis is state ideology and state education level. These aggregate-level variables are merged into the individual-level data-set to make the impact of progressive contexts purely being progressive, different from being liberal or being well educated.

Second, the regression analysis includes Asian American population, religion, and church attendance in order to control for the possible impacts of social connectedness on racialized choice of voting.

Third, as for demographic and SES variables, age, gender, income, and marital status are included. Also, the analysis controls for political attitudinal variables, such as party identification, political efficacy, political trust, and political knowledge. Next, the regression analysis includes political interest. In voting along racial lines, a certain level of political interest might be required. Therefore, to control for the effect of political interest on making a racialized voting choice, I include a political interest variable.

Next, given that most Asian Americans are immigrants, variables that measure one's response to immigrant-related issues need to be controlled for. When one has a greater concern over immigrant-related policies, he or she might be more likely to prefer an Asian American candidate, hoping that one's chosen candidate will work to solve immigrant related issues for the benefit of immigrants.

Additionally, experience of discrimination is included in the analysis as a proxy for group consciousness. Experiences of discrimination in the new country can motivate the formation of Asian American identity, which will lead Asian Americans to cast ballots for a candidate of shared race/ethnicity. Focusing on Mexican Americans, Rosales (1993) argued that systematic discrimination against immigrants has solidified the ethnic

identity of immigrants for generations. Since strong attachment to their group and shared identity is an important component of the concept of group consciousness, the analysis includes experience of discrimination to tap into one's group consciousness. This is the best measure of group consciousness that I can find within data availability. The last control variable included is English ability. With regard to methodology, I use the clustered standard errors technique.

Data Analysis and Results

Table 7.3 reports the results of logit regression analysis for the case of Latinos, with the first column presenting the results from including all Latino sample, and the second column showing the results from excluding Cuban origin Latinos. The most important finding is that progressive environment is statistically significant and in the expected direction in both analyses when including all Latinos and when excluding Cuban Latinos. This finding supports nurturing hypothesis 3. Latinos who reside in a progressive context are more likely to make a racialized voting choice; they tend to prefer a co-ethnic candidate even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino candidate. The finding that excluding Cuban origin Latinos does not change the results indicates that a country of origin does not make a significant difference in the influence of a progressive environment on racialized voting choice. Table 7.4 shows the change in predicted probabilities of making a racialized voting choice for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means. First, when we take a look at those who said that they never make a racialized voting choice, the change in the predicted probability of saying so decreases by about 14 percent (with Cuban Latino sample) and about 20 percent (without Cuban Latino sample) for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment. In contrast, when we examine those who agree strongly that they would vote along racial lines, those in the most progressive context are about 20

percent (with Cuban Latino sample) and 28 percent (without Cuban Latino sample) more likely than those in the least progressive context to say so.

State ideology is found to have a negative impact on racialized voting choice. This indicates that Latinos who reside in states with conservative ideology are more likely to vote along racial lines. Being Catholic or Protestant leads Latinos to be more likely to make a racialized voting choice, even though when excluding Cuban Latinos, the statistical significance of the effects of the two religious memberships disappears. On the other hand, having religious memberships other than Catholicism and Protestantism turns out to have a positive effect on racialized voting choice, regardless of whether the analysis includes Cuban Latinos or not.

Female and Democratic Latinos are more likely to choose a Latino candidate even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino candidate. One group consciousness variable turns out significant in the expected direction. Latinos who have group consciousness are more likely to vote along racial lines. Interestingly, English ability is found to have a negative relationship with racialized voting choice, which indicates that Latinos whose English ability is not good tend to display higher degrees of support for co-ethnic candidates. This might be because those who do not speak English well have limited access to the information on a non-Latino candidate; therefore, they are more inclined to choose a Latino candidate whose information is better circulated in Latino communities in the Spanish language.

Next, the dissertation turns to the question of whether nurturing hypothesis 3 is confirmed in the case of Asian Americans. The results of logit regression analysis for Asian Americans are reported in Table 7.5. In essence, the results support nurturing hypothesis 3. Progressive environment is found to be statistically significant in the expected direction. Therefore, as nurturing hypothesis 3 posits, Asian Americans who reside in a progressive environment are more likely to support an Asian American candidate when the candidate has qualifications on par with the non-Asian challenger. In

both minority groups examined, this chapter demonstrates that residence in a progressive environment increases one's likelihood of voting along racial lines.

Several control variables reach statistical significance. State ideology has a positive effect on the dependent variable, which means that Asian Americans residing in states with strong liberalism are more likely to make a choice of voting based on racial/ethnic terms.

Political trust is found to influence racialized voting choice in a negative way. This indicates that Asian Americans who do not trust the government are more likely to vote for an Asian American candidate, even when there is an equally qualified non-Asian candidate. This result seems plausible in that the idea behind the nurturing hypothesis is that residence in a progressive environment enhances Latinos' and Asian Americans' negative perception of the system and mistrust toward the government, which will increase their political engagement in order to rectify the current situation.

Next, one immigration-related issue is found to have a positive impact on racialized voting choice. When one has a concern over an immigration-related policy, he or she is more likely to vote for an Asian American candidate in the hope that the chosen candidate will work for the benefits of immigrants. Lastly, same as in the Latino analysis, English ability turns out statistically significant with a negative sign. The worse one's English ability is, the more likely one will cast ballots for an Asian candidate. Again, this might be caused by the fact that English ability restricts one's access to the information on non-Asian candidates and that the information on candidates of their own race can be more easily accessed in their native language.

Discussion

The results of data analysis presented in this chapter are supportive of nurturing hypothesis 3, which proposes a positive effect of residence in a progressive environment on racialized voting choice. In both cases of Latinos and Asian Americans, residence in a

progressive context increases one's likelihood of voting along racial lines. Latinos are more likely to choose a Latino candidate, and Asian Americans are more likely to vote for an Asian American candidate, even if there is an equally qualified non-Latino or non-Asian candidate.

These results confirm the strong influence of residence in a progressive environment on Latinos' and Asian Americans' political engagement. The previous two chapters showed that Latinos and Asian Americans who reside in progressive contexts are more likely to have interest in politics and to take part in voting. Having interest in politics and taking part in voting are two common activities that one can be involved in. Compared to the two political activities, voting along racial lines might be a stronger indicator that voters have a certain motive for their political decision. When Latinos or Asian Americans decide to cast ballots for candidates of their own race/ethnicity, even if there are equally qualified non-Latino or non-Asian American candidates, this means that the voters have stronger racial/ethnic attachment for co-ethnic candidates and motive to redress their group's disadvantaged circumstances by electing candidates of shared race/ethnicity.

This explanation builds on the perspective of social identity theory, which argues that a salient context easily leads to the categorization of group into social groupings (Tajfel 1981; Turner et al. 1987). Due to the adoption of many pro-minority policies, residing in a progressive context increases the salience of a particular identity, which leads to an increase in group identification. Therefore, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states tend to frame their thoughts more in racial/ethnic terms and to have a more heightened concern over the issue of fairness and equality in society. Faced with pro-minority policies focused on distributional outcomes, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states will feel that there still exists inequality in the system. As a result, for Latinos and Asian Americans, having pro-minority policies is actually perceived as unsatisfying. Feeling that their groups are still in a disadvantaged status, Latinos and

Asian Americans in progressive contexts will be more willing to vote for a co-ethnic candidate. On the other hand, for those who reside in states without many pro-minority policies, those cues concerning fairness are not present; therefore, they are less likely to perceive what their groups are missing, and tend to become politically quiescent. There are not many political opportunities and motives that can nurture their political involvement. Therefore, they will not exhibit strong preferences for co-ethnic candidates to those of another background.

In sum, this chapter demonstrates that nurturing hypothesis 3 is supported. Because of the opportunity and motive that progressive contexts offer, Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive states are inclined to value descriptive representation and exhibit strong preference for co-ethnic representation by voting for co-ethnic candidates who they think will best represent their interests. This shows that the impact of residence in a progressive environment can travel as far as making a racialized voting choice.

Table 7.1: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Racialized Voting Choice	Question: Please tell me whether you agree with this statement: I am more likely to vote for a Hispanic/Latino candidate instead of a non-Hispanic/Latino running for the same office if they have the same qualifications? (1=disagree strongly, 2=disagree somewhat, 3=agree somewhat, 4=agree strongly).
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Latino population	County-level Latino population percentage from the U.S. Census data
Segregation level	Dissimilarity index computed from the 2000 Census data
Religion	Three dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, and other religions
Church attendance	Question: Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? Would you say more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?
Political Interest	Question: How much attention would you say you pay to politics and government? (1=none at all, 2=not much, 3=a fair amount, 4=a lot).
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 98
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Education	Coded as a 8-point scale from 1 (none, or grade 1-8) through 8 (post-graduate training/professional schooling after college)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do what is right? (1=never, 2=some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Group consciousness	
Group consciousness 1	Question: Which comes closer to your views: 1. The U.S. has a single core Anglo-Protestant culture, 2. The U.S. is made up of many cultures (1=single culture, 2=many cultures)

Table 7.1 Continued

Group consciousness 2	Question: Do you think the United States should increase the number of Latin Americans allowed to come and work in this country LEGALLY, reduce the number, or allow the same number as it does now? (1=reduce, 2=allow the same number, 3=increase)
Group consciousness 3	Question: In the past 5 years, have you or a family member experienced discrimination? (0=no, 1=yes)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Now we would like to ask you about US citizenship. Are you a US citizen, currently applying for citizenship, planning to apply for citizenship, not planning to become a citizen?
English ability	Question: Would you say you can carry on a conversation in English, both understanding and speaking, -- very well, pretty well, just a little, or not at all? (1=not at all, 2=just a little, 3=pretty well, 4=very well)
Length of residency	Question: How many years have you lived in the United States? From 0 to 84

Table 7.2: Coding/Explanation of Variables for Analysis Using the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Variable	Coding/Explanation
Racialized Voting Choice	Question: If you have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of who is Asian American, would you be more likely to vote for the Asian American candidate, if the two are equally qualified? (0=no, 1=yes)
Progressive Environment	The number of progressive minority policies by U.S. states.
State Ideology	Mean liberalism-conservatism of state policy from 1996-2003 from CBS/New York Times polls. Obtained from Erikson, Wright, and McIver (2006)
State Education Level	Bachelor's degrees conferred per 1,000 individuals 18-24 years old by state in 2003. Census data
Social Connectedness	
Asian American population	Question: How would you describe the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood where you live? Would you say it is mostly white, mostly black, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or would you say the ethnic make up is pretty evenly mixed? (1=mostly Asian, 0=otherwise)
Religion	Six dummy variables for Protestant, Catholic, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and other religions.
Church attendance	Question: How often do you attend religious services? (1=never, 2=a few times a year, 3=once or twice a month, 4=almost every week, 5=every week)
Political Interest	Question: How interested are you in politics and what's going on in government in general? (1=not at all interested, 2=only slightly interested, 3=somewhat interested, 4=very interested)
Demographics and SES	
Age	From 18 to 97
Gender	Coded as 1 if male and 2 if female
Income	Total annual household income. Coded as a 7-point scale from 1 (less than \$10,000) through 7 (over \$80,000)
Marital status	Question: What is your marital status? (1=married, 0=otherwise)
Political Attitude	
Party identification	Three dummy variables for Democrat, Republican, and Independent
Political efficacy	Question: How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decisions? (1=none at all, 2=a little, 3=a moderate amount, 4=a lot)

Table 7.2 Continued

Political trust	Question: How much of the time do you think you can trust your local and state government officials to do what is right? (1=none at all, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of the time, 4=just about always)
Political knowledge	Question: Have you heard of the 80-20 Initiative or a movement to help organize the presidential choice of Asian American voters? (1=yes, 0=no)
Immigration-related Issues	
Immigration issue 1	Question: Please indicate, in a score from 1 to 7, how much you agree with the statement: Government should provided public information and services important to the immigrant community in English as well as in the immigrants' native languages (1=strongly disagree,....., 7=strongly agree).
Immigration issue 2	Question: Please indicate, in a score from 1 to 7, how much you agree with the statement: Non-U.S. citizens who are legal permanent residents should be permitted to make donations to political campaigns (1=strongly disagree,....., 7=strongly agree).
Experience of discrimination	Question: Have you ever personally experienced discrimination in the United States? (0=no, 1=yes)
Acculturation	
Citizenship status	Question: Are you planning to apply for U.S. citizenship or to become a U.S. citizen? (1=yes, 0=no)
English ability	Question: What language do you usually use to conduct personal business and financial transactions? English, something else, mixed between English and other? (1=something else, 2=mixed between English and other, 3=English)

Table 7.3: Residence in a Progressive Environment and its Impact on Latino Racialized Voting Choice

Variable	With Cuban sample	Without Cuban sample
	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Progressive Environment	.080*** (.02)	.113*** (.02)
State Ideology	-.029*** (.01)	-.043*** (.01)
State Education Level	.000 (.00)	.000 (.00)
Social Connectedness		
Latino population	-.002 (.00)	-.002 (.00)
Segregation level	-.008 (.01)	-.007 (.00)
Catholic	.505** (.21)	.455 (.29)
Protestant	.516* (.28)	.598 (.47)
Other religion	.355* (.19)	.401* (.24)
Church attendance	-.057 (.05)	-.061 (.06)
Demographics and SES		
Age	.000 (.00)	.005 (.01)
Gender	.230** (.10)	.333*** (.11)
Education	.010 (.03)	.004 (.03)
Political Interest	.016 (.08)	.062 (.10)
Political Attitude		
Republican	.096 (.37)	-.148 (.31)
Democrat	.394*** (.13)	.394** (.18)
Independent	.065 (.21)	.022 (.25)
Political trust	.003 (.07)	.048 (.09)
Group Consciousness		
Group consciousness 1	-.129 (.22)	-.044 (.26)
Group consciousness 2	.342*** (.04)	.462*** (.11)
Group consciousness 3	.256 (.19)	.217 (.15)
Acculturation		
Citizenship status	.021 (.05)	.073 (.05)
English ability	-.244*** (.07)	-.248** (.10)
Length of residency	.005 (.01)	.006 (.01)
Cut point #1	-.446 (1.10)	.834 (1.57)
Cut point #2	.477 (1.03)	1.827 (1.55)

Table 7.3 Continued

Cut point #3	1.517 (1.03)	2.869* (1.56)
N	862	689
χ^2 (df=23)	24239.51	25909.93
Pseudo R ²	.022	.037

Source: the 2004 National Survey of Latinos

Note: Entries are ordered logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is racialized voting choice. Significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.5, ***p<.01

Table 7.4: The Change in Predicted Probabilities Derived from Table 7.3

Independent Variable of Main Interest	With Cuban sample				Without Cuban sample			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Progressive Environment	-.138	-.067	.002	.203	-.199	-.092	.016	.275

Note: Change in predicted probabilities of holding each attitude for an increase from the minimum to the maximum value of progressive environment, while holding all other independent variables constant at their means (1=disagree strongly, 2=disagree somewhat, 3=agree somewhat, 4=agree strongly).

Table 7.5: Residence in a Progressive Environment and its Impact on Asian American Racialized Voting Choice

Variable	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Min → Max
Progressive Environment	.393*** (.04)	.560
State Ideology	.124*** (.02)	.202
State Education Level	-.000*** (.00)	-.359
Social Connectedness		
Asian American population	.268 (.19)	.061
Catholic	.361 (.83)	.082
Protestant	.038 (.64)	.009
Christian	.061 (.47)	.014
Buddhist	-.037 (.36)	-.009
Hindu	-.373 (.91)	-.090
Other religion	-0.573 (.86)	-.140
Church attendance	.010 (.10)	.009
Political Interest	.120 (.16)	.085
Demographics and SES		
Age	.009 (.01)	.166
Gender	.085 (.17)	.020
Income	-.125** (.05)	-.170
Marital status	-.173 (.22)	-.040
Political Attitude		
Republican	-.136 (.15)	-.032
Democrat	.328*** (.11)	.076
Independent	-.001 (.30)	-.000
Efficacy	-.243** (.11)	-.173
Political trust	-.249*** (.06)	-.175
Political knowledge	.260 (.27)	.060
Immigration-related Issue		
Immigration issue 1	.100** (.04)	.145
Immigration issue 2	.011 (.03)	.016
Experience of discrimination	-.086 (.14)	-.041
Acculturation		
Citizenship status	.027 (.07)	.006
English ability	-.331** (.16)	-.143

Table 7.5 Continued

Constant	-.190 (.50)
N	573
Pseudo R ²	.076
% Correctly Predicted	67.5

Source: the 2000-2001 Pilot Asian Americans Political Survey

Note: Entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is racialized voting choice. Significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I set out to examine the question of whether residing in a progressive environment will mobilize Latinos and Asian Americans to be actively engaged in politics. To examine the question, I proposed three sets of hypotheses and named them “nurturing hypotheses.” Nurturing hypotheses argued that residence in a progressive context has a positive impact on Latinos’ and Asian Americans’ political interest, voting turnout, and making a racialized voting choice. Contexts favorable to the two minority groups nurture their political engagement. This opposes the threat hypothesis, which posits that contexts that hurt a certain group cause the group to experience a threat and therefore to engage in politics.

Before directly testing the three sets of nurturing hypotheses, the dissertation provided empirical evidence for the idea behind the nurturing hypothesis — a progressive environment offers political opportunity and motive to Latinos and Asian Americans, which nurtures their active political involvement. In Chapter 4, the empirical evidence was presented, which solidifies the theoretical grounds for the argument of this dissertation. With respect to political opportunity that residents in a progressive context enjoy, the dissertation demonstrated that through adoption of pro-minority policies, a progressive environment nurtures more political opportunities, which leads Latinos and Asian Americans to be more knowledgeable about politics. Having more political information enables Latinos and Asian Americans to be more engaged in politics.

As for political motive that a progressive environment provides, the dissertation showed that a progressive context nurtures strong motives for Latinos and Asian Americans by increasing levels of dissatisfaction, mistrust, and negative perceptions of the system or politics. Adoption of pro-minority policies in a progressive environment makes the issues of racial inequality more salient, which leads Latinos and Asian Americans to be more concerned with their disadvantaged status as minority groups. As a

result, they feel dissatisfied with the system and have negative perceptions of politics. These negative feelings enhance their need to be involved in politics as a means to rectify or improve their disadvantaged status.

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the dissertation examined nurturing hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, respectively. The examinations relied on regression analysis and demonstrated that Latinos and Asian Americans in progressive contexts are more likely to pay attention to politics, turn out to vote, and make a racialized voting choice.

Lastly, this concluding chapter attempts to offer the full implications of my findings. It begins by investigating the importance of the results and then moves to a discussion of what can be done as future work.

Importance of Results

The results of this dissertation are important for several reasons. First, it recasts the threat hypothesis. The dissertation directly examined an important, but thus far unexplored, assumption of the threat hypothesis: residing in a non-threatening or favorable environment will decrease one's political engagement. According to social identity theory on which the theoretical basis of the threat hypothesis is built, when individuals think of themselves in terms of their membership in a social group, they are motivated to protect the identity of that group, especially when status boundaries between groups are rigid, and status differences between groups are contestable (Tajfel 1978). Therefore, threats to group identity by an outgroup can lead to increased antagonism between groups, and people will attempt to defend the value of an important group membership. As a way to defend their group, people tend to be actively engaged in politics. For example, in political science research, the contextual threat mechanism, first identified by Key (1984 [1949]), explains that as the size of the black population increased, fear within the white community increased, which led to greater mobilization of whites.

By claiming that threatening environments increase political involvement, the literature on threat hypothesis implicitly assumes the converse, that non-threatening or favorable environment should demobilize people. However, the results of this dissertation demonstrate that this is not the case: a non-threatening environment does not necessarily demobilize people, and it can also increase one's political engagement by nurturing one's political opportunity and motive. These results indicate that the original threat hypothesis needs to be refined to account for the findings of the dissertation and to specify the specific conditions under which threats will work to increase or decrease one's political involvement.

Second, the dissertation makes a meaningful contribution to the literature by bridging the literatures on minority political engagement and contextual impact, thereby expanding our understanding of both. The results illustrated that Latinos and Asian Americans, whose living environment seems progressive or favorable, are more active participants in politics. These add to other scholars' findings that context is an important predictor of political involvement. By doing so, my dissertation reveals the need to move beyond a focus on minorities' individual characteristics and to pay more attention to the environment in which individuals make decisions about political participation.

Furthermore, by calling attention to the intermediate role that the justice motive plays in individuals' political participation, the dissertation makes a connection between context, psychological underpinning, and political behavior. And it demonstrates the importance of the perception of justice or equality in understanding one's political involvement.

Next, the dissertation is meaningful in that it examined American states and their minority policies, on which little research has been done. Hero and Preuhs (2006) pointed out that there has been rather little research on social policy issues regarding race/ethnicity (and immigration) in the U. S., especially as these pertain to the states. They claimed that the dearth of research on the politics behind these policies is

surprising, given (1) the rise of immigration over the past several decades, (2) significant policy debates regarding immigration and multiculturalism in the states (and nation), and (3) the devolution of responsibility for a wide variety of cultural and immigration policies to subnational governments. The dissertation illustrated the role of state policy context in residents' political behavior and made a contribution to the limited literature.

Furthermore, the dissertation underscored the need to think broadly about the consequences of state minority policies by exploring the specific ways in which the policies impact the psychology of members of minority groups.

Lastly, the results of the dissertation have significant political implications. The future of American society is predicted to be very diverse (Tyler et al. 1997). It is projected that in the year 2020, there will be no majority ethnic group in California (Tyler et al. 1997). Instead, 41 percent of the state's population will be European Americans, 41 percent Latinos, 12 percent Asian Americans, and 6 percent African Americans (Tyler et al. 1997). Therefore, an urgent question that needs to be answered is how effectively the government will maintain the stability of a multicultural society. The results of the dissertation point to establishing justice or equality in procedure as well as in distributional outcomes as an important solution to managing a multicultural society. The findings of the dissertation suggest that giving people the perception that fair procedures or systems are working can have a positive influence on relationships among people who have conflicts, while politics that only expend or redistribute scarce resources do not necessarily improve satisfaction or trust toward the government or society. In other words, trying to create favorable distributive outcomes is important, but it does not necessarily give satisfaction to people that seem to benefit from the favorable distributive outcomes. Therefore, with the goal of basic distributive inclusion partly accomplished, the next goal should be to establish equality in the political process and give people a sense that there is fairness and justice working in society. The procedural justice

perspective may help to clarify some of the issues involved in the future design of social policies and give valuable insight to policy makers.

Directions for Future Work

The dissertation opens new venues for future work. First, the findings of the dissertation need to be investigated in diverse national settings. The dissertation is exclusively focused on the U. S.; however, the results can differ from country to country. Building on social identity theory, the dissertation reaffirms the utility of the social identity approach in helping to understand the psychology of collective behavior of minority groups. However, it does not resolve all the issues that a social identity approach confronts. Most of all, social identity theory is relatively silent on the existence of societal similarities or differences in the development of intergroup relations (Huddy 2004). Huddy (2004) maintained that when researchers adopt the social identity approach, there is little to explain why some societies habitually confront bloody uprisings among their habitants while others are conflict-free. Also, social identity theory offers little insight into why members of lower-status groups overthrow repressive regimes in some countries but not in others.

The weakness of the social identity approach can be complemented by borrowing an idea from system justification theory. The system justification theory allows for variations in the development of intergroup relations as a function of societal factors (Huddy 2004). According to Jost, Banaji, and Nosek (2004), economic and social inequalities are the key factors that explain higher levels of system justification. That is, the theory expects greater support of higher-status groups in countries with unevenly distributed resources. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine both countries with more evenly distributed resources than the U.S. and those with less evenly distributed resources than the U. S. By doing so, we can see if the findings of the dissertation are influenced by different national settings.

Second, it is necessary to examine other types of threats and their impacts on political engagement. Outgroup members may threaten the ingroup in different ways, and ingroup members can be threatened by the outgroup in various ways. However, in the tradition of political science research, in general, threat to identity has been a main focus and identity threat has typically been manipulated in terms of increasing population of the outgroup. The dissertation as well is concerned with identity threat caused by policy making.

However, there are various types of threats. For instance, Stephan and Stephan (2000) made a distinction between realistic and symbolic threat, the former being characterized by a threat to the very existence of the ingroup, or to its social power, the latter involving moral and normative issues, related to the questioning of the ingroup's worldview. In a similar vein, Branscombe et al. (1999) claimed that different types of social identity threats exist. First, a value threat is related to some action that seems to undermine the value of being a group member and takes the form of an attack on ingroup attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and group practices. A second type of social identity threat concerns the distinctiveness of the ingroup and is related to the perception of the ingroup as not well-defined, being too similar to the outgroup (Jetten, Spears, and Manstead 1999). As shown in these examples, there are many types of threats that can influence one's political behavior in different ways. Therefore, future researchers should pay more attention to defining the type of threat that their research focuses on and should examine whether different types of threats can result in differing impacts on political engagement.

Next, future research should investigate how progressive policy contexts will influence whites' political engagement. By examining Latinos and Asian Americans, two large minority groups in U.S. society, this dissertation focused on the aspect of threat to minority groups. And this focus on threat to minority groups makes a contribution to greater understanding of the impact of the threat mechanism on one's political behavior

because, with the exception of several works on Latinos (Barreto and Woods 2000; Pantoja and Segura 2003; Segura, Falcon, and Pachon 1997), the threat hypothesis literature in political science has exclusively examined the political behavior of whites — the majority group.

The findings of the dissertation that progressive policy contexts increase Latinos' and Asian Americans' political involvement open a valuable research question that future research can take on: how will white participation look within progressive contexts? will residence in states with many pro-minority policies offer political opportunities and motives for active political engagement to whites as well? It might be that whites in progressive contexts are not as motivated to participate in politics because the political motives and opportunities that a progressive context nurtures are mainly concerned with minority groups. Or, it might be that the increasing number of pro-minority policies may invoke a sense of anxiety among whites, which might increase their willingness to take part in politics. The question of whites' behavior in progressive contexts is not within the scope of the dissertation. Future research should examine this question. By doing so, our understanding of the threat mechanism and its impact on political behavior will become more complete.

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