

“PATRIOTISM ISN’T ENOUGH:
DISCRIMINATION, SOCIALIZATION,
AND THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF
REFUGEE AND IMMIGRANT COLLEGE STUDENTS”

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What is the relationship between patriotism and participation? This question has renewed significance with current debates over immigration and the qualities or values that allow someone to claim an “American” identity. The purpose of this project is to present the initial findings of the pilot wave of the 2017 Discrimination, Patriotism, and Participation (DPP) Survey, a unique attempt at gauging the political attitudes of American college students using a combination of the Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al. 1997), a 16-question patriotism index (Huddy and Khatib 2007), and original scales of self-defined civic activities, and “multicultural patriotism.” I have attempted to provide empirical support for my theoretical understanding about the nature of discrimination as a mediating effect on the relationship between patriotism and political participation among American college students with particular emphasis on refugee and immigrant students.

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Introduction

While the study of political socialization has undergone many shifts, one area that has received increased focus in the last two decades has been a renewed interest in how recent immigrants – sometimes referred to as “New Americans” – are socialized into American political culture. Indeed, much of the recent debate on the need for (or lack of) assimilation by Syrian refugees highlighted a debate over *how* quickly and easily these refugees could be incorporated into the American civil body politic. While refugees often face many of the same challenges as the larger group of immigrants to which they are compared, their displacement is often characterized by violence, and the impossibility of never returning to their homelands.

Of particular interest is the political socialization of immigrant and refugee youth. While immigrant children are always challenged, Zhou and Bankston (1996, 198) assert that refugee children – here defined as those under the age of 21 – have *extra* burdens: “loss of loved ones, the loss of social status, and the loss of homeland.” If one attempts to study the existing literature on the political socialization of refugee children, it is quickly evident that this area of focus is infinitesimal compared to the broader fields where it is based; I counted no less than four subfields that provide material for this topic¹. However, an argument could be made for a further division into American versus international political socialization experiences for refugee children. The problem is that political science has, for the most part, avoided discussing refugee political behavior, which is a surprising omission.²

With President Donald J. Trump’s January executive orders on immigration, and the political and judicial backlash, the United States is facing a crucible moment with regards to its public policy towards immigrants. There is a renewed sense of urgency within Political Science

¹ Political socialization of children, refugees, immigrants, and 1.5/2nd generations.

² The exceptions are the Southeast Asian and Cuban communities.

to finally use this moment to address longstanding and suddenly salient questions about refugee and immigrant political identity in the United States. The goal of this project is to provide an initial snapshot of the 2017 data collected in the pilot wave of an innovative and original online survey among college students in California. The 2017 Discrimination, Patriotism, and Participation (DPP) Survey [see Appendix] attempts to weave together *three* interconnected, theory-building questions about political participation.³ First, what is the effect of discrimination⁴ on the socialization of refugee and immigrant youth into American political culture? Second, what is their understanding of political participation in the United States and does it differ from that of native-born Americans? And third, do immigrant and refugee youth have different perspectives on American patriotism, and how do these views connect to the likelihood of participation?

As such, this project (as part of a larger dissertation) seeks to weave together three theoretical areas: discrimination, patriotism, and participation. While discrimination has been referenced in the literature in terms of the relationship between linked fate, group consciousness, and participation (Sanchez and Masuoka 2010, Dawson 2004, Salamon and Van Evera 1973), I have not uncovered an argument about the effect of everyday experiences with discrimination as a depressant on political participation. Similarly, Huddy and Khatib (2007) provided the most recent at understanding the relationship between patriotism and participation particularly for immigrant students. But, their study suffered from a major measurement issue. They gauged political involvement by asking respondents about attentiveness to the news; a political

³ The majority of refugee- and immigrant-student data will be obtained through the second wave of the survey that will be administered at Perimeter College of Georgia State University, which has a large number of these specific communities of students.

⁴ I am focused on the role of everyday, individual experiences with discrimination, and not group discrimination or linked fate and how the role of the collective affects identity formation

knowledge score based on current events; and a question about voting in the 2002 election. Not only are these poor measures of participation, but they exclude non-citizens and offer a very myopic view of participation.

My argument in this paper is that immigrant and refugee college students, as a subset of immigrants to the United States, find themselves at the intersection of not only a politically-charged climate, but also one where new political tools are ubiquitous, allowing for citizens and non-citizens to make different, yet equally important contributions to the political process. Not only do we need a better understanding of how immigrant and refugee students understand their role in the American political process, but we must collectively figure out ways to engage this demographic more into civic life. According to Zukin et al. (2006), citizen engagement in America is changing because the avenues for participation are evolving faster than ever before. This has created a situation where the American political landscape is undergoing a “generational replacement” (3).

At a broader level, my dissertation seeks to understand the political habits of refugees and immigrants in the United States, specifically college students. It might also be helpful to articulate what I am not trying to accomplish. I am *not* trying to explain the effect of resettlement policies on the political participation of refugees (and immigrants)⁵; rather, the focus of this project is how individual experiences with discrimination depress political participation, particularly among individuals who have high levels of patriotism. In other words, while patriotism, or love for one’s country, has historically been positively correlated to political participation, my argument is that this causal mechanism has never been understood through the eyes of refugees and immigrants separate from native-born Americans. While no one has gone so

⁵ See Allerdice (2011) for an exhaustive study of the effect of resettlement policy and methods on the future political habits of Sudanese refugees in the United States and Australia.

far as to make the assumption that all Americans are socialized the same into our political culture, this dissertation aims to provide empirical support to this debate through a combination of survey data and group interviews. The primary theory I am building from is Michelson's (2003) notion of the "corrosive effect of acculturation": the more immigrants are socialized into American culture and encounter discrimination and hostilities, the more their resentment grows towards the United States, yielding an acculturative effect that is not beneficial to immigrants. Though her work focused on Mexican Americans, I believe it can be applied more broadly to immigrants and refugees.

Literature Review

As far back as Black (1948), Downs (1957), and Campbell et al. (1960), the theory was that voting was a stand-in for political participation. In their revised version of *The American Voter*, Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) state that "Voting has become a virtually universal means by which individuals make collective decisions ... it has become the way that nations represent their mass public in determining governmental actions" (3). Later scholarship also rested on the understanding that representation hinges on participation, which is the direct result of mobilization, and mobilization is a tool to manufacture and engender voting and create political sophisticates (Bedolla and Michelson 2012, Hajnal 2010, Han 2009, Rosenstone and Hansen 2003, Jones-Correa 1998, Smith 1989).

While a vast and thorough literature on political participation occupies American politics there seems to be a fair amount of confusion as to what specifically *constitutes* participation⁶. This is of particular concern with the new emphasis in the discipline on civic engagement. Where

⁶ This project is also not occupied with the question of *why* Americans get involved in politics in the first place. For an amazing take on that subject, I recommend Morone's (1998) *The Democratic Wish*.

does participation end and civic engagement begin or vice-versa? This question is of key importance in trying to understand why people do or do not participate; if we can't even agree on what activities comprise political participation, how can we discuss the extent of participation or engagement? And if we can't agree on a definition of participation, then can we really determine who is participating and who is not?

Weissberg (2005) agrees, remarking that the phrase "political participation" has almost no meaning in the current climate because there a lack of clarity as to what it entails. He cites a pivotal early work from Milbrath (1965) who listed 13 types of political activities ranging from "most difficult" (running and holding public office) to "least demanding" (voting and initiating a political discussion) (as referenced in Weissberg 2005, 20 – 21). Defining participation is extremely difficult because it constitutes individual and group behavior, as well as a range of responsibilities that people often do in their everyday lives that would not constitute political service in the public sense. Further, "Millions of Americans daily consciously take political 'stands' by buying environmentally safe detergents ... or boycotting clothing made in overseas sweatshops ... Is joining a high school Bible reading and prayer club 'political participation' if civil authorities seek to suppress these devotional services as 'unconstitutional'?" (24).

In their work on the gender gap in political participation, Burns et al. (2001) describe participation to include voting; holding public office; working in government; contributing to campaigns; any activities that affect policymakers including lobbying; contacting government officials; attending rallies, protests, or demonstrations; and volunteering. Dalton (2006) demarcates "conventional" from "contentious" forms of political engagement; the former consist of voting, group-based influence, and volunteering on and running for campaigns, and the latter activities such as protests, rallies, and demonstrations. Abramowitz (2010) understands the

“engaged public” to be people who care about politics; pay attention to what leaders say; “participate;” donate money; vote in primaries, volunteer on campaigns, etc. He considers participation to be the above activities plus discussing politics, convincing others to vote, and displaying yard signs and stickers. But what about running for office? Abramowitz (2010) says nothing about this, but this *is* included in the Fiorina and Abrams’ (2009) understanding of engagement. According to their version, the “political class” includes all of Abramowitz’s “engaged public(s)” and all candidates for office and all political donors.

Civic engagement cannot be separated from a certain understanding of citizenship and what the latter entails. If the question, asks Levine (2007), is how do we prepare young people to be better citizens, then the focus must be on improving the quality of civic education, as well as the number of people exposed to it. Using Keeter et al. (2006), Levine (2007) pushes for an understanding of civic engagement as one that comprises of community participation, political engagement, and political voice; specific acts might include voting, protesting, canvassing, petitioning, contacting officials, boycotting, and boycotting. Campbell (2006)’s “Dual Motivation Theory” of engagement differentiates between *civic engagement*, which is motivated by duty, commonality, and community building, from *political engagement*, which is the outcome of protection of interests arising from political conflicts. While he insists that both are necessary for a well-functioning society, he doesn’t full explain what specific acts constitute each type.

Methodology

Survey Design

The Discrimination, Patriotism, and Participation (DPP) Survey is a novel attempt to bring together the disparate questions in each of these distinct fields of inquiry to create a survey

instrument that can easily and cogently solve many of the theoretical puzzles I have asked so far. While my original intent was to use a paper-based survey, it became necessary to design an online survey that could be more easily disseminated among professors, students, and student organizations.⁷ The final product (see Appendix B) consists of 39 questions and agreement statements.

Discrimination was measured using the Everyday Discrimination Scale utilized by Williams et al. (1997) and based on the work of Essed (1991). It is important to note that the authors distinguish between discrimination and everyday discrimination; they define the former as “a measure of major experiences of unfair treatment” and the latter as “more chronic, routine, and relatively minor experiences of unfair treatment” (340). The Everyday Discrimination Scale,

“sums nine items that capture the frequency of the following experiences in the day-to-day lives of respondents: being treated with less courtesy than others; less respect than others; receiving poorer service than others in restaurants or stores; people acting as if you are not smart; they are better than you; they are afraid of you; they think you are dishonest; being called names or insulted; and being threatened or harassed” (Williams et al. 1997, 340).

Patriotism was measured with the 16-question response scale adopted by Huddy and Khatib (2007). The authors note early that measuring patriotism has been an exercise in futility due to the conflation of a number of concepts related to patriotism, but never defined as such. How can it be measured without addressing political ideology? Drawing on Schatz, Staub, and Levine (1999) and Schatz and Staub (1997), Huddy and Khatib (2007) crafted an index of questions broken down into four factor loadings, and each one consists of two to six questions that measure a particular *type* of patriotism: National Identity (NI), Symbolic Patriotism (SP), Constructive Patriotism (CP), Uncritical Patriotism (UP).

⁷ The current survey is available at http://www.surveymonkey.com/r/shyam_sriram .

Based on the above discussion of the disconnect offered between “participation” and “engagement,” I employed a novel technique to seek the civic activities of my respondents with an aim to really understanding how immigrant and refugees thought about political participation in the United States. I created a list of 15 activities based on past surveys and also included a couple of acts that crossed the political/civil divide – military service⁸, and volunteering (in the community, versus on a campaign).⁹ Respondents were then invited to check as many activities of the 15 they thought were important to civic life in the United States. This allowed me to compare the value placed by immigrant and refugee students to that of those who were native-born.

Lastly, while Huddy and Khatib’s (2007) patriotism index is extensive, it is not exhaustive. None of the four factor loadings refer to what I have termed “multicultural patriotism” or the ability to see American patriotism as positively affected by diversity, especially with regards to the presence of immigrants and refugees. To that end, I added five additional statements to the DPP in order to gauge if immigrant and refugee students had different perceptions. Like the patriotism index, these agreement statements also have possible scores from zero to 10:

- (i) “I can be American *and* another nationality.”
- (ii) “America has always been a land of immigrants.”
- (iii) “Refugees are lucky to call America home.”
- (iv) “Ethnic or religious identity does not conflict with American identity.”
- (v) “Refugees and immigrants are good for America.”

⁸ Leal (1999)

⁹ Walker (2002)

Delivery and Sample

A pilot survey is currently being fielded at the University of California, Santa Barbara through an online link¹⁰. Besides reaching out to students in the introductory “American Government” class – with an enrollment of 180 students – I also sent the survey link to specific student organizations to get a diverse sample of students with particular emphasis placed on those from immigrant and refugee backgrounds. These included the Muslim Student Association, the Santa Barbara Hillel, the Vietnamese Student Association, the Black Student Union, etc. The data for this paper comes from this ongoing survey, which is by no means complete.¹¹

By over-sampling students from immigrant backgrounds, the current data set includes 121 students, 90 percent of whom are between the ages of 18 and 24, and 28 percent who immigrated to the United States (of which 40% self-identified as refugees). Just over 65 percent are female, approximately the same percentage identify as one of several non-White racial or ethnic categories. Due to over-sampling students from specific organizations, the current sample is almost 30 percent Christian (Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox); 18 percent Muslim; 10 percent Jewish; 31 percent Atheist and “Nothing in Particular;” as well as other denominations. 87.5 percent of the students in the sample also identified as Democrats or as Democrat-leaning Independents.

Exploring the Data [See Appendix A for all tables and figures]

Figure 1 displays the 10 most preferred civic activities across all 121 respondents by frequency. We can observe right away that while voting for candidates received the most checks, not all of the students in the sample thought it was an important civic duty. Candidate voting was

¹⁰ http://www.surveymonkey.com/r/shyam_sriram

¹¹ A second survey will be fielded soon at Perimeter College of Georgia State University in Atlanta, which has a large immigrant and refugee population.

volunteered by community volunteerism, referenda/initiative voting, signing petitions (including online), and participating in boycotts as the top five most preferred forms of activism. The list was rounded out by involvement in rallies and protests; communications with elected officials; boycotts; media communication on politics; and joining interest groups.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

While the above figure is illustrative of the changing nature of participation, one of this project's questions is on the observable differences between immigrants and native-born Americans. To that end, Table 1 offers some startling insight to how different communities in the United States perceive civic involvement.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

Table 1 provides very strong support for my initial argument – immigrant college students view almost every type of political participation with *less support* than native-born students. Even an act like voting, which forms the basis for much of the participation literature, has 13.3 percent less support among those who immigrated after 18 and 18.5 percent less support than those who came to the United States before 18. While students who came to the United States after the age of 18 differ from those who came before 18, across almost all 15 types of participation, immigrant students tend to choose political acts less than students born in the United States. Only three demographics chose political acts more than native-born students: those who immigrated after age 18 were more likely to view communicating with politicians as a civic act, and those who immigrated before age 18 were more likely to see military service and participation in rallies and protests as civic acts compared to native students.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

The results in Table 2 provide support for my initial query about the differences in patriotism experienced by immigrant college students. On every measure, across all four factors, immigrant students had varying levels of patriotism. While some of the statements were evaluated favorably by immigrants as well as all the respondents – e.g. “Being American is important to me” – those results were not consistent. Immigrants among the survey respondents were much less supportive of some statements (e.g. “If I criticize the United States, I do so out of love for country”) and much more of others (e.g. “People who do not wholeheartedly support America should live elsewhere.”).

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

Both Tables 3 and 4 provide evidence to support the argument that patriotism and discrimination are connected, but as the evidence points out, those relationships hold much true for a sample of native-born and immigrants, but not only for immigrants. Among all respondents, Constructive Patriotism was statistically significant and negatively correlated with six of the nine measures of everyday discrimination. This was followed by National Identity and four measures, followed by Symbolic Patriotism and three. Surprisingly, Uncritical Patriotism was not statistically correlated with *any* of the nine measures of discrimination. Taken from another perspective, experiences with poorer service and the feeling that People are afraid of you were statistically correlated to three of the four dimensions of patriotism. But, Table 4 paints a completely different picture. Only two relationships were statistically significant: Constructive Patriotism and being treated with less courtesy, as well as poorer service. One possible explanation is that the native-born Americans in this sample also contained many People of Color whose experiences with discrimination were possibly more salient and related to

experiences with patriotism compared to the immigrants who had low levels of patriotism because they had not spent enough time in the U.S.

[INSERT TABLE 5 HERE]

Tables 5 and 6 depict just how weak the relationship between patriotism and participation can be (with patriotism measured by the cumulative score based on the DPP survey questions).

The results for all respondents are available in Table 5. First, three types of patriotism are significantly correlated with only one type of participation each: national identity and boycotting; constructive patriotism and community volunteering; and uncritical patriotism and joining an interest group. Second, symbolic patriotism has the highest correlation with four out of 15 possible types of participation: rallies, boycotts, campaign volunteering, and joining the military. Third, many of the correlations, while not significant, point to an intriguing phenomenon: why would higher levels of patriotism *depress* political participation? For example, all four types of patriotism are negatively correlated to participating in rallies and protests? Why? One theory might be that students who identify as patriots view participation in rallies and protests as somehow un-American, and not as a form of patriotism. The same can be observed with boycotts; why are patriotic students less likely to participate in boycotting businesses and products? Is the theoretical connection here between patriotism and markets?

[INSERT TABLE 6 HERE]

Table 6 provides even less clarity. By only examining at immigrants, the data reveal even less statistically significant correlations. First, National Identity and Symbolic Patriotism were both negatively correlated with the respondents' interest in boycotting; in other words, the greater the feeling of national identity or support for the national anthem and flag, the less likely a respondent would be to view boycotting as a viable civic duty. Second, Symbolic Patriotism was also statistically significant, and negatively correlated to participating in rallies or protest.

While a theory is currently unavailable to explain this phenomenon, one thought could be that protests, especially in this post-election climate, are often seen as violent, so a respondent who believes in Symbolic Patriotism doesn't "see" the symbolism associated with participating in a mass protest. Conversely, Symbolic Patriotism was *positively* correlated and statistically related to both interest in volunteering and service in the military as forms of civic duty.

[INSERT TABLE 7 HERE]

Lastly, a comparison between the means of native-born vs. immigrant students on the five-question scale of "Multicultural Patriotism" yielded remarkable results. Immigrant and refugee students were less likely than native-born students to agree with four of the five statements: "I can be American *and* another nationality;" "Refugees are lucky to call America home;" "Ethnic or religious identity does not conflict with American identity;" and "Refugees and immigrants are good for America." The only statement for which the immigrant mean was higher than that of the native born was "America has always been a land of immigrants."

Conclusion

This paper was a first attempt at trying to explain a new theoretical understanding of political participation in the United States with an original data set. Besides the small sample and limits of this new data, this paper might also point out my fundamental quandary: how do I connect discrimination, patriotism, and participation? Also, is a survey the best method to gauge the kind of interactions I am seeking or would my fledgling theory be best survived through in-depth interviews with students? believe that this paper, while lacking in hypotheses (in its current form), does highlight several unique relationships between variations of the three main chains.

Some of the analyses, however basic, do provide support to the following assumptions made at the beginning of this paper:

- (i) Choice of civic activity among all respondents varies tremendously and there is no unanimous support of any one type including voting.
 - (ii) Immigrants (those who came to the U.S. before age 18 and after) perceive of participation differently from native-born students.
 - (iii) Patriotism differs across all four dimensions; in some cases, immigrants scored higher than native-born Americans, and in some cases scored less.
 - (iv) The relationship between patriotism and discrimination is easier to observe, and possibly even interpret, compared to that of patriotism and participation.
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APPENDIX A: FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1: Self-Reported Civic Activities (by number of respondents)

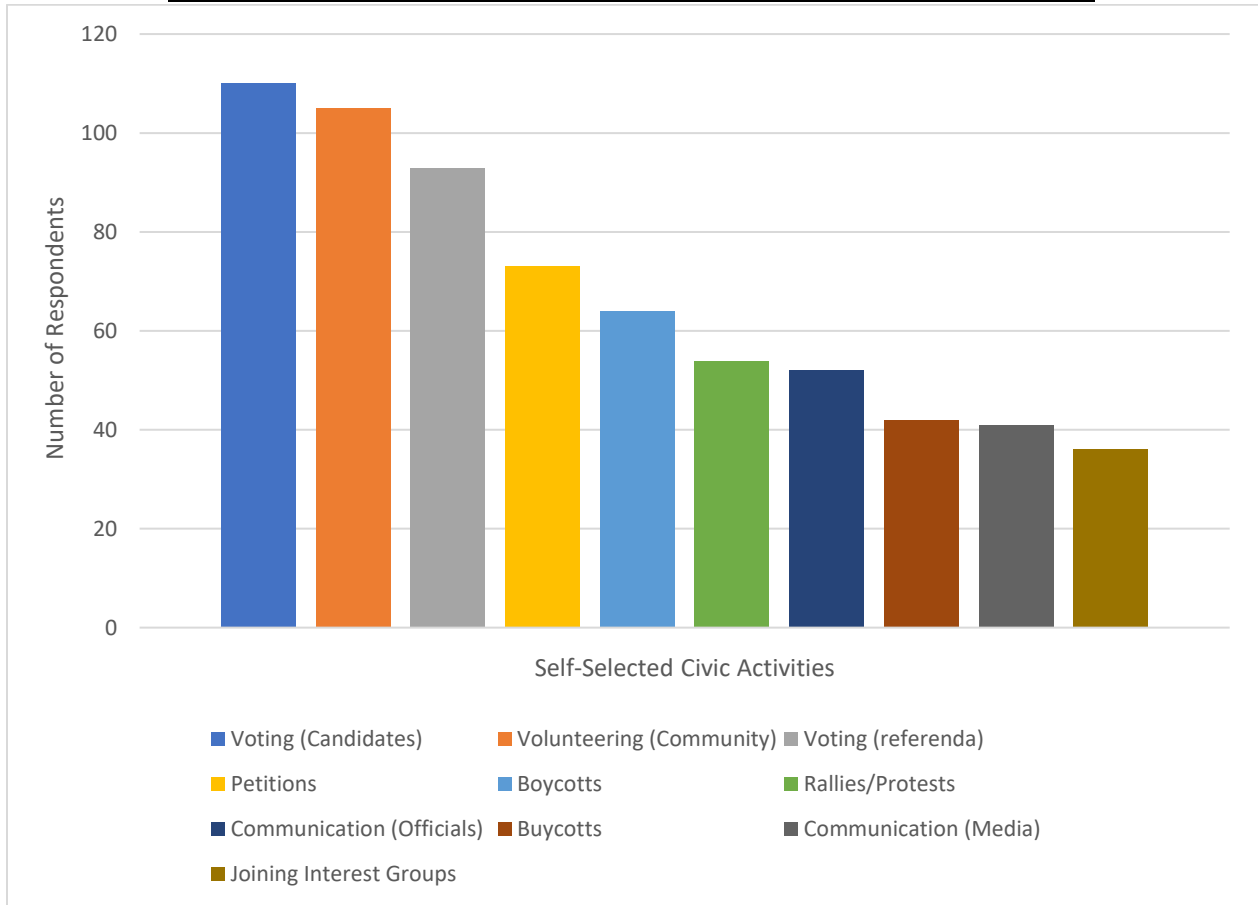


Table 1: Participation by Immigrant Status

	Voting (#1)	Volunteer (comm)	Voting #2	Petitions	Boycott	Rallies	Pol. Comm.	
Native-Born	96.6%	90.8%	85.1%	63.2%	57.5%	46%	47.1%	
Immigrant (after age 18)	83.3%	83.3%	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	16.7%	50%	
Immigrant (before age 18)	77.8%	77.8%	55.6%	59.3%	44.4%	48.1%	29.6%	
	Boycott	Media Comm.	IG	Volunteer (camp.)	IG \$\$	Pol \$\$	Elected Office	Military
Native-Born	35.6%	36.8%	31%	29.9%	24.1%	21.8%	20.7%	12.6%
Immigrant (after age 18)	33.3%	33.3%	16.7%	33.3%	0	16.7%	0	16.7%
Immigrant (before age 18)	33.3%	25.9%	29.6%	25.9%	22.2%	14.8%	14.8%	14.8%

Table 2: Patriotism Index

	Mean Score (All)	Mean Score (Immigrants)
a) National Identity (NI)		
(i) "Being American is important to me."	6.92	6.97
(ii) "I see myself as a typical American."	5.28	4.29
(iii) "The term American describes me well."	5.29	4.19
(iv) "When talking about Americans, I often say 'we' instead of 'them'."	6.62	5.52
b) Symbolic Patriotism (SP)		
(i) "It makes me feel good to see the American flag flying."	5.85	5.87
(ii) "It makes me feel good to hear the national anthem."	5.59	5.83
c) Constructive Patriotism (CP)		
(i) "People should work hard to move this country in a positive direction."	9.02	8.35
(ii) "If I criticize the United States, I do so out of love for country."	6.43	5.61
(iii) "I oppose some U.S. policies because I care about my country and want to improve it."	8.47	8.86
(iv) "I express my attachment to America by supporting efforts at positive change."	7.81	8.65
d) Uncritical Patriotism (UP)		
(i) "I support my country's leaders even if I disagree with their actions."	3.22	3.03
(ii) "People who do not wholeheartedly support America should live elsewhere."	2.46	3.58
(iii) "For the most part, people who protest against U.S. policy are good, intelligent people."	5.90	5.40
(iv) "The United States is virtually always right."	2.21	2.64
(v) "I support U.S. policies for the very reason they are the policies of my country."	2.48	3.41
(vi) "I believe that U.S. policies are almost always the morally correct ones."	2.43	3.2

Table 3: Correlations between Discrimination and Patriotism (all respondents)

	National Identity	Symbolic Patriotism	Constructive Patriotism	Uncritical Patriotism
Less Courtesy	-.146	-.014	-.287**	-.010
Less Respect	-.081	.002	-.177	.015
Poorer Service	-.274**	-.205*	-.390**	.013
Less Smart	-.077	-.081	-.210*	-.021
People Afraid	-.201*	-.254**	-.261**	-.071
Think Dishonest	-.165	-.241*	-.278**	-.068
Think Better	-.189*	-.163	-.142	-.033
Feel Insulted	-.051	-.020	-.107	-.042
Threatened	-.218*	-.177	-.240**	-.108

Table 4: Correlations between Discrimination and Patriotism (immigrants)

	National Identity	Symbolic Patriotism	Constructive Patriotism	Uncritical Patriotism
Less Courtesy	-.004	.036	-.447*	.033
Less Respect	.188	.128	-.152	.113
Poorer Service	.111	-.102	-.376*	.210
Less Smart	.120	.010	-.331	.236
People Afraid	.151	-.133	-.345	.244
Think Dishonest	.083	.027	-.263	.189
Think Better	.120	.032	-.155	.057
Feel Insulted	.171	.077	-.203	.133
Threatened	-.138	.032	-.229	-.017

Table 5: Correlations between Patriotism and Participation (all respondents)

	Voting (#1)	Volunteer (comm)	Voting #2	Petitions	Boycott	Rallies	Pol. Comm.	
National Identity	.123	.087	.049	-.058	-.209*	-.141	-.052	
Symbolic Patriotism	.148	-.013	.082	-.120	-.259**	-.214*	-.123	
Constructive Patriotism	.069	.209*	.146	.017	-.078	-.052	-.010	
Uncritical Patriotism	-.006	-.041	-.043	.023	-.164	-.169	-.117	
	Boycott	Media Comm.	IG	Volunteer (camp.)	IG \$\$	Pol \$\$	Elected Office	Military
National Identity	-.090	-.074	.111	.000	.047	-.083	-.118	.168
Symbolic Patriotism	-.125	-.057	.082	.216*	.120	.072	-.102	.231*
Constructive Patriotism	.005	.003	-.007	.032	.013	.004	-.063	.103
Uncritical Patriotism	-.038	.051	.191*	.038	.151	.004	.036	-.020

Table 6: Correlations between Patriotism and Participation (immigrants and refugees)

	Voting (#1)	Volunteer (comm)	Voting #2	Petitions	Boycott	Rallies	Pol. Comm.	
National Identity	.012	.087	.030	-.058	-.209*	-.141	-.052	
Symbolic Patriotism	.148	-.013	.082	-.120	-.259**	-.214*	-.123	
Constructive Patriotism	.069	.209*	.146	.017	-.078	-.052	-.010	
Uncritical Patriotism	-.006	-.041	-.043	.023	-.164	-.169	-.117	
	Buycott	Media Comm.	IG	Volunteer (camp.)	IG \$\$	Pol \$\$	Elected Office	Military
National Identity	-.090	-.074	.111	.000	.047	-.083	-.118	.168
Symbolic Patriotism	-.125	-.057	.082	.216*	.120	.072	-.102	.231*
Constructive Patriotism	.005	.003	-.007	.032	.013	.004	-.063	.103
Uncritical Patriotism	-.038	.051	.191*	.038	.151	.004	.036	-.020

Table 7: Multicultural Patriotism Index

	Mean Score (Native Born)	Mean Score (Immigrants)
“I can be American <i>and</i> another nationality.”	8.97	8.21
“America has always been a land of immigrants.”	8.93	9.05
“Refugees are lucky to call America home.”	5.34	4.66
“Ethnic or religious identity does not conflict with American identity.”	6.98	5.55
“Refugees and immigrants are good for America.”	8.27	8.11

APPENDIX B: 2017 Discrimination, Patriotism, and Participation Survey

Survey Information: This survey of the political attitudes of college students is being administered by Shyam K. Sriram, a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Santa Barbara under the direction of Dr. Eric R.A.N. Smith, who is the principal investigator [he can be contacted at smith@polsci.ucsb.edu]. This survey has been approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of California Santa Barbara [Protocol No. 39-17-0071]. This survey is anonymous and voluntary, and no personal identifying information will be collected. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names and other personally identifiable information will not be used. It should take 15 minutes to complete.

I. What is your current age?

- a) < 18 years
- b) 18 to 24 years
- c) 25 to 30 years
- d) 31 to 35 years
- e) Over 36 years

II. What is your sex?

- a) Male
- b) Female
- c) Other/ Prefer not to say

III. What is your race/ethnicity?

- a) White/ European heritage
- b) Black/African American heritage
- c) Asian/Asian American heritage
- d) Latino/Chicago/Tejano/ Hispanic heritage
- e) Biracial/ Multiracial
- f) Other (please specify): _____

IV. What is your religion?

- a) Christianity
- b) Judaism
- c) Islam
- d) Hinduism
- e) Buddhism
- f) Agnostic/ Atheist
- g) Other (please specify) _____

V. What is your current citizenship status?

- a) U.S. citizen by birth.
- b) U.S. citizen by naturalization.
- c) Non-citizen

VI. Which of the following statements best describes you?

- a) I was born in the United States.
- b) I came to the United States as a child or teenager (before the age of 18).
- c) I came to the United States after the age of 18.

VII. Do you consider yourself now or any time in the past to be a refugee?

- a) Yes
- b) No

VIII. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

- a) Republican
- b) Democratic
- c) Independent/ Other

→ If “Independent/Other,” do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

- a) Republican
- b) Democratic

IX. These questions ask about types of discrimination that you may have faced. How often do any of the following things happen to you? (Circle the ideal answer)

- a) You are treated with less courtesy than other people.

Almost every day | at least once a week | a few times a month | a few times a year | less than once a year | never

- b) You are treated with less respect than other people.

Almost every day | at least once a week | a few times a month | a few times a year | less than once a year | never

- c) You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.

Almost every day | at least once a week | a few times a month | a few times a year | less than once a year | never

3. “Refugees are lucky to call America home.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

4. “Ethnic or religious identity does not conflict with American identity.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

5. “Refugees and immigrants are good for America.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

XI. Please rate the following statements/ answer the following questions on the scales:

1. “How important is being American to you?”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(not important at all) (very important)

2. “To what extent do you see yourself as a typical American?”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(not American at all) (very American)

3. “How well does the term *American* describe you?”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(doesn't describe me at all) (describes me well)

4. “When talking about Americans, how often do you say ‘we’ instead of ‘them’?”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(never) (always)

5. “How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying?”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(not good at all) (very good)

6. “How good does it make you feel when you hear the national anthem?”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(not good at all) (very good)

7. “People should work hard to move this country in a positive direction.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

8. “If I criticize the United States, I do so out of love for country.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

9. “I oppose some U.S. policies because I care about my country and want to improve it.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

10. “I express my attachment to America by supporting efforts at positive change.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

11. “I support my country’s leaders even if I disagree with their actions.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

12. “People who do not wholeheartedly support America should live elsewhere.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

13. “For the most part, people who protest against U.S. policy are good, intelligent people.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

14. “The United States is virtually always right.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

15. “I support U.S. policies for the very reason that they are the policies of my country.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

16. “I believe that U.S. policies are almost always the morally correct ones.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(disagree completely) (agree completely)

XII. The following is a list of political activities. *Regardless of your current citizenship*, please circle/ check the activities you think are important to living in the United States and being involved in civic life.

- a) Voting for candidates (federal, local, state).
- b) Voting on referenda/propositions/ initiatives.
- c) Participating in a rally or protest.
- d) Volunteering in your community (with a non-profit organization, at a school, etc.)
- e) Volunteering on a political campaign.
- f) Running for office.
- g) Donating money to a candidate or party.
- h) Joining an interest group or civic association.
- i) Donating money to an interest group.
- j) Signing a petition (including online).
- k) Corresponding with your elected officials.
- l) Writing letters/sending emails to newspapers, magazines, or websites about political issues.
- m) Boycotting (abstaining from) specific products or companies for political reasons.
- n) “Buycotting” – buying specific products or companies for political reasons
- o) Joining the military.