

KOREAN AMERICAN VOTERS AND THEIR VOTING BEHAVIOR

재미 한인 보팅 파워와 투표양태

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발표와 토의 주요 내용

- 한인 투표권자는 얼마나 되나?
- 한인 이민의 정체상태와 시민권 취득 지연
- 시민권자들의 유권자 등록, 투표참여
- 선거 참여 이론에 벗어나는 한인 유권자들
- 한인 유권자들의 이슈와 정당 선호
- 한인 시민권자들의 투표에 영향을 미치는 요인들
- 한인 보팅 파워의 한계와 장래

재미 아시안계-한인 인구의 증가

- ◎ American Community Survey, 2010-2013 5% data

Asian Americans은 2010년에 **1천820만명**(미국 인구의 **5.8%**) 로 성장.(1965년 이민법 개정 때는 1% 이하).

- ◎ Current Population Survey (CPS): 아시안계 투표권자는 2012년에 약 **830만명** (**2000년의 470만명에서 약 76% 증가.**

* **2010년** 센서스에 아시안중 한인 비율은 **8.8 %**.

이 비율을 **ACS 2010** (**2010년** 센서스)에 적용하면

- ◎ **2012 CPS:** 아시안계 유권자의 **8.8 %**인 한인투표권자는 **730,400명**.

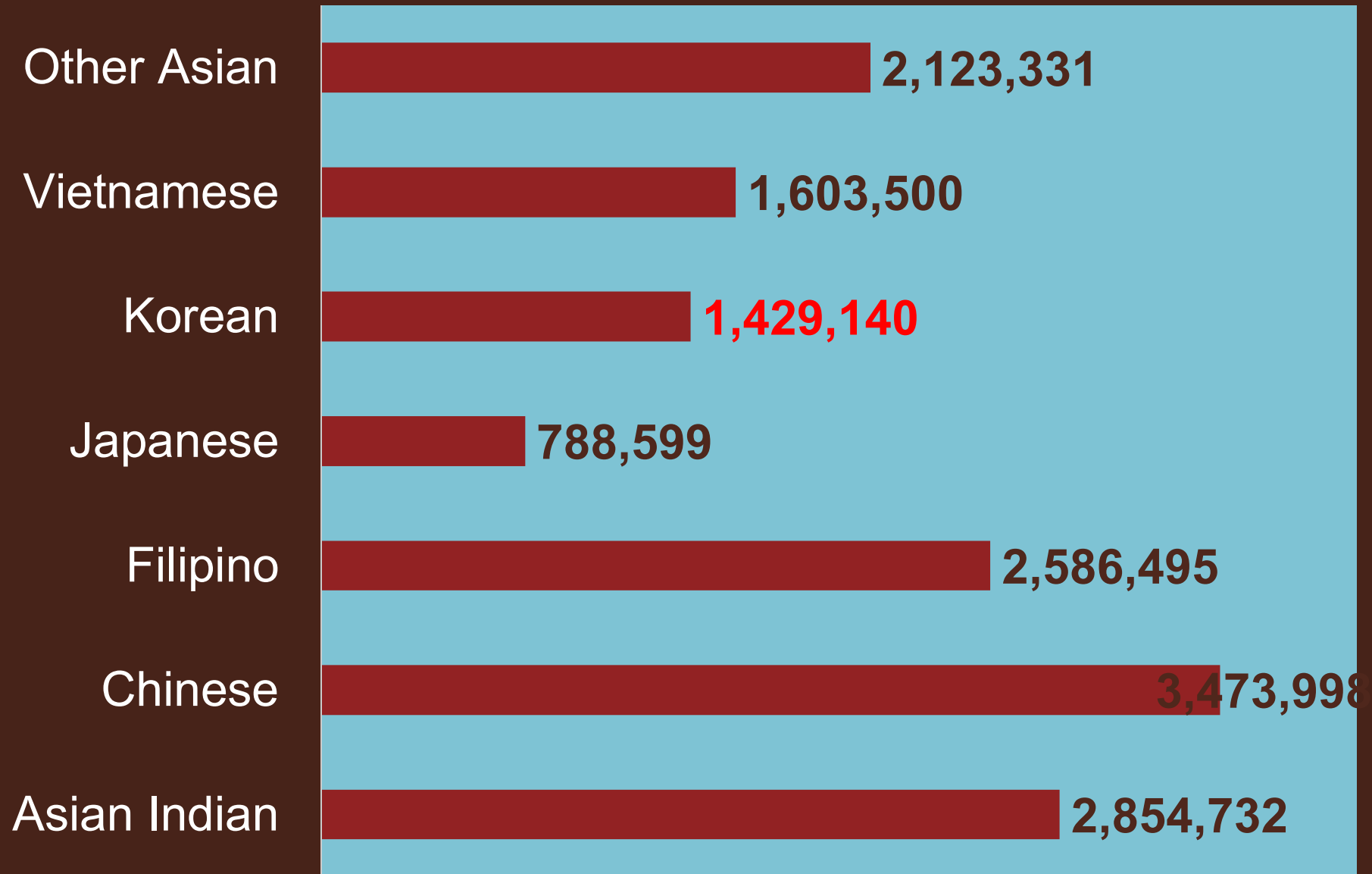
재미 한인 인구 얼마나 변화했나?

Table 1. Number of Korean Immigration and Population

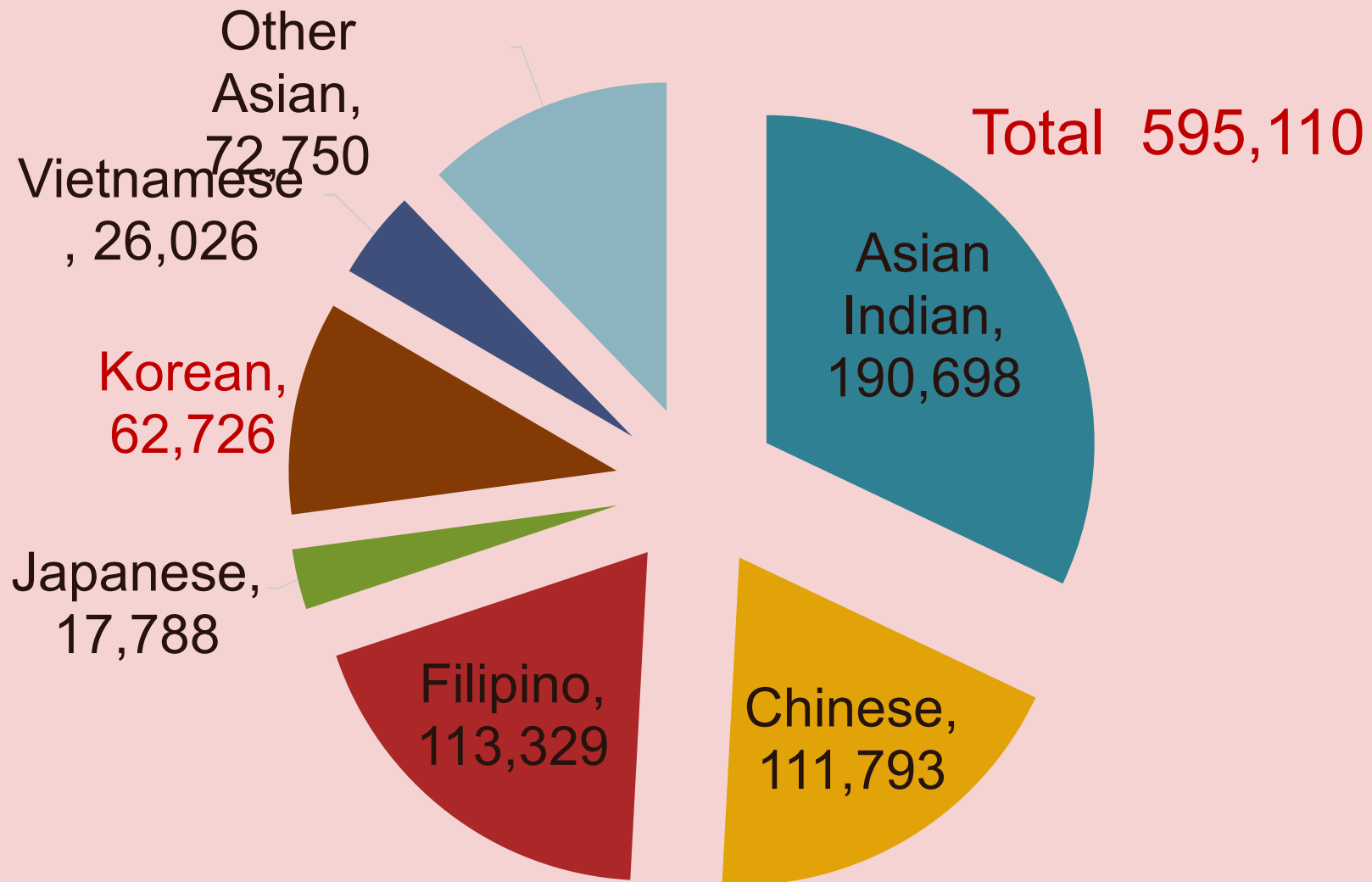
Decades	Immigrants in Decade 10년 간의 이민자수	Decennial Census 10년차 센서스	N in Decennial Census
1965-1970	27,283	Year 1970	69,130
1971-1980	265,069	Year 1980	354,593
1981-1990	338,872	Year 1990	798,849
1991-2000	171,323	Year 2000	1,228,427
2001-2010	222,146	Year 2010	1,706,822

Source: U.S. Census; Immigration and Naturalization Service, The 1965-1978 Annual Reports and the 1979-2001 Statistical Yearbooks; Office of Immigration Statistics, The 2002-2012 Yearbooks of Immigration Statistics. (Compiled by Pyong Gap Min).

Asian Americans in 2010 Census



일리노이 주의 아시안 인구 분포



재미 한인 투표권자는 얼마나 되나?

- 2010년 센서스 한인 170만명중에 약 25만명의 혼혈인은 한인사회 연구에서는 배제함.
- 순수 한인 ('Race Korean' alone)은 1,418,962명.
- 그중에 18세 이상된 사람은 **1,105,157** 명으로 추정.
- 18세 이상 한인 **시민권자 702,847(63.6%)** 명이 **미국 선거 투표권자**.
- 선거 연령자의 **48.3 % (534,112 명)**이 미국 선거 유권자 중의 1세 이민자.
- 선거 연령자의 **16.2%(168,735 명)**이 미국 선거 유권자 중의 2세.
- 한편, 선거권 연령 그룹의 **36.4%(410,020)**가 비시민권자. (미국 선거 유권자).

• 아시안 투표권자 증가와 참여행태


Year	Number (millions)	% Registered	% Voted
2000	4.7	52.4	43.3
2002	6	49.2	31.2
2004	6.3	51.8	85.2
2006	6.6	49.1	32.4
2008	7.1	55.3	47.6
2010	7.6	49.3	30.8
2012	8.3	56.3	47.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports. Voting and Registration in the election of multi years combined by Y. Lee.

각 주별 한인 투표권 연령자 비교

American Community Survey, 2010-2013 5% data

U.S. Citizens Age over 18

State	U.S. born	Naturalized	Non citizen	Total
Alabama	430	2,249	2,319	4,998
Alaska	308	1,773	545	2,626
Arizona	2,432	5,140	4,354	11,926
Arkansas	116	1,153	559	1,828
California 	54,438	171,824	132,009	358,271
Colorado	3,396	8,722	5,296	17,414
Connecticut	820	3,270	2,293	6,383
Delaware	219	707	446	1,372
District of Columbia	760	783	404	1,947
Florida	3,619	10,467	6,788	20,874
Georgia	5,390	16,922	18,065	40,377
Hawaii	8,513	10,138	5,724	24,375

각 주별 한인 투표권 연령자 비교

Idaho	199	530	607	1,336
Illinois	9,357	25,626	14,672	49,655
Indiana	1,086	2,742	3,133	6,961
Iowa	415	2,618	1,715	4,748
Kansas	900	2,082	1,538	4,520
Kentucky	633	1,794	1,055	3,482
Louisiana	451	1,251	1,113	2,815
Maine	243	376	142	761
Maryland	4,880	19,452	11,331	35,663
Massachusetts	3,641	6,725	8,398	18,764
Michigan	2,530	7,855	6,778	17,163
Minnesota	1,016	8,168	2,754	11,938
Mississippi	303	689	824	1,816
Missouri	1,258	4,077	2,886	8,221

각 주별 한인 투표권 연령자 비교

State	U.S. born	Naturalized	Non citizen	Total
Montana	12	685	181	878
Nebraska	182	1,337	689	2,208
Nevada	1,471	5,188	3,164	9,823
New Hampshire	265	643	249	1,157
New Jersey	6,600	31,212	27,700	65,512
New Mexico	414	1,189	505	2,108
New York	17,363	51,744	44,041	113,148
North Carolina	1,972	6,209	5,035	13,216
North Dakota	32	224	107	363
Ohio	2,185	4,969	3,759	10,913
Oklahoma	505	2,580	1,272	4,357
Oregon	2,257	6,774	4,063	13,094

각 주별 한인 투표권 연령자 비교

Pennsylvania	4,551	14,651	11,200	30,402
Rhode Island	463	347	734	1,544
South Carolina	437	2,256	899	3,592
South Dakota	19	632	161	812
Tennessee	1,142	3,435	3,091	7,668
Texas	6,398	22,894	21,651	50,943
Utah	1,079	2,392	1,924	5,395
Vermont	74	446	111	631
Virginia	5,840	26,788	18,956	51,584
Washington	6,692	26,648	14,407	47,747
West Virginia	97	429	193	719
Wisconsin	1,196	3,167	2,302	6,665
Wyoming	136	140	168	444
Total	168,735	534,112	402,310	1,105,157

한인의 시민권 취득이 부진하는 문제성

Analysis of U.S. Census and the Pew 2012 data: by Yoon Lee

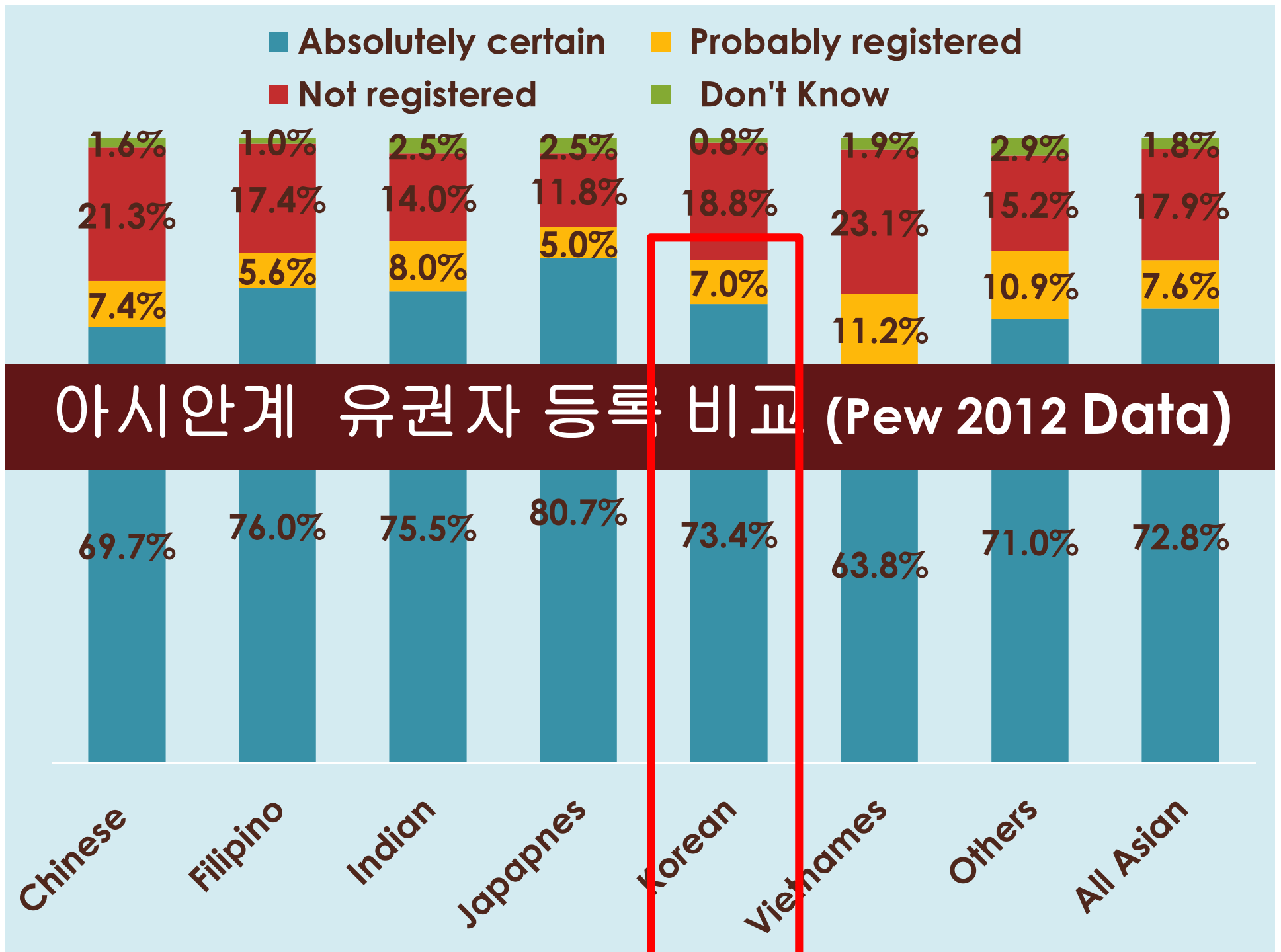
- ◎ 1세 이민의 미국 귀화율은 54.7%.
- ◎ 이민의 귀화가 지연되는 이유중에는 미국 거주기간이 아직 짧다는데 관계 있음 (시일이 지나면 변화할 것인가??)
- ◎ 영어 구사력이 미국 시민권 취득과 원만한 상관관계를 나타냄.
- ◎ 영어 구사력은 모국 지향성 및 한인 밀집 현상과 관계 있고 시민 귀화를 지연시킴.
- ◎ 학력, 직업, 소득 수준은 시민권 취득에 유의성 있는 상관관계(significant effect) 를 보이지 않음. (social resource 이론의 한계).

English Proficiency and Citizenship

Table 4. English Proficiency of Foreign Born Koreans

Ability to speak English	Naturalized citizen	Non-citizen	Total
Very well	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%
Well	49.8%	50.2%	100.0%
Not well	43.2%	56.8%	100.0%
Not at all	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%
Total	54.3%	45.7%	100.0%

Source: 2010 ACS, Tabulated by Y. Lee



재민 한인 유권자 등록 과 투표율

2012 November Election

	Eligible voters	Regist. Rate	N Register	Voting Rate	Voted
CPS data Asian American in 2012	8.3 million	56.3%	4.7 million	47.3%	3.9 million
Est. Kor-Am voters in 2010 census.					
Based on CPS data	702,847	56.3%	404,949	47.3%	332,446
Based on Pew 2012 Survey	702,847	74.4%	522,918	60.2%	423,113

재민 한인 유권자의 등록 추정치

CPS data, 4.7 million (56.3% of the 8.3 million eligible voters) Asian American citizens, reportedly registered for voting.

CPS data의 아시안 유권자 선거권 등록율(56.3%)을 702,000 Korean American eligible voters in 2010에 적용. 한인 유권자 등록수는 404,900 (2010).

- Pew 2012 Survey에는 425명 한인 샘플 중에 316명이 시민권자인 것으로 밝혀져 73.4%가 투표권 등록. 73.4%등록율을 2010년 한인수에 적용하면 515,889명이 2012년에 유권자 등록.

재민 한인 유권자의 투표 추정치

CPS data에 따르면

- 2012년 11월 대선때 총 830만 유권자의 47.3 %(**390만명**) 투표
- (This number is pretty close to estimates in the National Asian American Survey (NAAS) which **estimated that about 3.85 million**, a record number of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders went to the polls in 2012)
- CPS data의 아시안 투표율(47.3% in 2012)을 한인 유권자(702,847 in 2010 Census)에 적용하면 2012년 11월 대선의 **332,446명**이 투표했음.

재민 한인 유권자의 투표 추정치

Pew 2012 Survey에 따르

- ◎ 한인 시민권자(316명) 중 2%가 2008년 선거때 투표한 사람.
- ◎ 60.2%를 702,847명 한민권자에 적용하면 423,113명 한인 시민권자가 2008년 11월 선거에 투표한 것으로 추정.
- ◎ 이런 자료들을 근거로 한민권자 32,446명 내지 555,249명이 2012년 11월 선거에 투표했다고 추정 가능

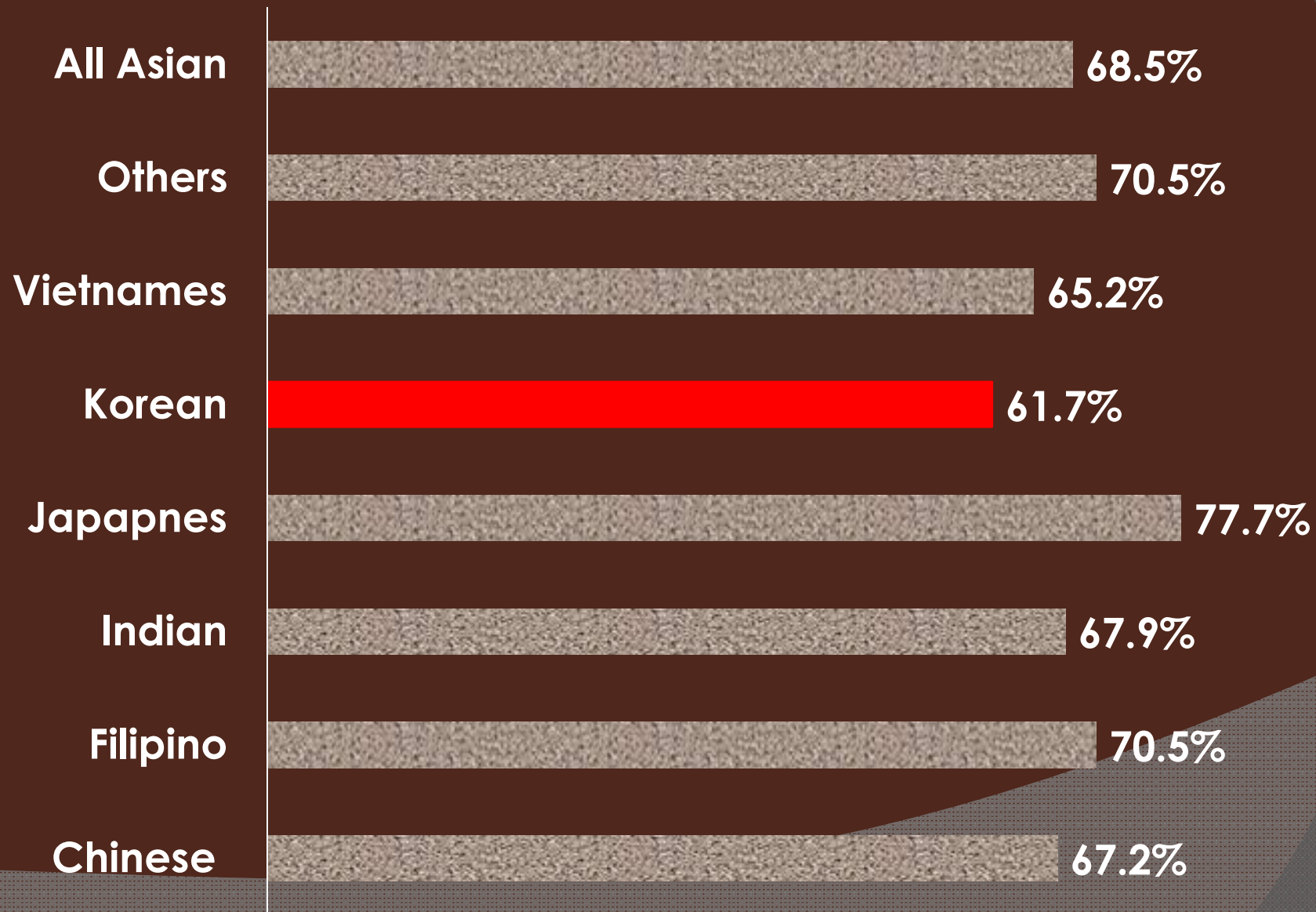
재민 한인 유권자의 투표 추정치

Table 5. Estimates of Korean Americans Voted in November 2012 Election

	Voter Base Number in 2010 ACS	Rate Voted	Estimates of Voted
CPS, Asian American Registered Voters in 2012	702,847	47.3%	332,446
Pew 2012 Survey, Korean Voters Voted in 2008	702,847	60.2%	423,113
NAAS, Korean Registered Voters in 2012 Election	702,847	79.0%	555,249

Voted in 2008 Presidential Election

By Asian Groups: Pew 2012 Survey



한인 유권자들의 선거 참여 장애

Source: AALDEF's 2012 November Election Survey

Voting problems the 998 Korean American respondents encountered

- 337 were required to show identification (although 272 of them were not first-time voters),
- 22 were required to prove their U.S. citizenship,
- 23 indicated that their names were missing or had errors in the list of voters at poll sites.
- 13 had to vote by provisional ballot,
- 30 voters indicated poll workers didn't know the rules,
- 22 voters indicated that poll workers were rude or hostile,
- 43 voters complained that no interpreters or translations were available when needed, and
- 8 voters were directed to the wrong poll site or voting machine or table within a site.

한인 유권자 선거 참여 장려운동

Eastern region

- The Korean American Civic Empowerment (KACE, established in 1996 in Flushing, New York).
- KACE accomplished to register over 25,000 Korean Americans as voters in New York and New Jersey, and raised the Korean American voter turnout from 5% in 1996 to over 68% in 2008.
- In preparation for the 2012 November election, KACE accessed the voter registration records from 62 counties of the State of New York, and produced numerical basis for future.
- Efforts branched out to New Jersey.

한인 유권자 선거 참여 장려운동

In the Southern California

- Waken up by the Los Angeles Civil Unrest in 1992,
- National Association of Korean American Educational Centers (NAKASEC) in 1994. Projects a national progressive voice on major civil rights and immigrants issues and to promote the full participation of Korean Americans for social change.
- Today, the Los Angeles-based NAKASEC has an affiliate in Annandale, VA, and in Chicago (KRCC).
- NAKASEC campaign is designed to walk first-time voters (including voter registration, voter education, voter mobilization, voter assistance, voter research, and voting rights advocacy.
- Korean Resource Center (KRC), a NAKASEC affiliate in L.A. coordinated a multifaceted civic participation campaign since the 1996 presidential elections.

한인 유권자 선거 참여 장려운동

In the Midwest region

- The Korean-American Resource and Cultural Center (KRCC) of Chicago area, a member organization of NAKASEC
- The Korean-American Voter Organizing Initiative & Community Empowerment (KA VOICE) have been active in voter registration and mobilization.
- Two groups organized the Korean American Early Voting Day event before the November 2012 Election under the cooperation of the Cook County Election Commission, and have done it again for March Primary Election in 2014.

Two major theories of voting study

Assimilation theory

미국 거류 세월 따라 신분 (학력, 직업, 소득) 지위 향상이 선거 참여 증대한다는 가설 (Cho, W. K. T.)

Traditional assimilation theory (Gordon 1964) assumes **the amount of time spent in the U.S. is a key predictor of assimilation** so that Electoral participation is an indicator of loss of immigrant identity and incorporation into the majority society.

Those who stayed longer in the U.S. are: more likely to be naturalized citizens, with improved socioeconomic conditions. more integrated into their communities more accepting U.S. institutions and social customs, they are more likely to register and vote.

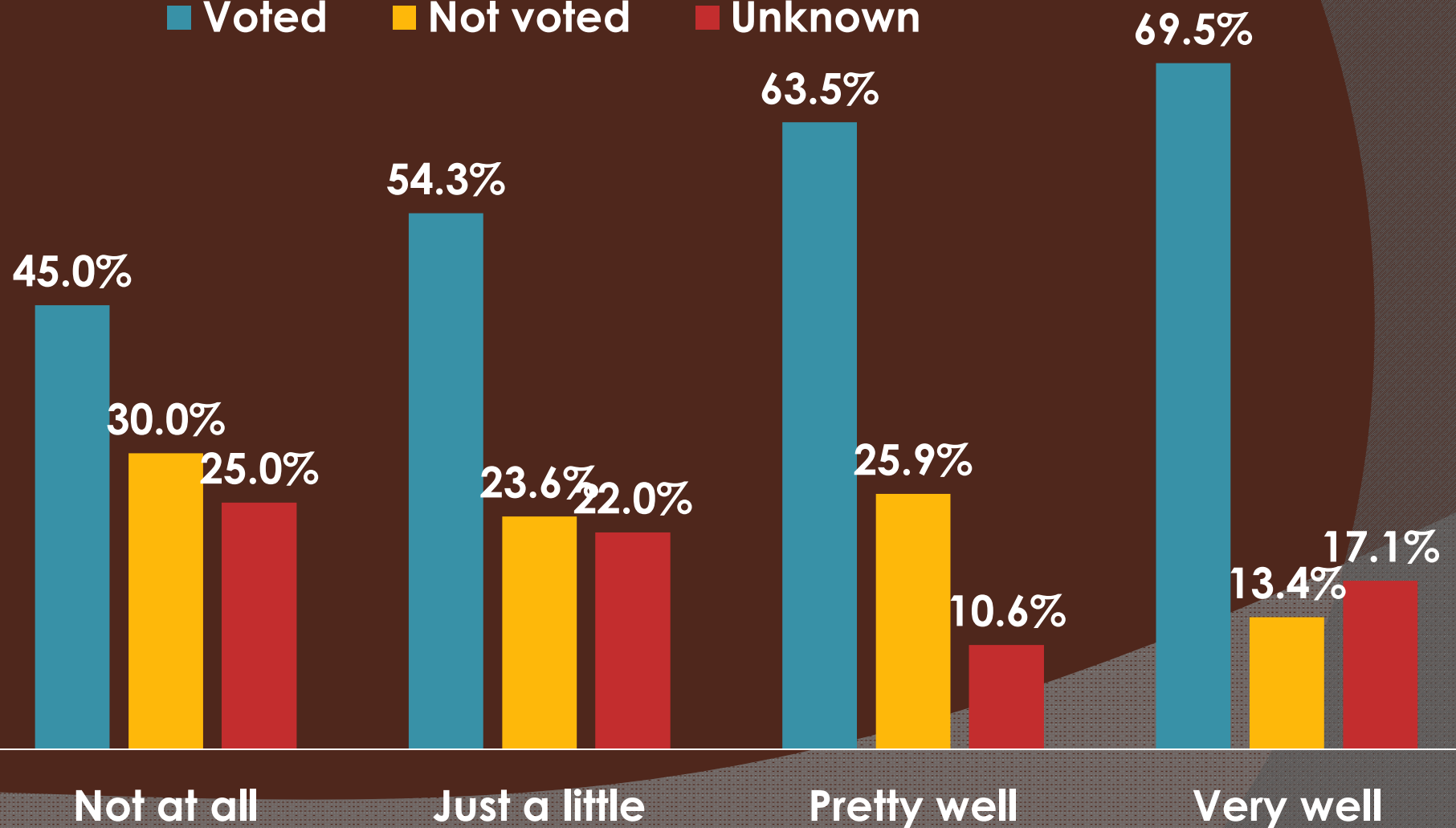
Factors Affecting KorAm's Voting

Socioeconomic Resources

- Socioeconomic resources do not seem to matter in Korean Americans' electoral practice. (Oh 2013)
- My analyses of Pew 2012 data do not support the simple socioeconomic resources hypothesis.
- English Proficiency has significant relationship to voting of Korean Americans.
- The **longevity** seems to have stronger effect than simple socioeconomic factor.
- There is a need to better understand why **high levels of education do not necessarily translate to high levels of political participation.**

English Proficiency and Voting by Korean Americans

■ Voted ■ Not voted ■ Unknown



Political mobilization theory

정당, 후보나 커뮤니티 동원이 참여 증대한다는 이론
(Oh, Sookhee)

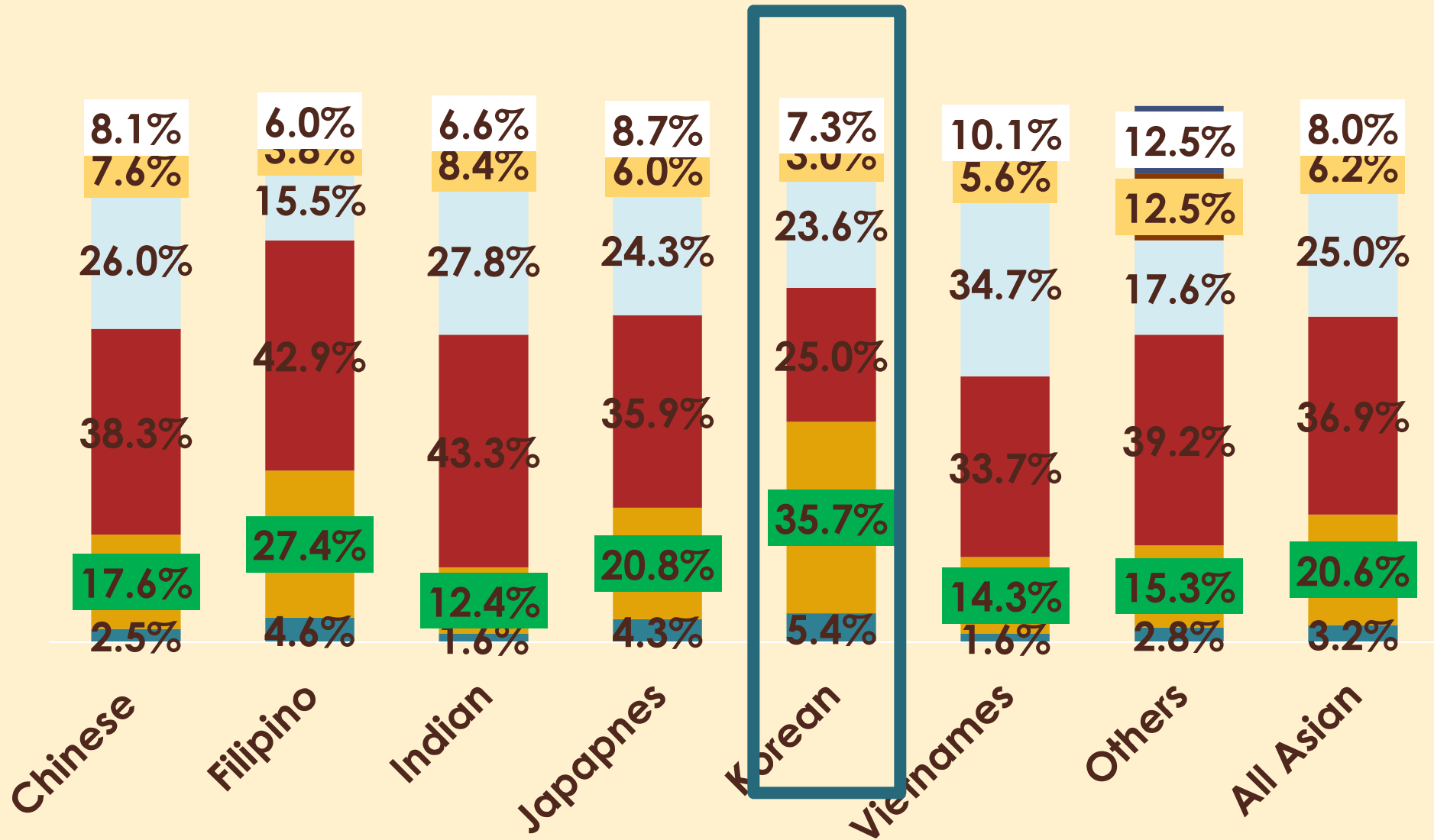
- ◎ Relies more on extrinsic motivation of voters to participate in electoral process by being evoked by others than by voluntary decision making.
- ◎ Socioeconomic status and resources not as critical factors.
- ◎ Limitations of studying: Relies heavily on survey data, (especially exit poll data) on self-reporting by respondents.
- ◎ Besides, organizations like political parties are most likely to target high propensity voters.
- ◎ Therefore, higher turnout can be biased toward the contact organizations.

정당 및 후보자들에 의한 동원

- One of the key factors in voter turnout is mobilization, (recruited to register and asked to vote on election day). Korean Americans, as well as other Asian groups, are not sufficiently reached out by either parties or candidates.
- According to the National Asian American Survey (NAAS) of 2012, the rates of voter mobilization, targeting Asian American (31%) fall noticeably shy of that for any contact to whites (43%) or African Americans (39%).
- Incidentally, Korean Americans in the NAAS 2012 Survey are more (42%) likely to be contacted about the election than all Asian Americans (35%) by all contacts.
- However, it found that the outreach efforts by political parties, candidates, and community advocate organizations were not effective in impacting on Korean Americans' voting.

Political Views of Asian Americans

Very conservative
Conservative
Moderate
Liberal
Very liberal
DK/Refused



Policy Issues and KorAm voting

Table 6. Preference of Liberal Issue Among Korean Americans

	Korean	All Asian	general public
Discrimination a major problem	24%	13%	N/A
Against homosexuality	56%	40%	32%
Prefer a big government	68%	55%	52%
Prefer a smaller government	26%	36%	39%

Table format: Y. Lee from Pew 2012 Asian American Survey Report

Policy Issues and KorAm voting

In the 2012 presidential election (the NAAS study)

Every day life issues, not much different from the general voters.

- Economy and jobs (48%) most important.
- Civil rights second most important issue (36%), included immigrants rights.
- Education (18%) women's issues (18%),
- Health care (17%)
- Terrorism/security (8%).
- Different in sex/gender issues: women's rights, abortion, and homo-sexuality are not really important to Korean Americans.
- Korean Americans, than other Asians and the general public, are more likely to prefer liberal issues. according to the Pew 2012 Survey.

Policy Issues and KorAm voting

- In 2012 election (AALDEF survey)
- Specifically support for comprehensive immigration reform, citizenship for documented aliens (74%).
- Even after key demographic factors and partisanship Obama's policies taxing the rich by 79%.
- Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (KORUS-FTA) by 75%.
- T. Lee asserts that this high level of support for liberal issues and for the KORUS-FTA are strong factors for Korean Americans, controlling for other factors, to have voted for President Obama in 2012.

Korean Americans Party Affiliation

- Theoretically, political party identification could be coupled with ideological interests.
- Earliest studies hypothesized Latinos and Asian Americans might ally with the Republican Party because of foreign policy interests.
- Asian Americans more than any other voting group have shifted dramatically away from the Republican Party over the last two decades.
- The shift in Asian American political sentiments started during the Clinton; to the appeal of the Democratic Party more welcoming to minorities.
- Korean Americans concur that although Korean Americans were twice more likely to enrolled as Democrats than Republicans, while more than one-third up to half preferred not to enrolled to a party.

Issues and Party Preference

- Koreans interested in Liberal Issues and leaning toward Democratic Party.
- Among 316 Korean American citizens in the Pew 2012 Survey I find supports for interesting rise of liberals among Korean American electorate.
- And extreme political views seem to be related with more active political participation.
- Those who hold extreme political ideology than moderates are more likely to register and voted.

Korean American Party Preferences

	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Not Enrolled	Others or N/A	Total
2006 Midterm Elections Asian American survey (1)	56%	12%		34%		102%
AALDEF Asian American Survey, 2012 November Elections	60%	14%		24%	2%	100%
NAAS Exit Poll for 2012 November Elections	41%	18%	32%	9%		100%
Pew 2012 Asian American Survey	36%	23%	28%	5%	8%	100%


Table format: by Y. Lee; (1) Source: Glen D. Magpantay, 2006.

Voting by Political Party Sympathy


Analysis of the Pew 2012 Survey data

- Party identification or leaning toward a party have no significant effect on voter registration. The 2008 voting rate is slightly higher among those who identify as Democrat (67.2%) than among those who identify as Republican (65.1%) and among Independents (60.8%).
- There is no gap in registration rate between Republican sympathizers (65.4%) and Independents (65.1%), while Democrat sympathizers' registration rate is way up (81.1%).
- But obviously, Korean Americans leaning toward the liberal Democratic Party had a significant impact on having voted in 2008 election.
- The 2008 voting rate is slightly higher among Democrat sympathizers (72.2%) than are among Republicans sympathizers (56.0%) and those who had no preference for party (40.3%).

Voters' SES vs. Candidates Appeal

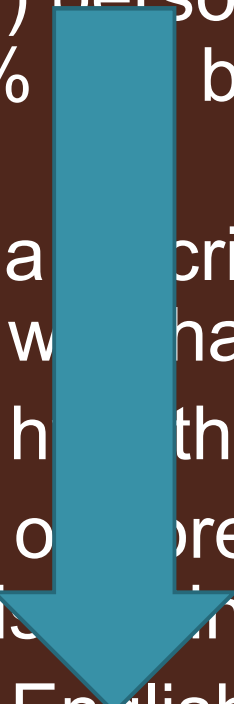
- Korean Americans' party identifications do not vary significantly depending on educational attainment, occupation, income, or English proficiency in my analysis of the Pew 2011 survey data.
 - However, those with high education and with high English proficiency are leaning toward Republicans.
 - Taeku Lee (2012 b) found that although issues is related to party identification rather than demographic factors, candidate favorability had stronger effect on Korean American's leaning toward Democrats. President Obama's popularity with Asian Americans in general and with Korean Americans more specifically turned them to Democratic Party.
- 

Discrimination and voting by KorAm

- On the other hand in the 2012 Pew sample, 33.9% of Korean Americans' perceived discrimination as "Major problem"-- highest among all Asian groups and more than twice higher than that of all Asians (14.9%)
 - The perception of discrimination is significantly associated with Korean Americans' voter registration. Highest voter registration rate (83.3%) and voting rate (61.7%) are shown among those who perceived discrimination as "Major problem," declining among those who perceived discrimination as "Not a problem."
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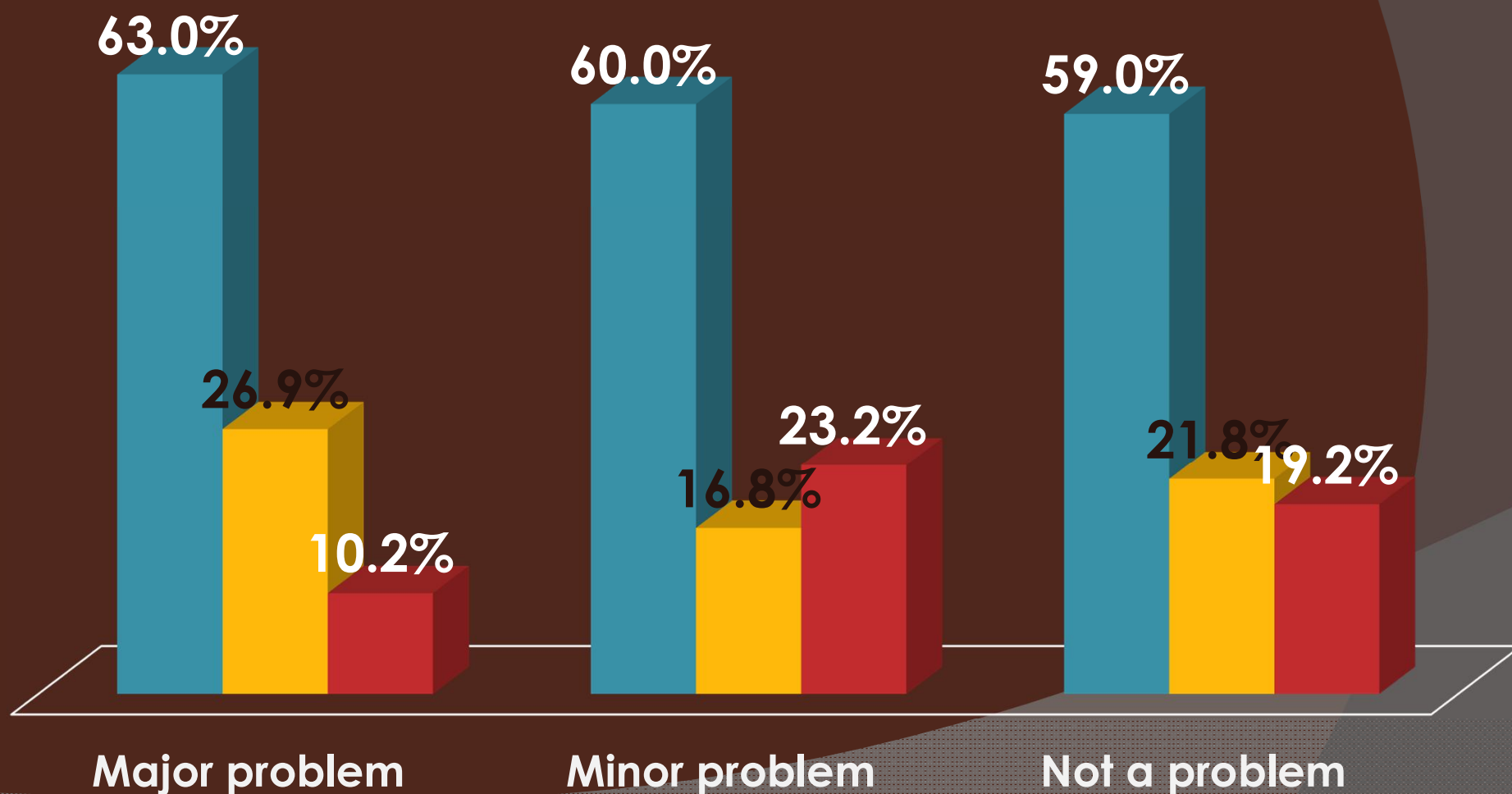
Conflicts, Group Consciousness, and Voting

Discrimination has political consequences.

- Only one-fifth of the Koreans in the 2012 Pew sample (95 out of 504) personally experienced discrimination and 12% have been called offensive names in a year.
 - 67.2% of experienced discrimination registered for voting, while 75.8% of who had not discriminated .
 - Yet, the discrimination hypothesis is not supported because only one-fifth of Koreans in the 2012 Pew sample experienced discrimination.
 - Those who don't have English proficiency are significantly less likely to report the experience of personal discrimination.
- 

차별 경험->집단 갈등->응집성-> 투표 참여

■ Voted ■ Not voted ■ Unknown



차별문제 인식과 선거 참여의 관계

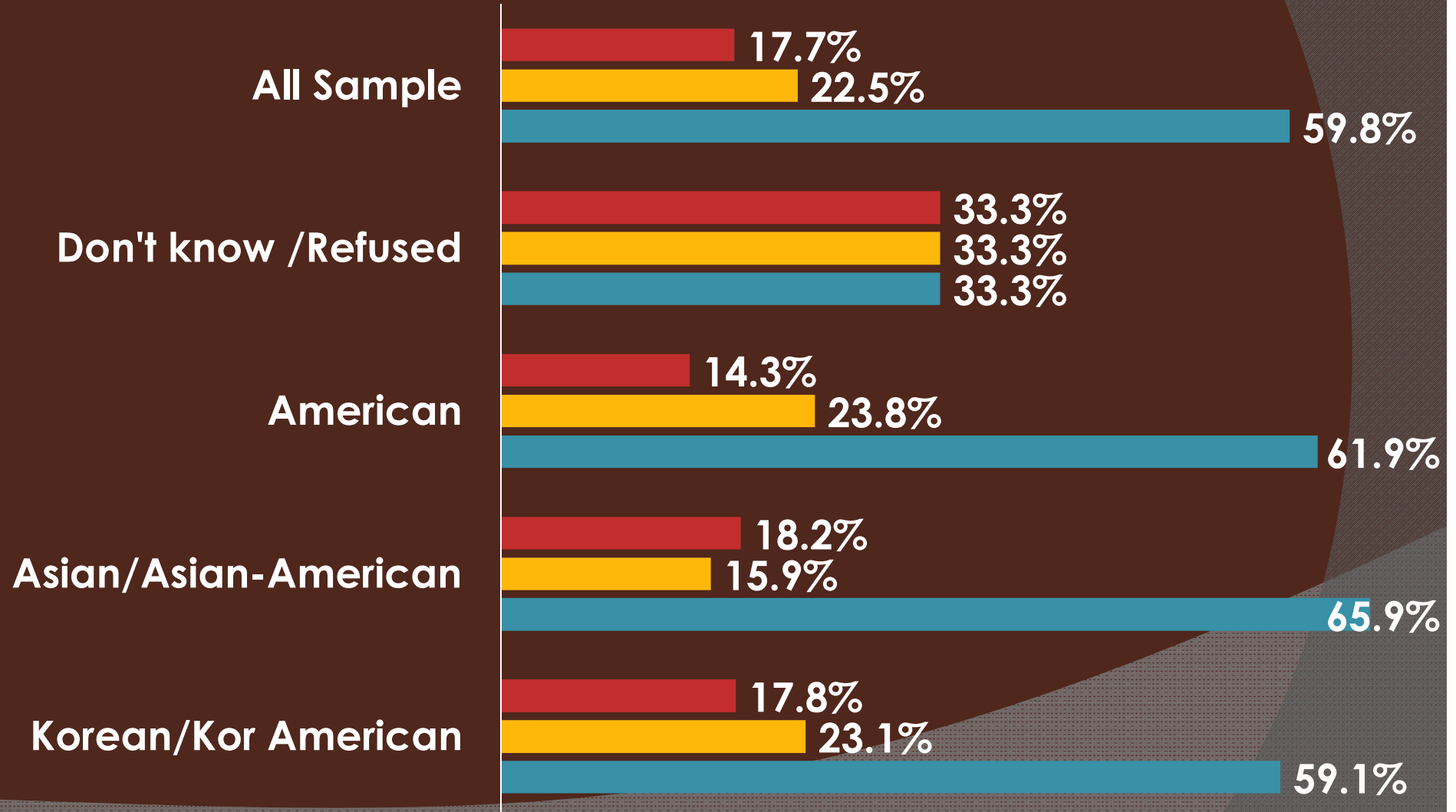
Table 8. Perceived discrimination as problem and Voting

	Registered for voting	Voted in 2008 Election
Major problem	83.3%	81.7%
Minor problem	68.8%	67.3%
Not a problem	71.8%	72.9%
Refused to answer	60.0%	75.0%

Tabulated by Y. Lee from 2012 Pew Survey Data

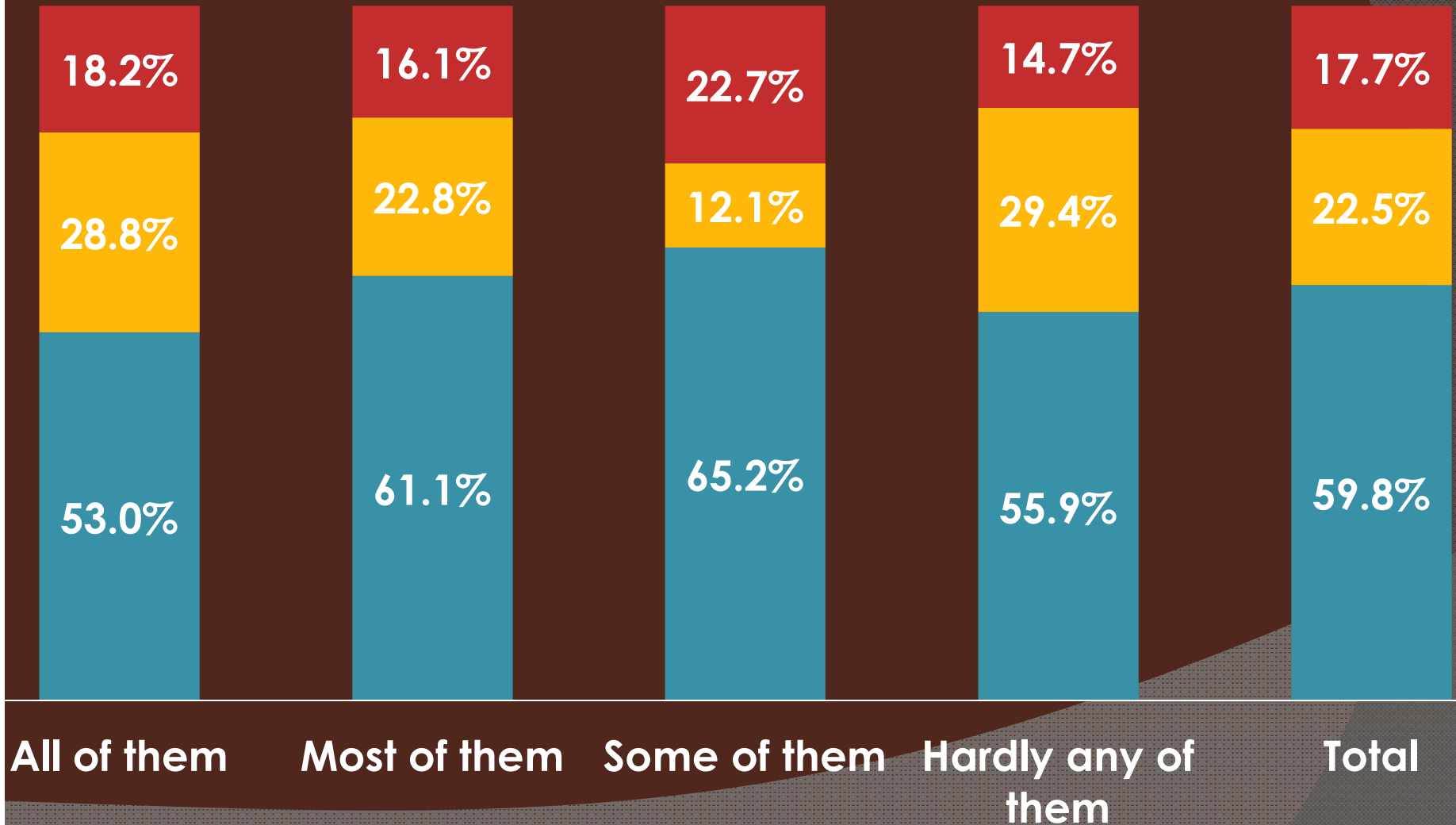
한인의 미국 시민의식과 투표 참여

■ Unknown ■ Not voted ■ Voted

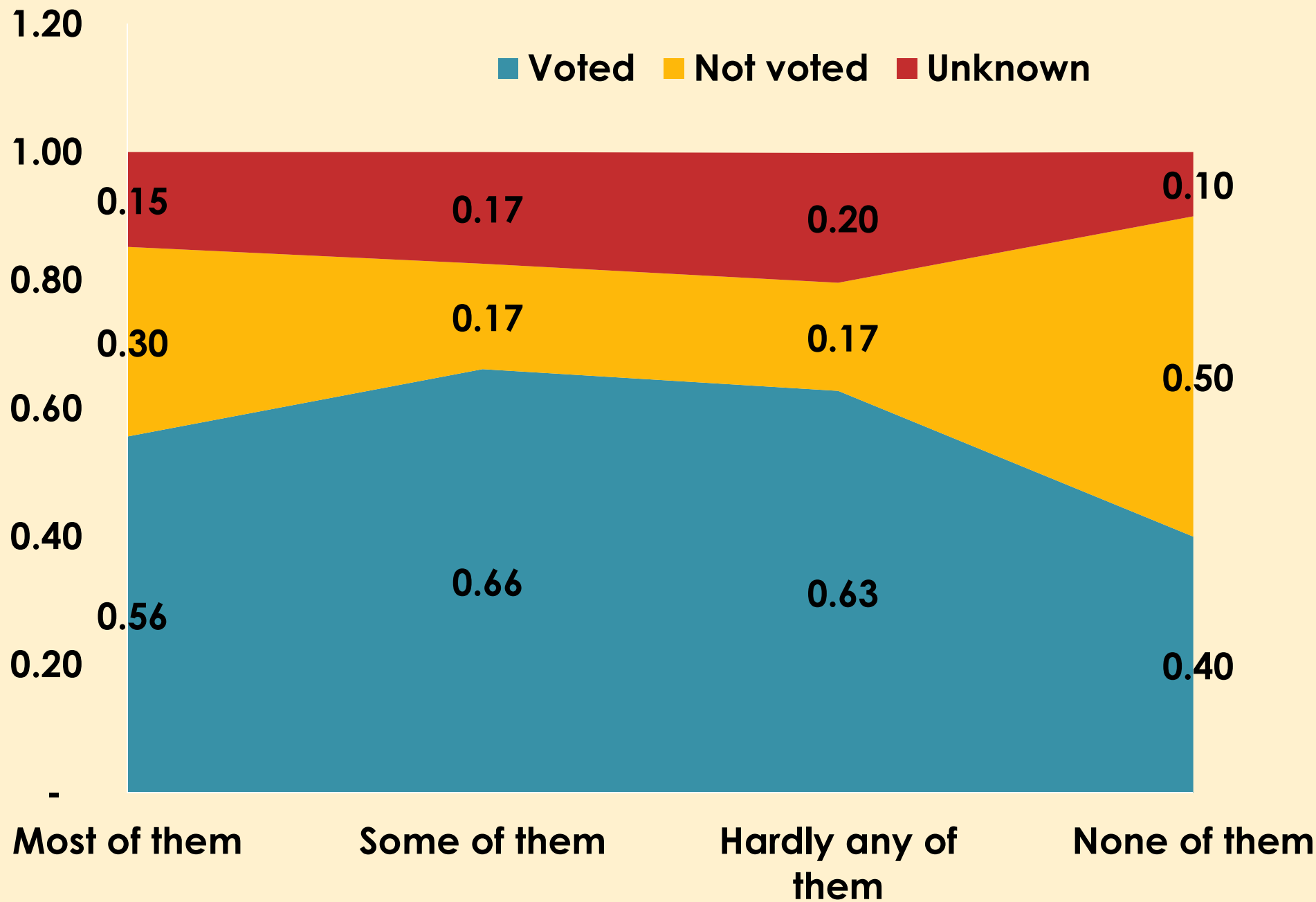


한인 친구수와 투표 참여의 관계

■ Voted ■ Not voted ■ Unknown



Have Asian background friend other than Korean



재미 한인 보팅 파워의 장래

낙관론:

한인 수는 계속 증가하며 보팅 파워도 증대할 것이다. (이태구 교수)

- (a) the size of the Korean American population continues to grow,
- (b) (b) Korean Americans' party preference is not stable, while a solid majority choose not to identify with either parties,
- (c) (c) Korean American voters prefer candidates through their issue-based interests as well as candidate's appeal with relevant issues that attract.

재미 한인 보팅 파워의 장래

비관론: 한인 사회의 응집과 자폐증적 고립

- 한인은 자발적으로 인종 분리를 선택하며 서버브 지역에 분산. 커뮤니티 유대 면에서는 고도로 집중됨(주로 한국어 언론과 동족 단체, 한인 교회들에 의해 사회적으로 고립됨.)
- 아시안 이민 그룹중에 모국어 일간 신문과 모국 방송을 풀타임으로 방영하며 시청하는 유일한 민족 그룹.
- 이런 요소들이 주류사회 동화를 저해하며 미국 시민으로서의 시민 인식(**American civic identity**) 성장을 막고 있음.
- 한인 이민수 증가는 둔화되고 시민 의식의 결핍으로 기존 유권자들의 보팅 파워 조차 활용하지 못한다.

성공(이민 응집된 한인 정착)이 실패(시민 의식 출현)의 원인

모국 지향성이 시민의식 저해

- 모국의 경제적 성공이 부르는 인센티브. 모국 지향성 (한국 정치에 대한 과다 관심).
- 특히 모국 유대를 가진 단체들(평통, 재향군인회, 반공산 단체, 종북 단체 등, 애국운동을 사명으로 하는)이 고유 정체성과 모국의 정치적 이슈에 재외 동포들을 동원성 하여 한인사회의 고립을 촉매시킴.
- 이슈와 이념(독도, 위안부, 동해병기 등) 모국 지향적이며 보수성향이라는 문제.
- 에너지의 소모를 분열에 동원: 종북 세력의 미미한 준동에 대항하는 보수 세력의 집합적 대응(북한에 대한 거부, 종북 세력 척결에 몰두)->한인 응집력 저해.
- 대도시권에서 한인회,, 문화단체, 등과 특히 교회와 한인언론의 미국 시민의식 발전에 억지력으로 작용.

모국 지향성과 미국 선거 참여 관계

2012 NASA findings:

모국 지향성이 미국 선거 참여(유권자 등록, 투표 참여)에
직접으로 장애가 되지 않는다???

2012 Pew data 분석: 한인 서베이 데이터는 가설을
입증하지 않음.

- ◎ 직계 가족 (spouse, parents, siblings or children) 이
모국에 있는 경우 2008년 유권자 등록이나 투표와 관계가
없음.
- ◎ 대부분 모국 지향성이 2008년 선거 참여에 유의미한
부정적 관계를 보이지 않는다.
- ◎ 만약 이민을 다시 결정한다면 미국에 오겠는가라는 선택도
2008년 선거 참여와는 관계 없음.
- ◎ 모국의 유인은 시민으로 귀화하는 결정과 유의미한 관계

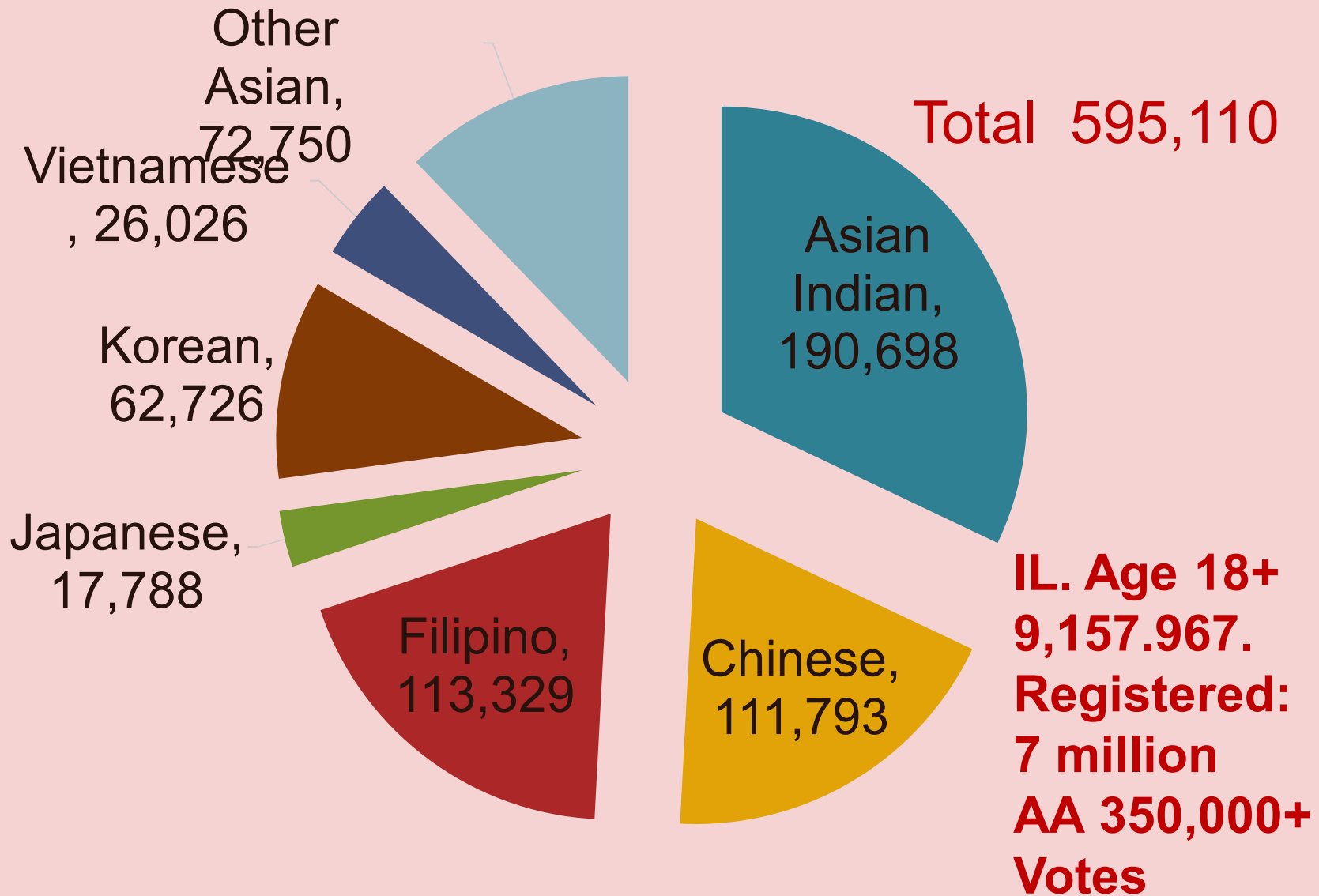
한인 정체성 그룹의 실종 위험

- 아시안 마메리칸으로서의 정체성이 외적으로 강조되며 주관적 의식으로도 증대하며 한인 그룹의 정체성이 흐려질 가능성.
- 한인들의 동족 결혼이 다른 어느 민족보다도 급격히 감퇴하는 현상. 2010년 센서스에서 미국 출생 2세들의 동족혼인 비율은 남자 44.8%, 여자 24.1%로.
- 가정 내에서 한국어 사용은 3세에 가면 거의 소멸한다.
- 타민족과의 혼혼 증가는 한인 보팅 블록의 경계선을 더욱 흐리게 할 것이다.

일리노이 한인 보팅 파워 전략 (토의)

- 한인 보팅 파워 3만5천의 유효한 활용
- 주 단위 선거의 전략 (주지사와 집행 부서장)
- 의회 선거구 (연방 및 주 의회)
- 카운티 수준의 선거 (의회 및 집행부)
- 지역 행정 단체, 교육구, 관리 통제 기관 선거)
- 아시안 보팅 파워 블록 35만 ~40만과의 코얼리션.
- 정당 분파보다 연합 표 몰이 전략으로??

일리노이 주 아시안 인구 분포



감사합니다.

- 이 연구 논문은 다음 웹 사이트에서 보실 수 있습니다.
- Yoon Lee's web site at:
<http://www.saeroi.net> and
<http://www.hansainstitute.org>