




Trade-Offs in Asian American Representation: Choosing Between Co-Ethnicity, Pan-Ethnicity, and Co-Partisanship

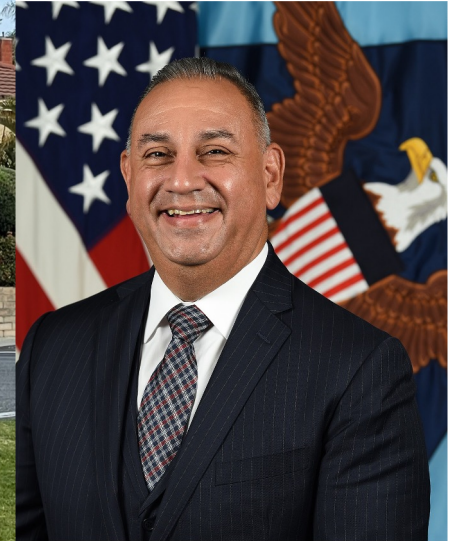
John Cho, Dartmouth College
Mia Costa, Dartmouth College
Yusaku Horiuchi, Dartmouth College



Motivation



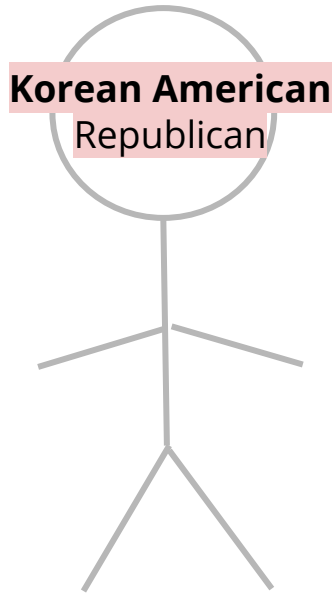
Young Kim
Korean-American
Republican



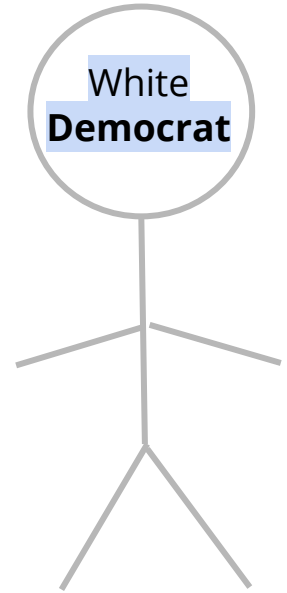
Gil Cisneros
Latino
Democrat

Trade Offs

- What is a **trade-off**?
 - Losing goods in one dimension to gain them in another dimension

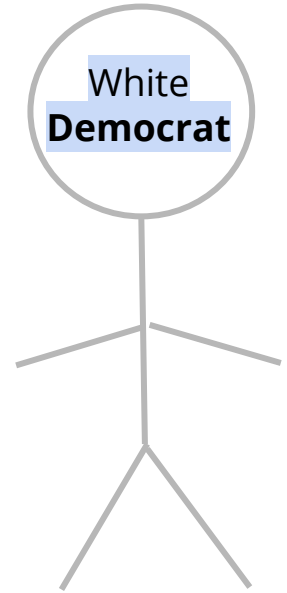
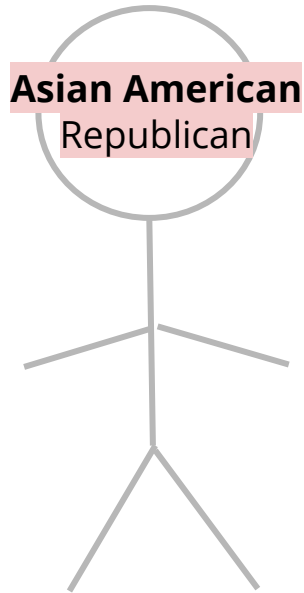


Voter:
Korean American
Democrat



Trade Offs

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Importance and Research Question

- Asian Americans are fastest growing racial group in the United States
- Partisan representation vs. descriptive representation for Asian Americans
- Question: How do Asian Americans vote for political candidates when concerns about descriptive and partisan representation come into conflict with each other?

Literature

Generally, voters care more about **partisan representation** than **descriptive representation** in cross-pressured situations

No partisanship, yes national origin/pan-ethnicity

- Sadhwani (2021) (observational)
- Leung (2021) (observational)

Yes partisanship, no national origin/pan-ethnicity

- Fang (2019) (experimental)

Hypotheses

Co-Partisan > Co-Ethnic > Pan-Ethnic:

- Hypothesis 1 [Partisan over Descriptive Representation]
- Hypothesis 2 [Co-Ethnicity vs. Pan-Ethnicity]

Heterogeneous Effects:

- Hypothesis 3 [Partisan Heterogeneity]
- Hypothesis 4 [Partisan and Racial/Ethnic Identity]

Tradeoffs:

- Hypothesis 5 [Trade-off Behavior]

Conjoint Experiment

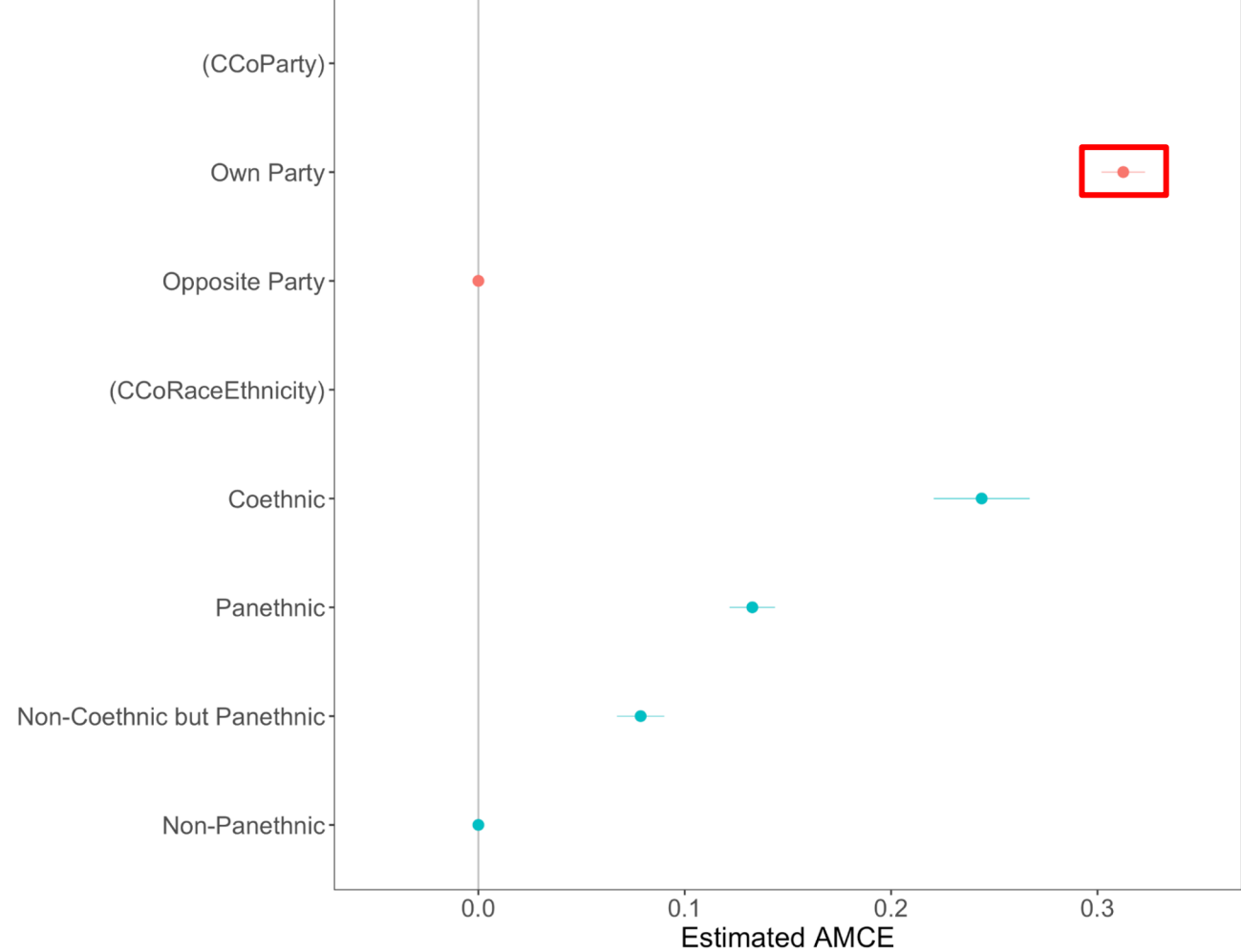
- Conjoint experiment - 2 blocks
- 10 tasks, 8 attributes, 2 blocks
- 2,750 Asian American respondents

Table 1: Conjoint Attributes and Levels

Asian American Condition	
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American/White/Black/Hispanic
Party	Democrat/Republican
Advances Favorable Legislation for District Constituents	Sometimes/Often/Always
Sex	Male/Female
Education	Bachelor's degree/Professional degree
Votes with Party	Sometimes/Often
Was Born in the U.S.	Yes/No
Ethnic American Condition	
Race/Ethnicity	Chinese American/Indian American/ Filipino American/Vietnamese American/ Korean American/Japanese American/ White/Black/Hispanic
Party	Democrat/Republican
Advances Favorable Legislation for District Constituents	Sometimes/Often/Always
Sex	Male/Female
Education	Bachelor's degree/Professional degree
Votes with Party	Sometimes/Often
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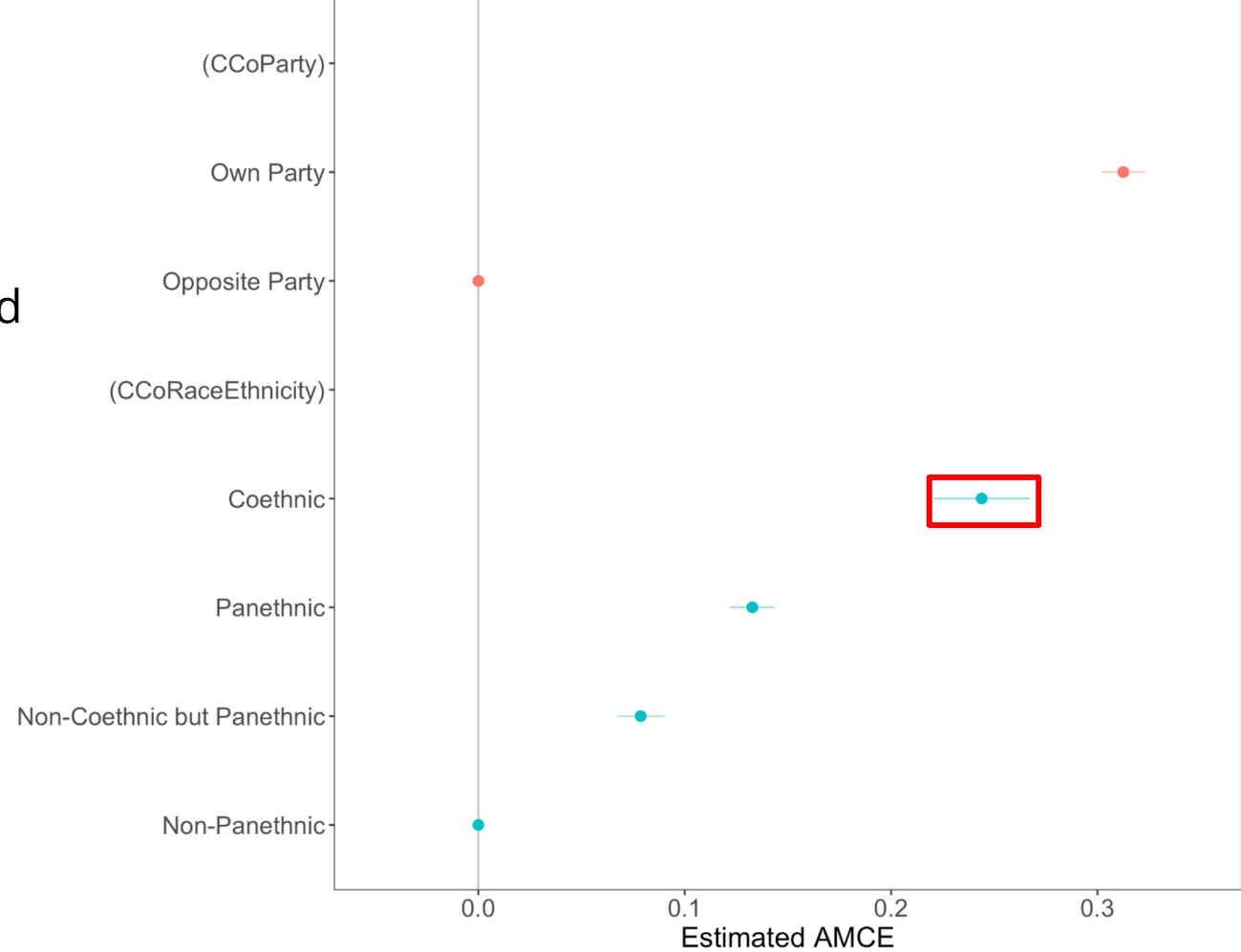
Results #1

- **Co-partisanship** is pre-eminent



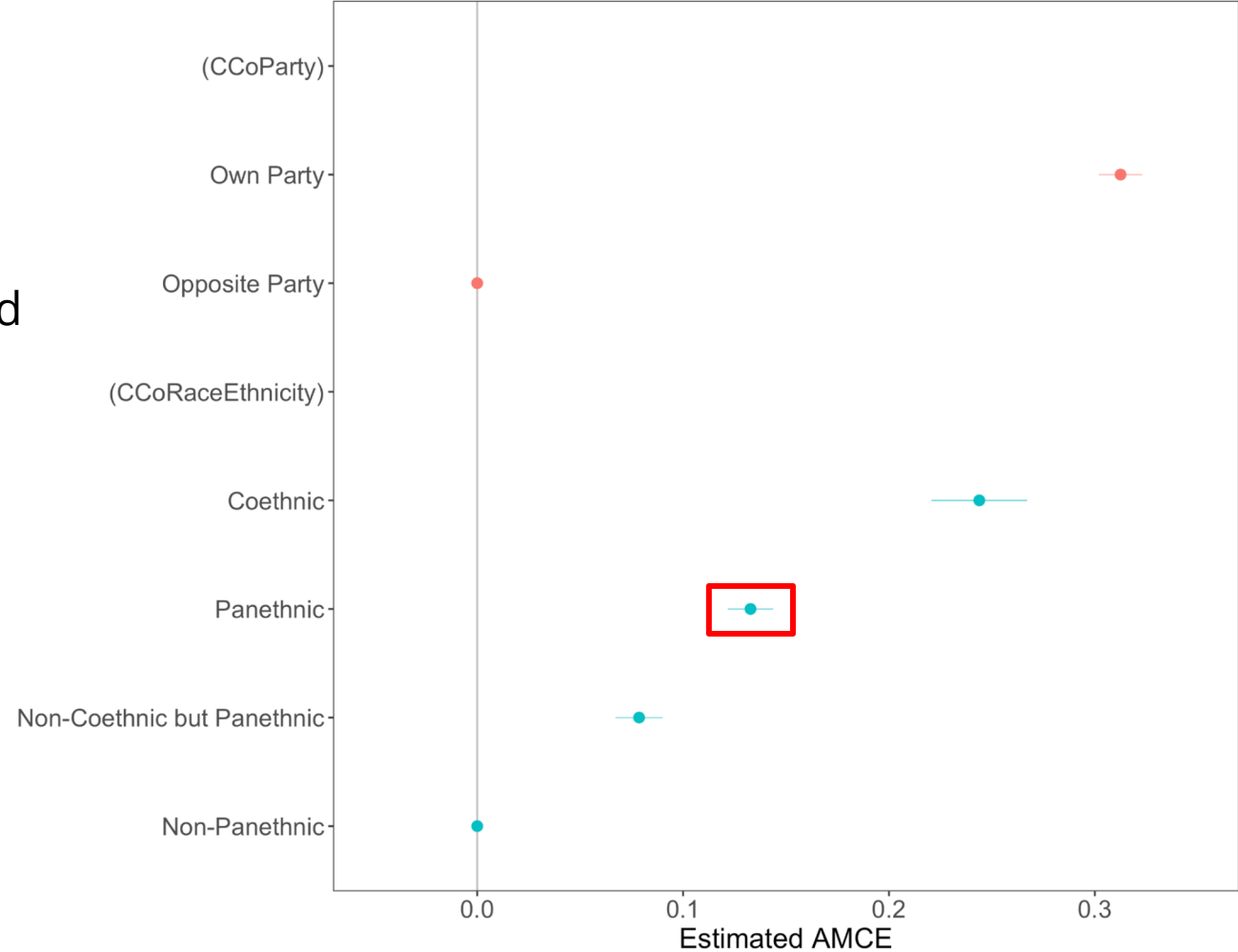
Results #1

- **Co-partisanship** is pre-eminent, followed by **co-ethnic**



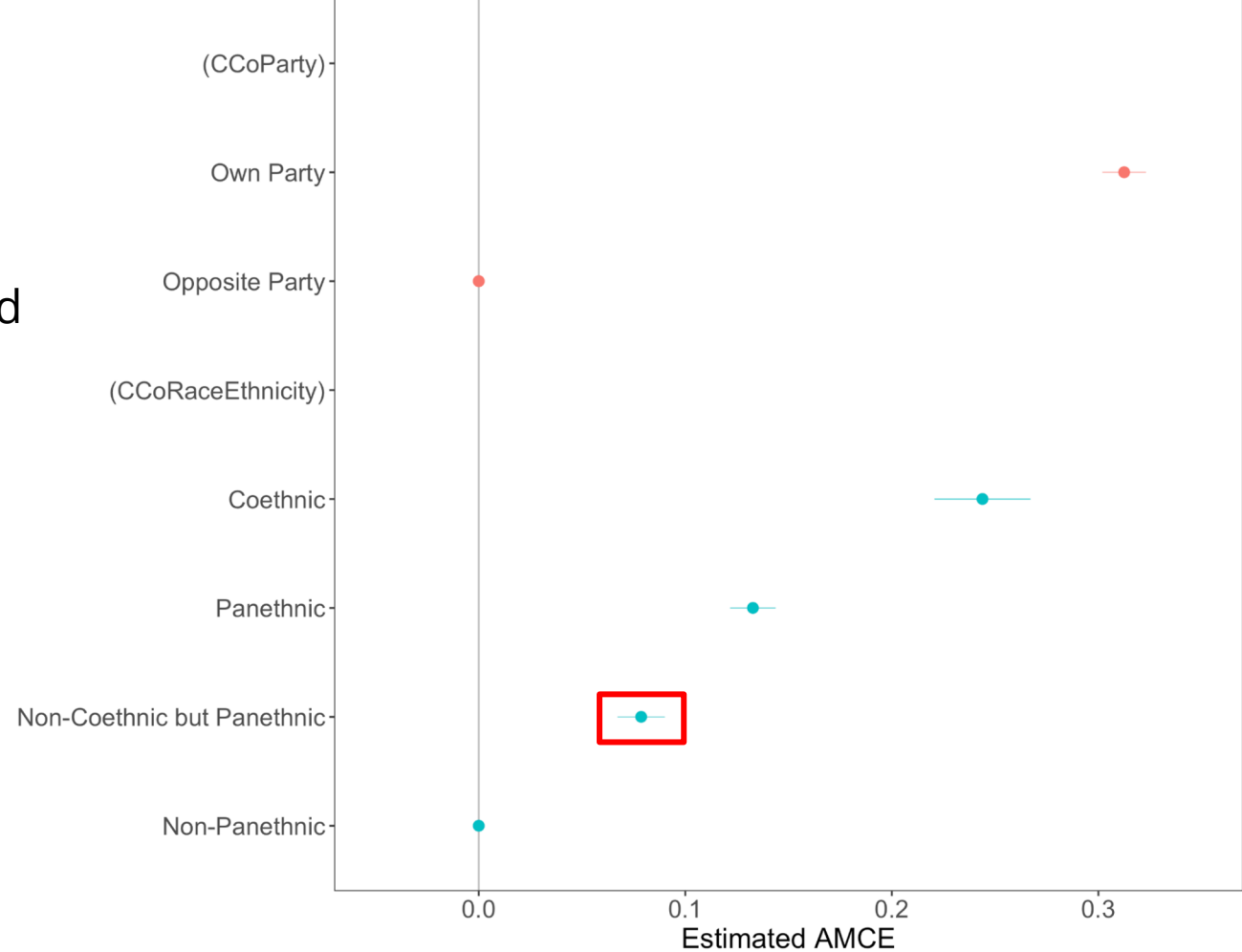
Results #1

- **Co-partisanship** is pre-eminent, followed by **co-ethnic, pan-ethnic,**



Results #1

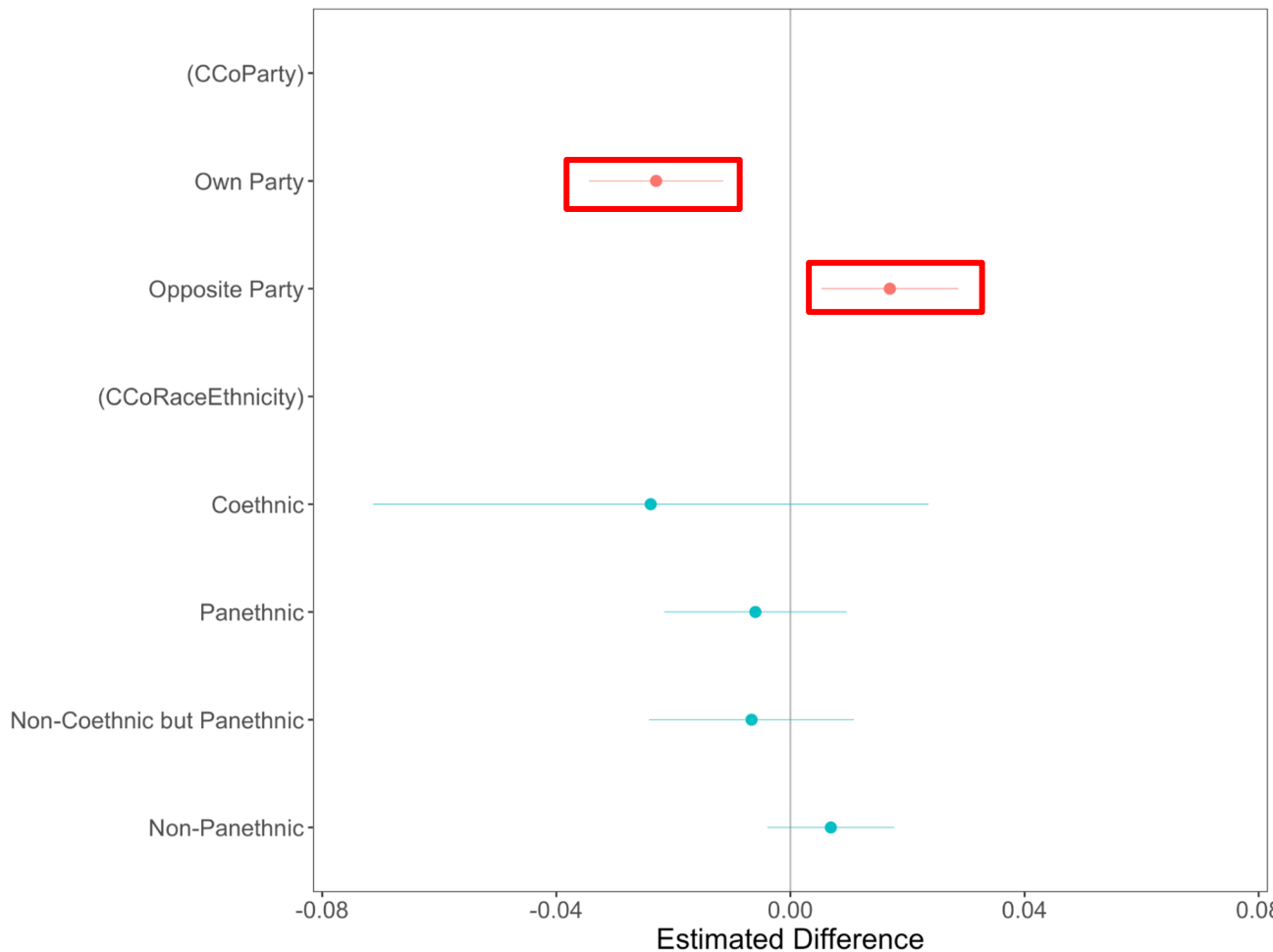
- **Co-partisanship** is pre-eminent, followed by **co-ethnic, pan-ethnic, and non-coethnic but pan-ethnic**



Difference in Marginal Means of Attributes
by Partisanship (Republican - Democrat)

Results #2

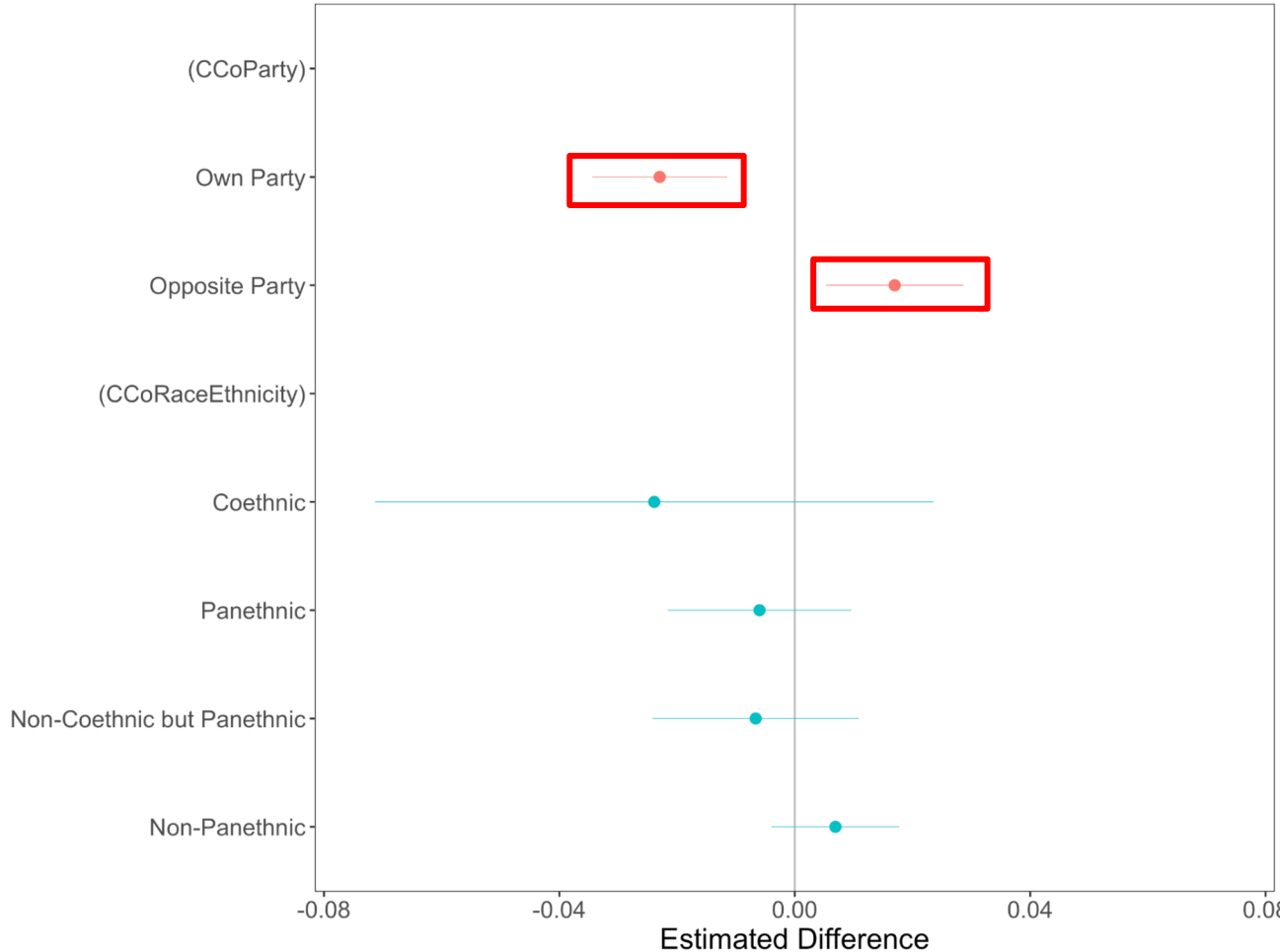
- **Heterogeneity** by partisanship - Republicans care less about **co-partisanship**



Difference in Marginal Means of Attributes
by Partisanship (Republican - Democrat)

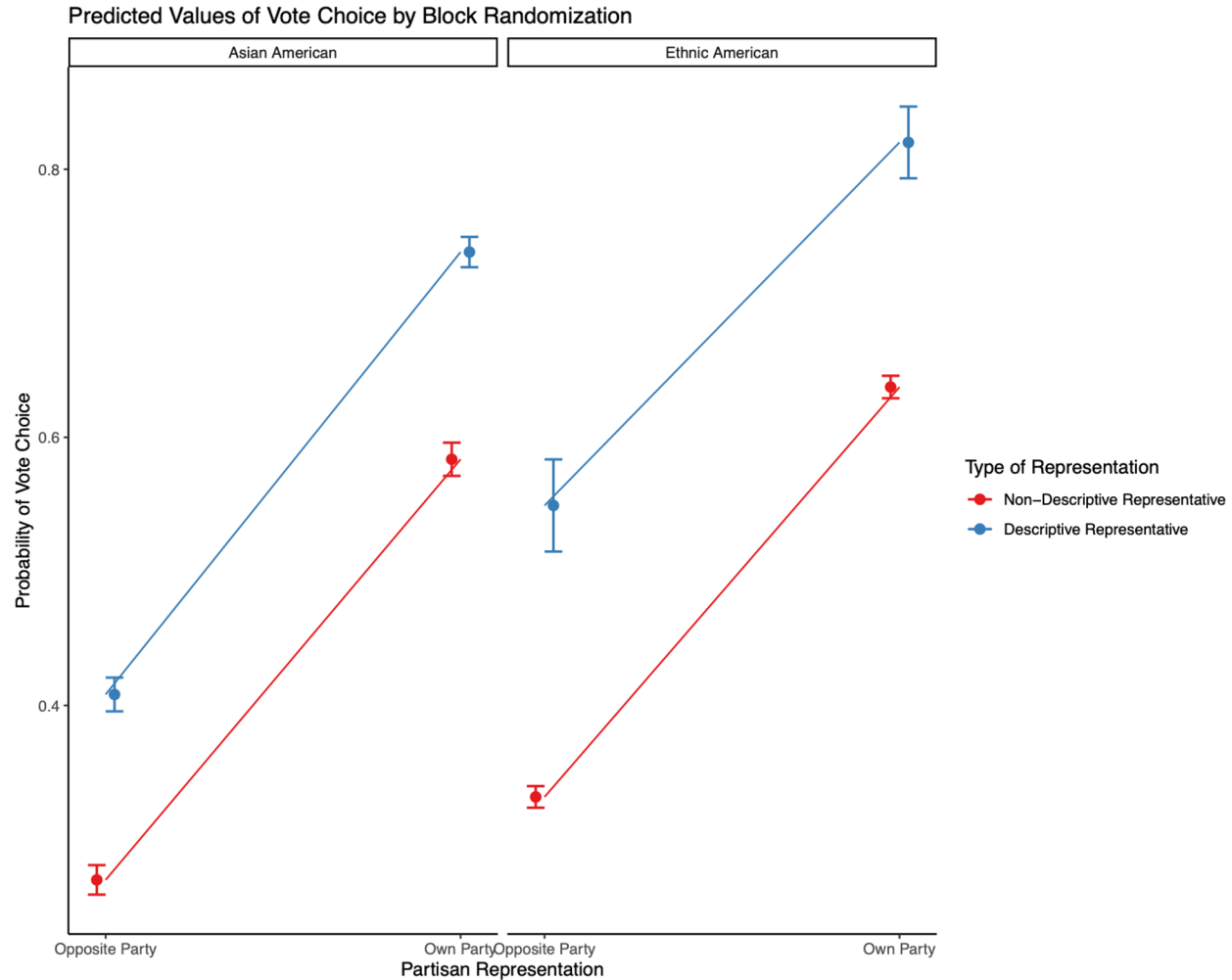
Results #2

- **Heterogeneity** by partisanship - Republicans care less about **co-partisanship**
- Result of Asian American Republicans having cross-cutting identities?



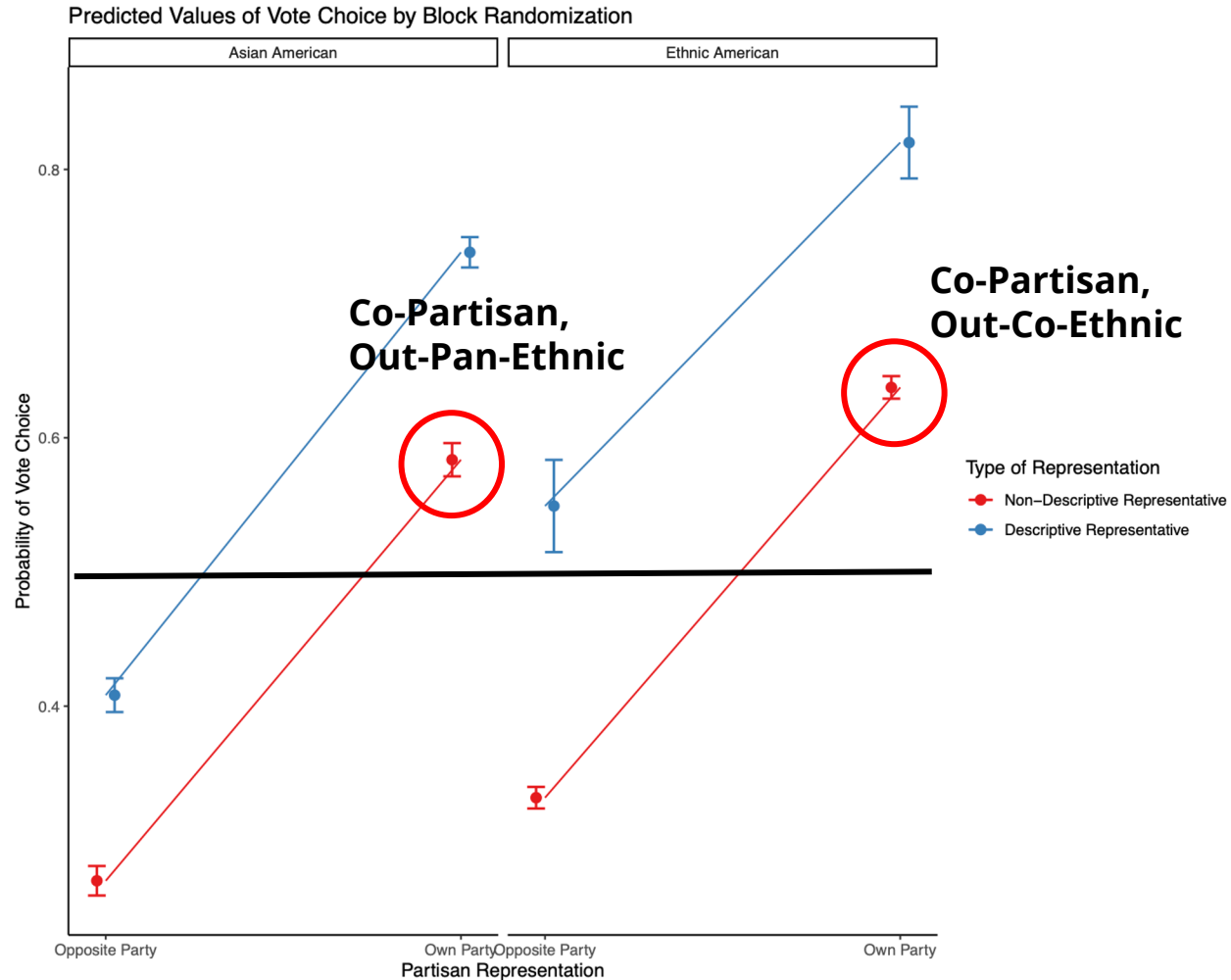
Results #3

- Voters are more willing to trade off **partisan representation** for **descriptive representation** only for **co-ethnics**



Results #3

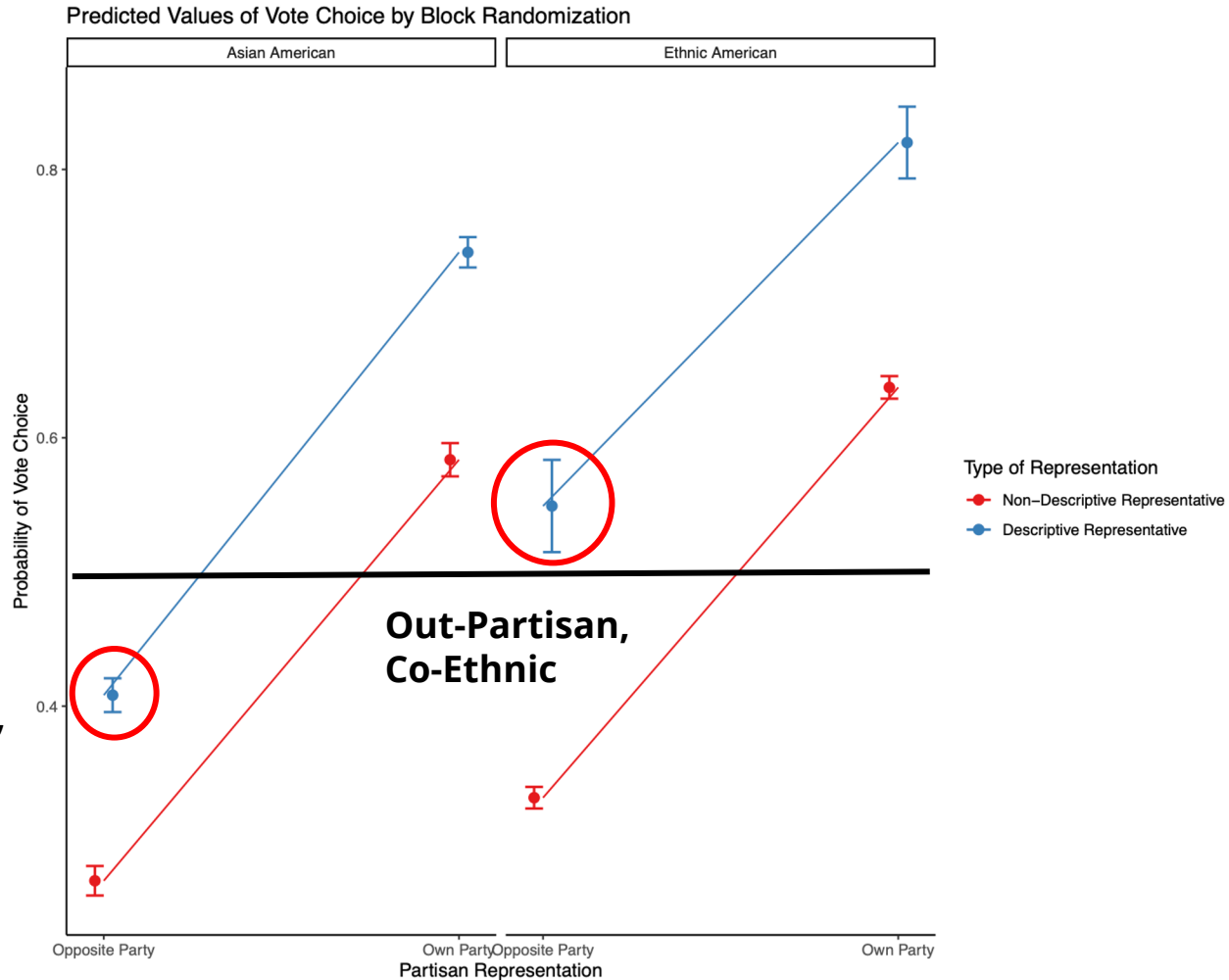
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Out-Partisan,
Pan-Ethnic



Conclusion

- No other study has employed a conjoint to directly study trade offs
- Republican strategy may actually be effective! But which **descriptive representative** matters
 - Strategic choice of representing oneself as an **Asian American** or **Ethnic American**
- Further research:
 - Use names instead of descriptions
 - Effects of COVID-19
 - Extrapolate to other pan-ethnic identities