

# **STRONGER TOGETHER? LINKED FATE AND VOTER PREFERENCES IN THE 2020 ELECTION**

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  - Do these relationships vary within pan-ethnic identity groups?
- We examine differences within and between pan-ethnic identity groups
  - Demonstrate the possibility of moving beyond “Latinos and Asian Americans are not monolithic” and treating heterogeneity among pan-ethnic groups as substantively interesting

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- We attempt to bridge several lines of research on pan-ethnic linked fate that have thus far developed largely independent of one another

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  - The threat against multiple identities will activate intersectional linked fate
  - Relationship between intersectional linked fate and candidate preference is greater than the gender or pan-ethnic dimensions alone

# METHODS AND DATA

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Asian (N = 3,898) and Latino (N = 3,950) Respondents on the 2020 Collaborative Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey (Frasure et al. 2021)

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- Sex, Citizenship, Age, Education, Ancestry, Partisan Identification, percentage University educated, Median Age

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- For non-census variables we first develop models to predict their distribution in the population and add them to the stratification table

# MRP MODEL SPECIFICATION

$$y \sim \text{Binomial}(n, k, \theta)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{logit}(\theta) = & \alpha + \beta_1 \text{Female}_i + \beta_2 \text{Citizen}_i + v_{j[i]}^{\text{Ancestry}} + v_{l[i]}^{\text{Education}} + v_{m[i]}^{\text{Age}} + \\ & v_{o[i]}^{\text{Partisan}} + v_{p[i]}^{\text{Linked Fate}} + v_{q[i], p[i]}^{\text{Female} \times \text{Linked Fate}} + v_{q[i], j[i]}^{\text{Female} \times \text{Ancestry}} + \\ & v_{p[i], j[i]}^{\text{Linked Fate} \times \text{Ancestry}} \end{aligned}$$

where

$$v_j^{\text{Ancestry}} \sim \mathcal{N}([\gamma_0 + \gamma_1 \% \text{College}_j + \gamma_2 \text{Median Age}_j], \sigma^{\text{Ancestry}}) \quad \text{for } j \in \{1, 2, \dots, J\}$$

$$v_l^{\text{Education}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Education}}) \quad \text{for } l \in \{1, 2, \dots, L\}$$

$$v_m^{\text{Age}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Age}}) \quad \text{for } m \in \{1, 2, \dots, M\}$$

$$v_o^{\text{Partisan}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Partisan}}) \quad \text{for } o \in \{1, 2, \dots, O\}$$

$$v_p^{\text{Linked Fate}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Linked Fate}}) \quad \text{for } p \in \{1, 2, \dots, P\}$$

$$v_{q,p}^{\text{Female} \times \text{Linked Fate}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Female} \times \text{Linked Fate}}) \quad \text{for } q \in \{1, 2, \dots, Q\} \text{ and } p \in \{1, 2, \dots, P\}$$

$$v_{q,j}^{\text{Female} \times \text{Ancestry}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Female} \times \text{Ancestry}}) \quad \text{for } q \in \{1, 2\} \text{ and } j \in \{1, 2, \dots, J\}$$

$$v_{p,j}^{\text{Linked Fate} \times \text{Ancestry}} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma^{\text{Linked Fate} \times \text{Ancestry}}) \quad \text{for } p \in \{1, 2, \dots, P\} \text{ and } j \in \{1, 2, \dots, J\}$$

# POST-STRATIFICATION STAGE

Post-Stratified estimate by Linked Fate and Ancestry or Sex based on the 2019 American Community Survey 5-year Integrated Public Use Microdata Series data (Ruggles et al. 2022)

$$\theta^{\text{MrP}} = \frac{\sum_{p,j \in P,J} N_{p,j} \cdot \theta_{p,j}}{\sum_{p,j \in P,J} N_{p,j}}$$

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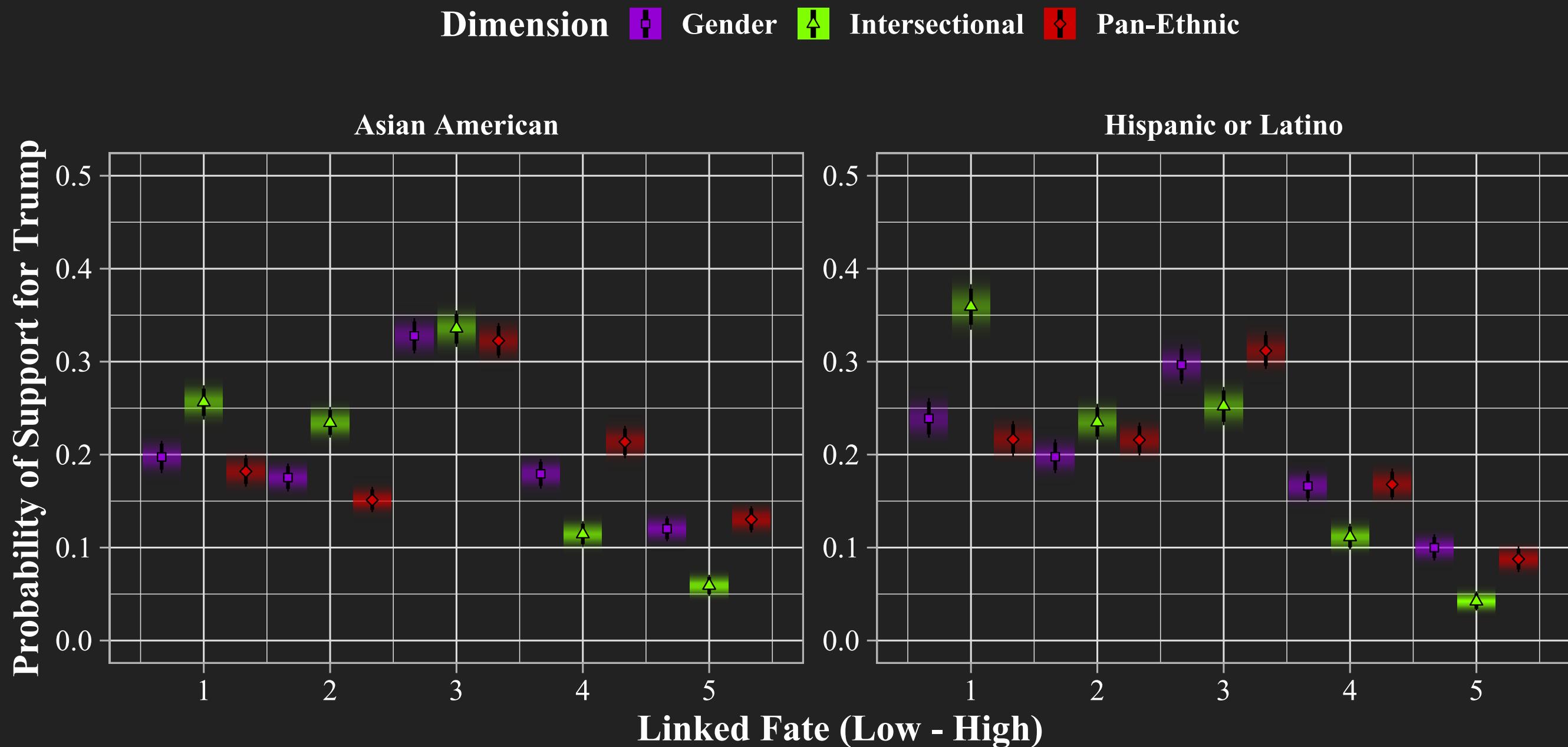
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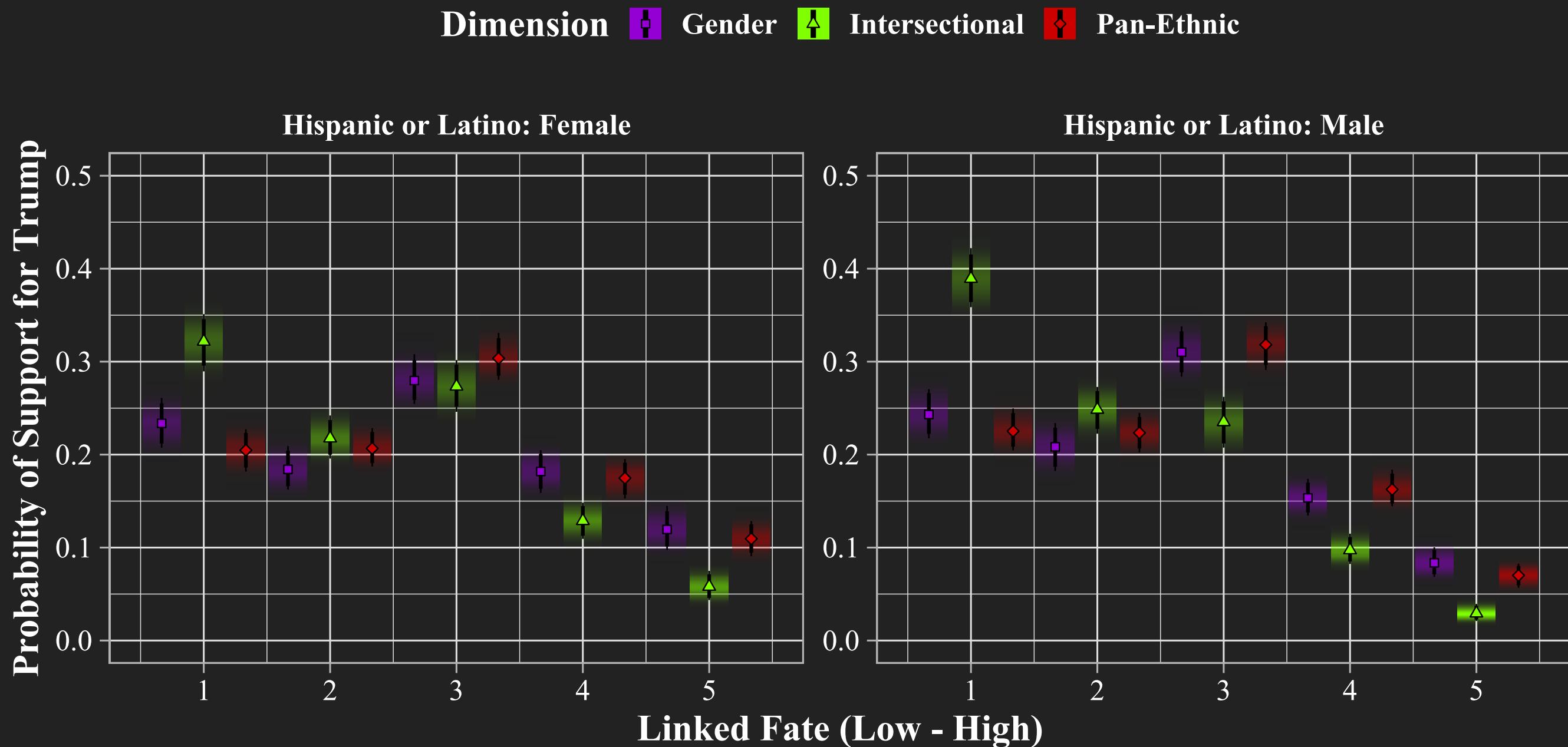
- $\theta$  is the predicted probability of support for Trump from our model
- $N$  is the observed cell count in the post-stratification table
- Summing over the population predictions within each pair of cells  $p,j \in P,J$  and dividing by the population total yields  $\theta^{\text{MrP}}$  which represents the census-adjusted parameter estimate

# RESULTS

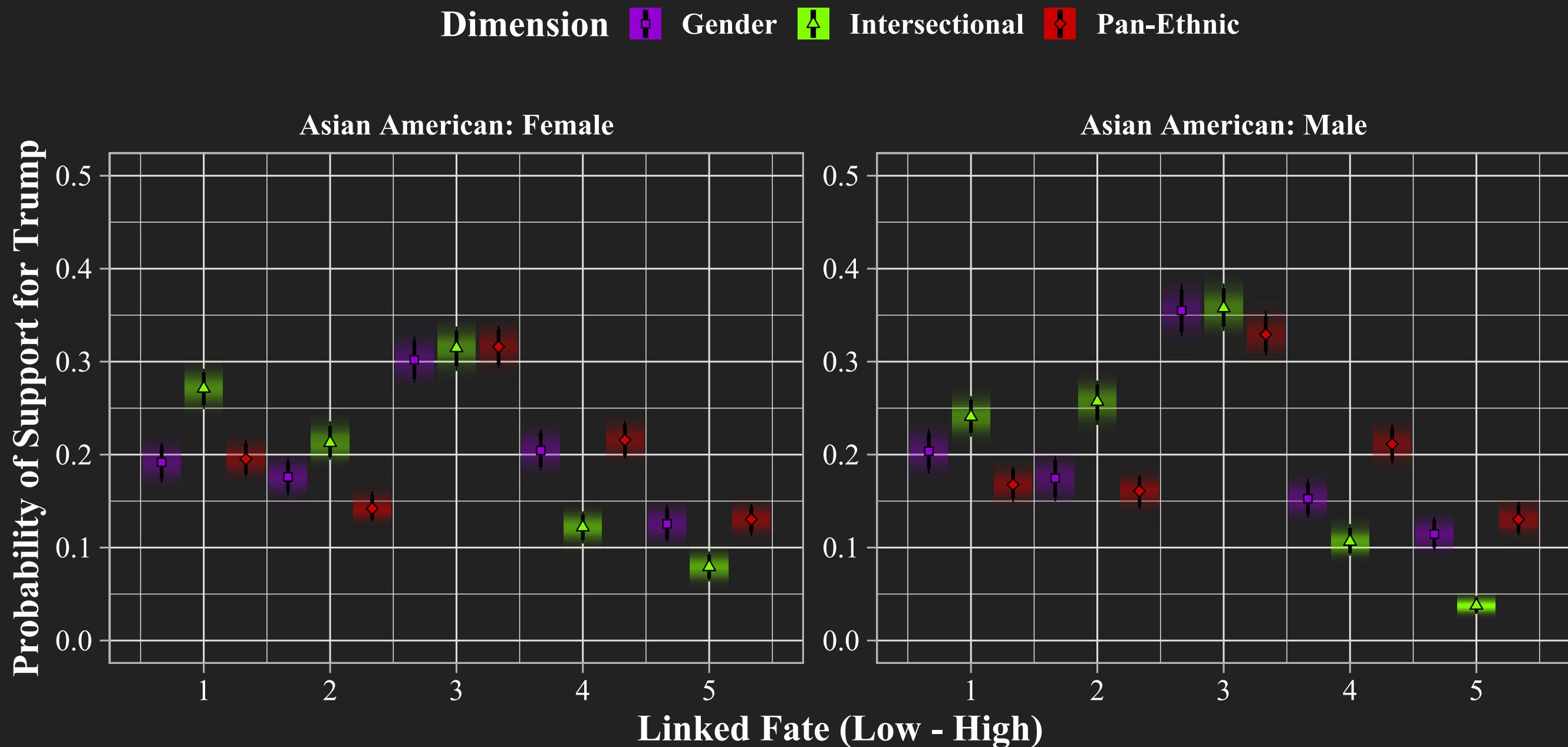
**Figure 1. Post-Stratified Probabilities of Support for Trump by Linked Fate Dimension**



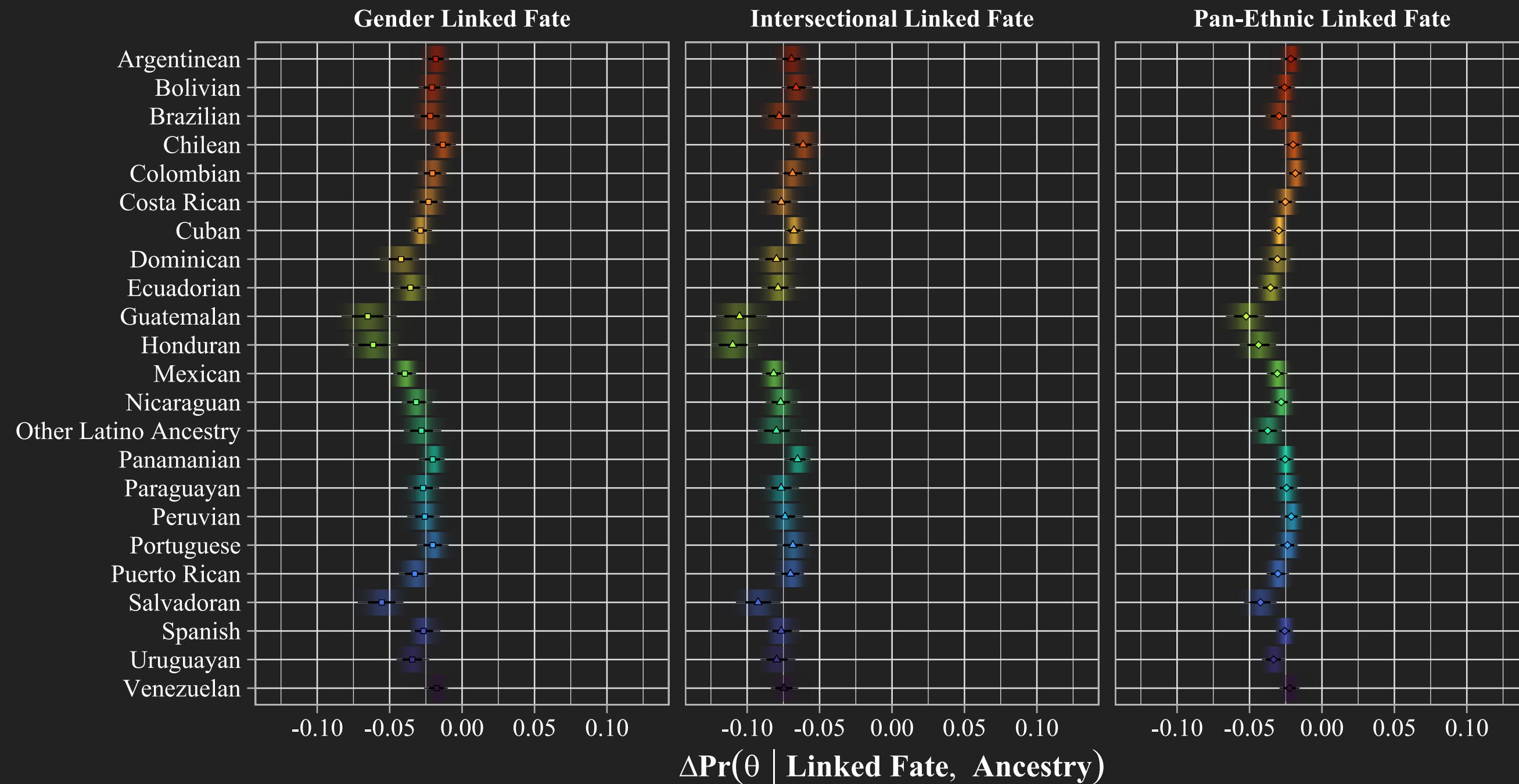
**Figure 2A. Post-Stratified Probabilities of Support for Trump among Latinos by Linked Fate Dimension and Gender**



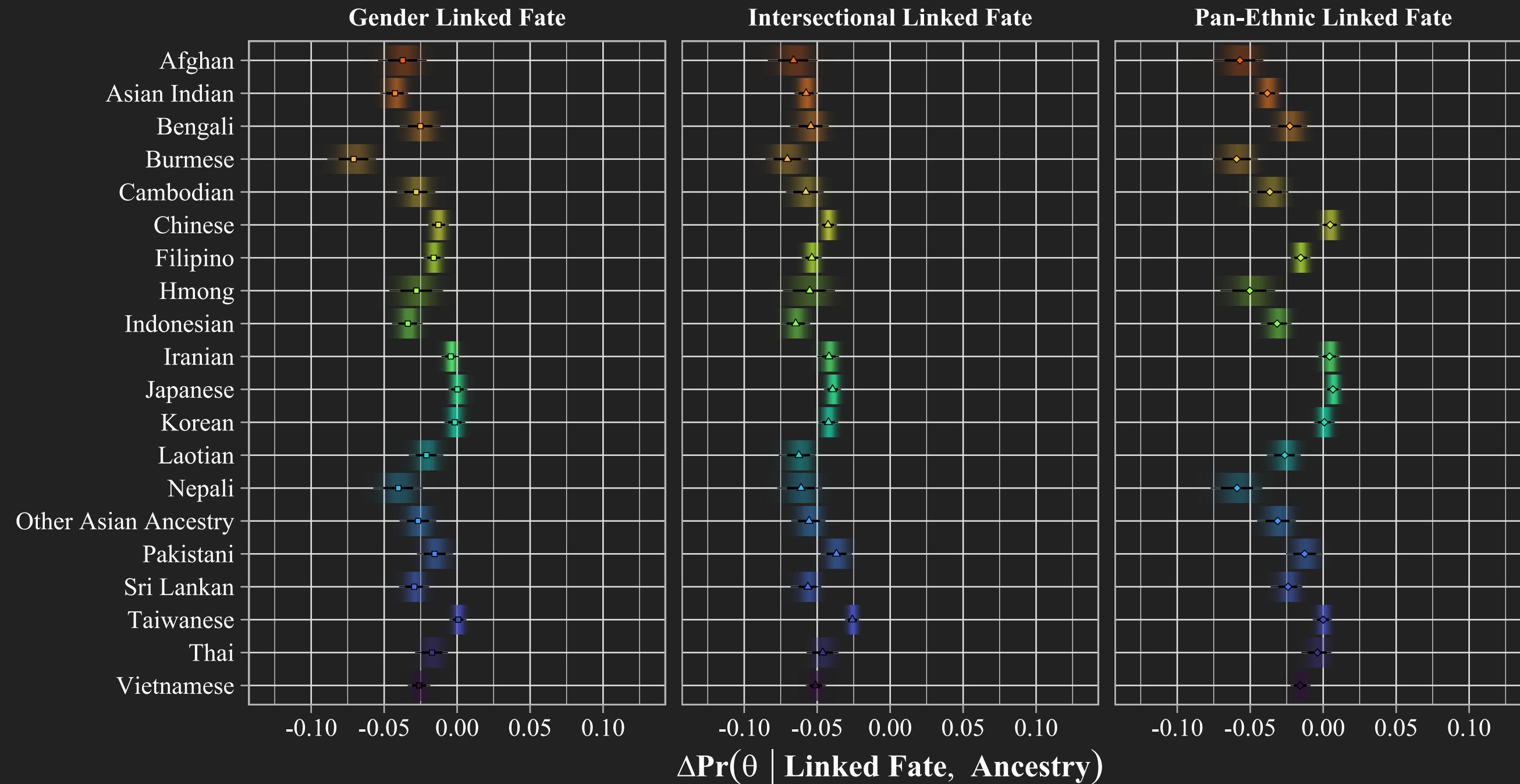
**Figure 2B. Post-Stratified Probabilities of Support for Trump among Asians by Linked Fate Dimension and Gender**



**Figure 3A. Average Post-Stratified Contrasts for the Probability of Support for Trump among Hispanics and Latinos by Ancestry and Linked Fate Dimension**



**Figure 3B. Average Post-Stratified Contrasts for the Probability of Support for Trump among Asians by Ancestry and Linked Fate Dimension**



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- People who feel more connected to other “[men/women] of color” were overall less likely to support Trump in 2020
- Relationship among Asian Americans is very non-linear across each dimension of Linked Fate, and particularly among those of East Asian descent
- Pan-Ethnic identity groups are far from monolithic and this heterogeneity is substantively interesting
- Not much evidence of within group-gender gaps in the joint distribution of linked fate and support for Trump across all dimensions

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- Our data is purely cross-sectional and constitutes a single snapshot in time —our aims here are purely descriptive
- We cannot speak to the question of *why* we observe these within and between group differences in the relationships between linked fate and support for Trump as that is a causal question with a causal answer

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