UCLA
AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community

Title

Asian American Voters in 2020: Analysis of Democratic Primary Voting and Lessons for Future Elections

Permalink

Journal

ISSN

Authors

Lee, Jessica HyunJeong
Penumaka, Evangel
Masuoka, Natalie

Publication Date

2020

Copyright Information

Peer reviewed

Resource Paper

Asian American Voters in 2020: Analysis of Democratic Primary Voting and Lessons for Future Elections

Jessica HyunJeong Lee, Evangel Penumaka, and
Natalie Masuoka

Abstract

This paper offers an analysis of Asian American voter participation and candidate choice in the 2020 primary election. We look at election records from eight different states as well as offer a case study on Asian American voters in Los Angeles County. We find that the number of Asian American voters grew moderately in the 2020 primary compared to the 2016 primary. Some evidence shows that Asian Americans preferred Bernie Sanders over other candidates but the pattern of Asian American candidate vote choice does vary across states suggesting that local politics influenced Asian American preferences. Asian Americans are an understudied group in American elections and this paper offers new data that can be used to gain insights into how Asian American voter participation changes over time.

Introduction

The year 2020 was set to be a momentous year for political representation: Americans would be selecting the next president as well as completing the decennial census that would determine congressional seats for the next decade. Asian Americans, the fastest-growing racial group in the United States, would have clear stakes in 2020 as their growing population size should ensure greater attention and services to the community. Yet, the COVID-19 pandemic interrupted most of this by acting as an unexpected barrier to political participation. While it will likely take scholars and the public many years to understand the

true long-term implications of COVID-19 on political representation, we must remain vigilant about protecting the voting rights of all voters, but particularly for voters of color who have historically faced forms of discrimination preventing them from casting their vote.

This article presents data on Asian American voting during the 2020 Democratic primary election as one effort to help monitor Asian American voting in 2020. We analyze data on two outcomes in the 2020 Democratic primary election: (1) analyzing Asian American voting and preferences in eight states with relatively large Asian American populations and (2) a more detailed analysis of voter turnout in Los Angeles County, home to one of the largest Asian American populations in the nation. While most election-related data rely on public opinion surveys of national populations, we use observations of total votes cast in areas with dense Asian populations that allow us some insight into the variation in Asian American voting and preferences that exist in different localities. Our objective is to offer one form of baseline data on Asian American voting that academics, activists, and campaigns can use to later evaluate how the global health pandemic influenced political outcomes in 2020.

Background: Asian American Voting and Partisanship

Asian Americans are the fastest-growing group of eligible voters in the U.S. population, with the number of eligible voters more than doubling from 2000 to 2020 (Budiman, 2020). However, this diverse population is still working to reach its full voting potential. In past years, Asian Americans have displayed low voting participation rates, making up only 2 to 3 percent of the voters in 2000 and 2004 (Wong, 2005). Scholars emphasize, however, the many barriers to political participation that Asian Americans face, from low voter registration rates among adult citizens to the proportion of noncitizens who are ineligible to participate (Lien et al., 2001; Lien, Conway, and Wong, 2004; Wong et al 2011). Additionally, political parties and candidates are unlikely to target these communities and conduct effective outreach efforts to mobilize them (Wong, 2005).

With each election year however, Asian Americans display huge strides in political participation. The 2016 Asian American vote was still relatively low in comparison to other groups—35 percent compared to white voters at 63 percent and Black voters at 56 percent (Masuoka, Ramanathan, and Junn, 2019). But if we look at *eligible* adult Asian Americans we see the turnout rate in 2016 rise to 49 percent, as well as continued

Democratic allegiance (ibid.; Masuoka et al., 2018). The 2018 midterm election also stands out for its high voter turnout among all major racial and ethnic groups, with Asian American voter turnout in particular increasing from 27 percent to 40 percent (Misra, 2019). One point to note is that Asian American voters are concentrated in certain states—such as in California, New Jersey, and Texas—where they are experiencing continued growth (Ramakrishnan and Ahmad, 2014). One study finds that the Asian American and Pacific Islander vote increased from 18 percent to 42 percent in Texas, 27 percent to 43 percent in California, and 42 percent to 61 percent in Washington between 2014 to 2018 midterm elections (Ramakrishnan, Shah, and Shao, 2019). The Asian American vote wields the most power in certain localities that draw our attention to states or counties rather than emphasizing the national electorate.

But even with these gains, there are still a number of questions about the future of Asian American political power. First, while the size of the Asian American electorate has been growing, to what extent would there be outside forces that would weaken this growth? Setbacks on voting rights reforms since the 2013 *Shelby County v. Holder* court case is a real concern, but unanticipated challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic could also impact Asian American voter turnout. Second, to what extent do Asian Americans vote collectively as a bloc? Populations are politically powerful if they vote collectively as a group. While recent data suggests that Asian Americans are increasingly leaning Democratic (Ramakrishnan and Wong, 2020; Raychaudhuri, 2018), there is still other evidence to support that Asian Americans are a politically diverse group with weak partisan identification (Lien et al., 2004; Nguyen and Garand, 2009; Ramakrishnan and Wong, 2020). To this end, this article shares some insights into the role of the Asian American electorate within the Democratic Party.

Analyzing Asian American Voter Precincts in Eight States

To first contextualize the election, the buildup to the 2020 Democratic primaries included more than 20 presidential candidates, many of whom have links to Asian America and Pacific Islander community such as Kamala Harris, Andrew Yang, and Tulsi Gabbard. Bernie Sanders, however, was shown to have notable support from Asian Americans in polls leading up to Super Tuesday (Butchireddygari, 2020). The start of the primaries in February and early elections had Bernie Sanders and Pete Buttigieg competing as neck-to-neck front runners. However, with a pivotal win in South Carolina and a strong super Tuesday

showing on March 3, by mid-March Joe Biden was gaining the delegates needed to eventually secure the Democratic nomination (Calia and Pramuk, 2020; Sullivan, 2020).

For this analysis, we analyze primary election outcomes in the first half of the Democratic primary election cycle between February 3 to March 17, 2020. This includes early nominating contests leading to Senator Joe Biden earning enough delegates to become the Democratic nominee. We selected eight states that held an election during this period that have large Asian American populations: Nevada, California, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Illinois.[1] These eight states make up about 30 percent of the total number of Democratic delegates cast (1,223 out of 3,979) but also are home to a large share of the Asian American electorate. Analyzing data during the first stage of the Democratic primary allows us to understand how the Asian American vote operates during a competitive period of the election.

Methodology

We collected election data reported at the precinct level for each of the eight states obtained from the state or county registrar of votes or nongovernmental sources, such as the *New York Times*. Additionally, election results from the previous 2016 primary election were available for three states—California, Texas, and Virginia. Therefore, for these three states, we are able to provide an analysis of voter turnout by calculating the percent change in ballots cast from 2016 to 2020 in addition to an analysis of candidate preference in the 2020 primary election. For the remaining five states—Nevada, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Washington, and Illinois—we provide only an analysis of vote choice in the 2020 primary election. Due to data limitations, we analyzed election results data for the entire state for Nevada, Virginia, North Carolina, and Massachusetts. For the other four states—California, Texas, Washington, and Illinois—we were able to provide a more detailed analysis of specific counties with large Asian American populations.[2]

For this analysis, we compare vote choice in precincts that have "high-density" Asian American population against vote choice in precincts that are of "low density."[3] Comparing the two allows us one methodological strategy of making inferences about individual behavior and preferences.[4] Information about the total number of precincts and the thresholds defining high and low density are summarized in the Appendix Table A1.[5]

Findings: Voter Participation

To assess whether voter participation in the 2020 Democratic primary was high or low, we analyze the difference of ballots cast between the 2016 primary election and the 2020 primary election. Due to data availability, we were able to analyze voter participation in California, Texas, and Virginia (see Table 1). Our analysis suggests that in California and Virginia, voter participation in Asian American precincts was weaker compared to non-Asian American precincts. In California, we calculated the change in ballots cast for each of our targeted five counties. In four counties of Orange, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Mateo, we find that ballots cast had increased in low-density precincts but declined in high-density precincts, suggesting that turnout by Asian Americans was lower in 2020 compared to 2016. We find the reverse in Los Angeles County where ballots cast grew between 2016 and 2020 in high-density precincts but declined in low-density precincts. We note, however, that even though the rate of change is positive in Los Angeles County, the increase was proportionately small. Likewise, we find only moderate growth in the total ballots cast in Virginia. The rate of change in total ballots cast was higher in low-density precincts than high-density precincts across the state of Virginia, but the difference is small (1.89 percent).

Table 1. Changes in Ballots Cast between 2016 to 2020
in California, Texas, and Virginia

Primary State/County	High-Density Precincts	Low-Density Precincts
Virginia	3.19%	5.08%
California		
Los Angeles County	4.88%	-11.59%
Orange County	6%	41%
San Diego County	29%	37%
San Francisco County	13%	24%
San Mateo County	42%	214%
Texas		
Dallas County	68%	54%
Fort Bend County	100%	73%
Harris County	72%	50%
Tarrant County	129%	44%

Source: Authors' calculations of 2020 Primary Elections Data[6]

While voter participation of Asian Americans was weak in California and Virginia, we found a much different pattern in Texas. In Texas, we also conducted a county-specific analysis of four counties and found for all these counties, the rate of change of ballots cast from 2016 to 2020 was greater in high-density precincts than in low-density precincts. The change in the ballots cast is about 20 points higher in high-density than low-density precincts in Dallas, Fort Bend, and Harris and almost triple in Tarrant County.

Overall, we did find evidence that the number of voters is growing in high-density Asian American precincts, which is to be expected given Asian America's impressive population growth. However, in California and Virginia, voter turnout increased at higher rates in the low-density precincts compared to the high-density precincts, suggesting that Asian American voter mobilization may have been weak in these areas. Yet, we find that, in Texas, voter turnout increased at higher rates in the high-density precincts compared to low-density precincts. This suggests that Asian American electorates are growing in Texas. Future research can focus on what happened in Texas and why the number of Asian American voters had grown at higher rates relative to the two other states we analyze.

Findings: Candidate Choice

Turning our attention to candidate choice, our analysis suggests that there is important local variation in Asian American preferences when we compare across state primaries. In Nevada, California, Massachusetts, Washington, and Illinois (Chicago), Sanders was the preferred candidate in high-density Asian American precincts (see Table 2). In Nevada, Sanders received a higher vote share (an average of 48 percent) in high-density precincts compared to what he won in low-density precincts (an average of 41 percent). Across the five counties in California, we observe a general advantage held by Sanders in high-density precincts compared to low-density precincts. In Massachusetts, the vote split between Biden and Sanders was close in high-density precincts but Sanders did win a larger share than Biden. In the four counties with large populations of Asian Americans in Washington, we find that Sanders had almost double the support than Biden in high-density precincts and in contrast, Sanders lost by an average of 1 percent of the vote share in low-density precincts. In the city of Chicago of Illinois, we also find that Sanders won in high-density precincts, receiving an average of 48 percent of the vote share in high-density precincts while in low-

density precincts, Biden received an average of 55 percent of the vote share. In these five states, the pattern shows that Sanders had stronger support in Asian American precincts whereas Biden had stronger support in non-Asian American precincts.

Table 2. Vote Preferences for Democratic Presidential Candidates across Eight States

Primary or Caucus State/County	High-Density Precincts			Low-Density Precincts		
	Biden	Sanders	Others	Biden	Sanders	Others
Nevada	22%	48%	30%	18%	41%	42%
California						
Los Angeles County	26%	34%	35%	26%	36%	34%
Orange County	25%	45%	37%	35%	40%	43%
San Diego County	24%	49%	27%	28%	34%	38%
San Francisco County	23%	40%	37%	25%	30%	45%
San Mateo County	25%	36%	39%	28%	26%	45%
Massachusetts	26%	38%	35%	34%	29%	38%
North Carolina	44%	26%	39%	47%	23%	30%
Texas						
Dallas County	33%	32%	35%	38%	30%	32%
Fort Bend County	38%	30%	32%	46%	23%	31%
Harris County	35%	33%	32%	37%	31%	32%
Tarrant County	35%	41%	25%	36%	34%	30%
Virginia	47%	31%	22%	56%	22%	21%
Washington	26%	43%	-	33%	32%	-
Illinois (Chicago)	42%	48%	-	55%	41%	-

Source: Authors' calculations of 2020 Primary Elections Data[7]

In contrast, in Virginia and North Carolina, Biden had a clear advantage in both high and low precincts. In Texas, we find that in three out of four counties we analyzed—Dallas, Fort Bend, and Harris—Biden received the highest vote share in both high-density and low-density precincts. The exception is Tarrant County where Sanders received an average support of 41 percent of the vote share in high-density precincts.

Across eight states in our analysis, we see two types of patterns.

In five out of the eight states we analyzed, Asian American precincts showed a higher level of support for Sanders whereas non-Asian American precincts were more supportive of Biden. However, we note that votes in high-density precincts appear to have been divided across multiple candidates as Sanders did not win the majority but plurality of votes. In the remaining states, we found that Asian American precincts preferred Biden but their candidate choice was reflective of an overall state pattern in which most voters in the state demonstrated a preference for Biden.

Taking together the results from change in ballots cast and vote choice, the main lesson learned is that the Asian American vote varies by locality. The context of the state's politics and political culture appear to influence the Asian American vote given that vote choice in high-density Asian American follows a similar pattern of the overall state, particularly in Virginia and North Carolina. There does appear to be distinctive racial group differences in Nevada, California, Massachusetts, Washington, and Illinois where we find Sanders took the most votes in high-density Asian American precincts while Biden had stronger support in low-density ones. This suggests that Asian American voters helped to add to the winning coalition in favor of Sanders showing the promise of Asian American voting power.

Case Study: Voting in Los Angeles County

The eight state analysis offers insight into a national trend for Asian American political participation and preferences, but at the same time we were not able to consider the diversity that exists within Asian America. To offer a more nuanced analysis of the Asian American vote, we turn our focus to a case study on Los Angeles County, which is home to one of the largest and most diverse Asian American populations in the country. Our objective in this section is to focus on Los Angeles County so we can conduct a more nuanced analysis of the Asian American vote by considering variation in national origin as well as the spatial distribution of Asian American communities.

First, we consider to what extent there is variation by national origin group. For this analysis, we only analyze those precincts that are "high-density" Asian American precincts (40 percent or more of a precinct, as defined in the eight-state analysis in the preceding text). Within this set of high-density precincts, we then identify those precincts where a specific national origin group makes up the majority or near majority share of the Asian American population in that area.[8] We find that there

is not significant variation across the six Asian national origin groups on either rates of voter turnout or candidate choice preference across these national origin precincts (see Table 3). There are some small differences on vote choice that may be worth noting: those precincts populated by majority Korean or Vietnamese American areas had the highest support levels for Sanders (52 percent and 54 percent, respectively). Firm conclusions cannot be drawn from Table 3, but we argue that the relative consistency across national origin precincts on voter turnout rates and vote choice offers some hope that there has been consistent mobilization across Asian Americans in Los Angeles County leading to similar outcomes across national origin (or at least among the top six national origin groups).

Table 3. Voter Turnout and Candidate Choice in Voter Precincts Made Up of One Asian National Origin Group

Precinct populated primarily by:	Avg Turnout	Avg % Biden	Avg % Sanders
Chinese	35%	26%	46%
Filipino	36%	22%	51%
Korean	39%	19%	52%
Indian	34%	26%	48%
Japanese	35%	25%	47%
Vietnamese	32%	22%	54%

Source: Authors' calculations of 2020 Primary Elections Data[9]

Another way of assessing the diversity of Asian American politics is considering the spatial patterns of voter turnout and candidate choice. A more detailed spatial analysis allows us to contextualize turnout rates and candidate choice using residential patterns and other neighborhood factors. For this we use GIS mapping to visualize these spatial patterns. First, we map the relationship between the size and location of the Asian American population and how that relates to the spatial pattern of voter turnout (see Figure 1).[10] In Figure 1, we map density of Asian American neighborhoods on a scale of low (less than 30 percent) to high (greater than 70 percent) and overlay that with a map on a scale of voter turnout. Strikingly, we see in Figure 1 that there are many areas where the turnout was less than a third of all registered voters. While lower turnout is expected during a primary election (and one where the Republican Party was not running a competitive election), we note that the areas of

low turnout are where communities of color live. But the relationship between high turnout and large Asian American populations is much more complicated when we look at specific neighborhoods. There are some areas with large Asian American populations that have low turnout rates such as the areas surrounding Diamond Bar, sections of the San Gabriel Valley and of the South Bay. In contrast, there was higher turnout in other areas with large Asian American communities such as West Los Angeles, South Pasadena, and Glendale. Voter mobilization appears to have been more effective in some higher density Asian American areas compared to others.

Figure 1. Voter Turnout in California 2020 Primary and Share of Asian Population
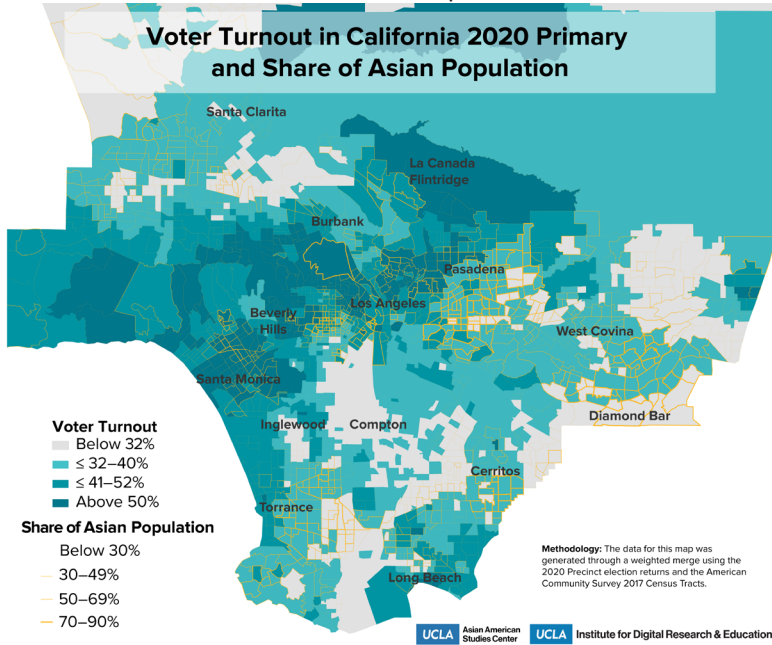
Source: Authors' calculations of 2020 Primary Elections Data[11]

In Figure 2, we map the difference in the total number of ballots cast between the 2016 Democratic primary and the 2020 Democratic primary and combine this with a map of Asian American residential patterns. In this map, we see that overall, there were fewer ballots cast in 2020 compared to 2016. However, when we focus on areas that are high-density Asian American, we find that some neighborhoods such as those in the city of Los Angeles saw some growth while others such

as in the South Bay saw a decline. Neighborhood context seems to offer an additional explanation to Asian American participation rates. But overall, the lowered voting in 2020 relative to 2016 suggests that special circumstances related to 2020 led to reduced voter participation. While we cannot draw causal relationships with the data we have, we hypothesize that factors such as the change in the voting process—moving from the use of polling locations to vote centers and mail-in ballots that had been newly implemented in 2020—may explain the lower turnout.

Figure 2. Change in Total Ballots Cast between 2016 and 2020 Democratic Primaries and Share of Asian Population
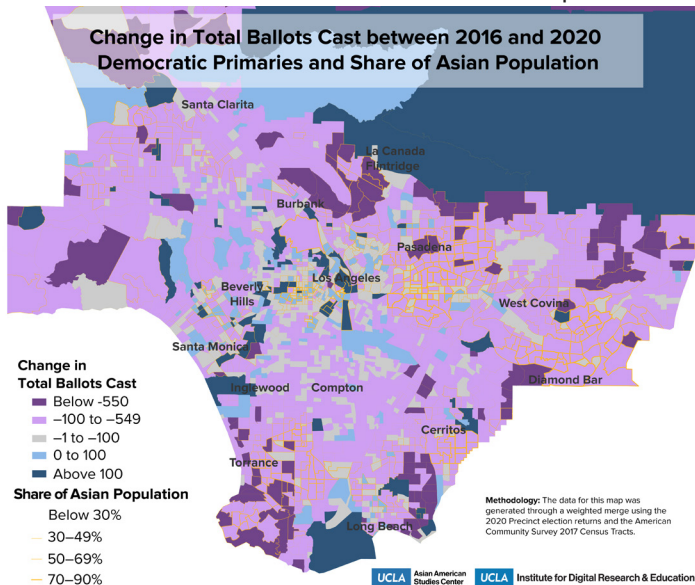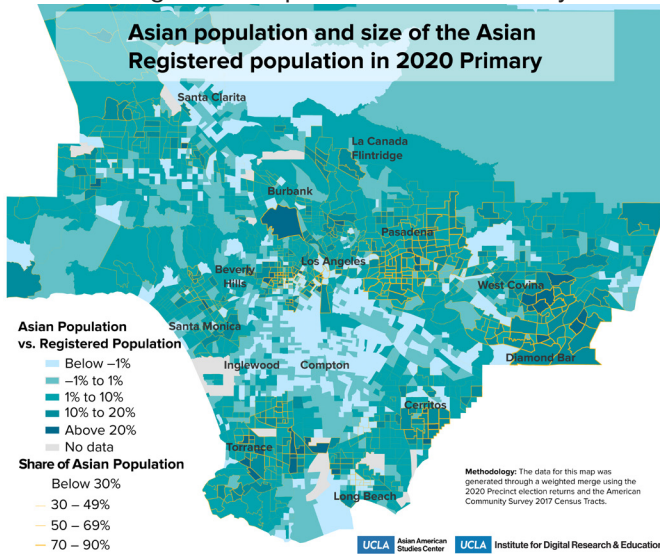

Source: Authors' calculations of 2020 Primary Elections Data[12]

We find in this analysis that increasing voter participation continues to be a core concern for the Asian American electorate. One way to be more efficient with a mobilization campaign is to identify which Asian American neighborhoods are made up primarily of registered voters and which Asian American neighborhoods have large Asian American populations but are not registered. Figure 3 maps this relationship: Those lighter blue areas are those areas where Asian Americans are primarily a registered voter population. Areas of darker green represent those where there is a large Asian American population but a large share of that population is not registered. This map shows that those areas with very few Asian Americans are those where the Asian

American residents are registered voters and so mobilization campaigns can be developed with this type of population in mind. In contrast, a voter registration drive would probably be most useful in areas where there is a significant difference between the size of the Asian American population and the size of the Asian American registered voter population. In Los Angeles County, those areas are in the east section of the county (Diamond Bar/Rowland Heights) and in Koreatown.

Figure 3. Asian Population and Size of the Asian Registered Population in 2020 Primary

Source: Authors' calculations of 2020 Primary Elections Data[13]

This case study of Asian American voting in Los Angeles County is by no means exhaustive but we use this discussion to point out how activists and campaigns can engage in data-based strategies for identifying more tailored strategies to mobilize Asian American voters. While we were unable to find differences by national origin group using the analyses employed here, we did glean useful insights from our spatial analysis. Visualizing the location of Asian American communities and the spatial pattern of voter turnout offers more nuanced information about where Asian American electorates are more active and in what areas can use further engagement.

Thinking Forward to Future Elections

Asian Americans are considered an important and growing elec-

torate in American elections. Although scholarship and data on Asian American politics is increasing, there continues to still be a need to collect data and document turnout and vote choice patterns of the Asian American community. This will allow both scholars and activists opportunities to track the changes in the electorate over time. We note that this is one type of data collection on the 2020 Democratic primary election relying on election outcomes but we anticipate that some of these findings can be used to draw patterns about voting in 2020 as well as offer data for those hoping to conduct longitudinal or other meta-analyses of the Asian American electorate.

Building from our eight-state analysis, we find that there continues to be impressive potential of growing Asian American voters across the country. As a group whose growth is attributed to new immigration, Asian America sees the addition of new voters into the electorate as its immigrant members settle and gain citizenship in the United States. Voter mobilization and get-out-the-vote drives are essential to ensuring the political incorporation of these new Americans. Our eight-state analysis also shows that Asian Americans showed preference toward Sanders's candidacy, which is one factor that kept this candidate in the competitive running for president. One interpretation of this data is that Asian American voters are increasingly being recognized as a critical electorate in national elections.

We conclude by highlighting an important factor that we could not directly address with the data employed in this article. The COVID-19 pandemic peaked in the middle of the 2020 Democratic primary and it would be hard to discount the role it played in the final election outcome. The rise of COVID-19 forces attention to the precarity of voting accessibility for Americans. The greatest concern moving forward is how to protect the vote of Asian Americans and other communities of color during times of crisis. Historically, even when the constitution protects the right to vote for all Americans, voters of color have long faced efforts to disenfranchise and weaken their electoral power. As the COVID-19 pandemic continues to make the need for social distancing practices, there are calls to modify how Americans cast their ballot such as transitioning to a vote-by-mail process. Although these calls for voting changes are offered with the intent to protect public health, changes to voting procedures can oftentimes make it more difficult to vote. When the challenges associated with casting the ballot have the potential to disproportionately affect voters of color or other vulnerable groups, we must be vigilant in our efforts to monitor access and equity.

Appendix

Table A1. Summary of Data for Selected Eight States

Primary or Caucus State/County	High-Density Precincts			Low-Density Precincts			Unit of Analysis
	Threshold	Sample Size	Dem Ballots Cast	Threshold	Sample Size	Dem Ballots Cast	
Nevada	>25%	48	3,124	<10%	1,178	71,443	CVAP*
California							
Los Angeles County	>40%	68	15,439	<10%	404	454,659	Reg Voters
Orange County	>40%	55	12,436	<10%	613	152,980	Reg Voters
San Diego County	>30%	10	2,981	<10%	1,035	291,040	Reg Voters
San Francisco County	>40%	49	15,752	<10%	175	85,776	Reg Voters
San Mateo County	>30%	16	6,024	<10%	130	53,337	Reg Voters
Massachusetts	>25%	24	9,335	<10%	1,849	1,193,373	Reg Voters
North Carolina	>15%	11	5,995	<5%	2,451	2,467,344	CVAP
Texas							
Dallas County	>20%	18	7,581	<10%	621	195,095	CVAP
Fort Bend County	>25%	41	20,373	<10%	76	29,871	CVAP
Harris County	>20%	43	15,354	<10%	760	237,151	CVAP
Tarrant County	>20%	12	2,593	<5%	372	77,710	CVAP
Virginia	>30%	19	14,055	<5%	1,862	746,580	CVAP
Washington	>40%	37	2,920	<5%	745	108,363	CVAP
Illinois (Chicago)	>40%	18	2,602	<5%	1,437	300,545	CVAP

*CVAP = Citizen Voting Age Population

Notes

1. This section presents data published from another report by the authors. Please also see Gutierrez, Angela, Michael Herndon, Jessica HyunJeong Lee, Marcel Roman, and Natalie Masuoka. 2020. Democratic Party 2020: Analysis of Latino and Asian American Voting in 10 States. Los Angeles: Latino Policy and Politics Initiative.

2. In California, we analyzed the following counties: Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Mateo. In Texas, we analyzed the following counties: Dallas, Fort Bend, Harris, and Tarrant. In Washington, we analyzed the counties: King, Pierce, Snohomish, and Thurston. In Illinois, we limited our analysis to Chicago.

3. Because ultimately your vote is anonymous, there is no way of verifying how an individual voted. But we can confirm the number of votes cast and the share of the vote each candidate earned in a voting precinct. By focusing on vote reports in high and low Asian American precincts, we can therefore analyze how neighborhoods populated by a large share of Asian Americans voted compares to neighborhoods populated by little to no Asian Americans. This is a form of ecological inference, which is what case law has relied on to establish areas where there exists a voting rights violation (Lublin, 1999).

4. To calculate the size of the Asian American population, we use, depending on availability, either the share of citizen voting age population or share of registered voter population of the precinct. These metrics provide a more accurate estimate of political influence compared to relying simply on the total size of the overall Asian American population given that the large share of immigrants in the Asian American community result in a smaller share of the population that is eligible to vote.

5. Due to the variation in the size of the Asian American population in each state and/or county, the thresholds we use to determine "high-density" precincts and "low-density" precincts vary by state and/or county. The thresholds have been determined at the points that gives us large enough sample size for meaningful analyses; therefore, thresholds have been set where we have at least 10 precincts that reach a specific population threshold of Asian Americans. We argue that this decision offered us the ability to report results that better took into account local variation because what accounts for a "large" Asian American community or neighborhood varies depending on the location.

6. Data Sources for Table 1: Virginia Historical Election Database: https://historical.elections.virginia.gov/;

   Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the Virginia Democratic Primary." New York Times. March 3. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/03/us/elections/precinct-map-virginia-primary.html?action=click&auth=login-email&login=email&module=ELEX_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation; American Community Survey. 2013-2017 5 year estimates.

Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau; University of California, Berkeley. Statewide Database. https://statewidedatabase.org/; Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk: https://www.lavote.net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results/past-election-results; Orange County Registrar of Voters: https://www.livevoterturnout.com/Orange/LiveResults/en/Index_2.html; San Diego County Registrar of Voters: http://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanDiego/LiveResults/en/Index_8.html; San Francisco County Department of Elections: https://sfelections.sfgov.org/march-3-2020-election-results-detailed-reports; San Mateo County Assessor-County Clerk-Recorder & Chief Elections Officer: https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanMateoCA/LiveResults/en/Index_3.html; Dallas County Elections: https://www.dallascountyvotes.org/election-results-and-maps/election-results/; Fort Bend County Services: https://www.fortbendcountytx.gov/government/departments/county-services/elections-voter-registration/election-results; Harris County Clerk: https://www.harrisvotes.com/ElectionResults?lang=en-US#ElectionArchives

Tarrant County: https://www.tarrantcounty.com/en/elections/election-archives.html?linklocation=Voter%20Resources&linkname=Election%20Archives

7. Data sources for Table 2: Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the Nevada Democratic Caucus." New York Times. March 3. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/02/22/us/elections/results-nevada-caucus-precinct-map.html?action=click&module=ELEX_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation; American Community Survey. 2013-2017 5 year estimates. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau; University of California, Berkeley. Statewide Database. https://statewidedatabase.org/; Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk: https://www.lavote.net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results/past-election-results; Orange County Registrar of Voters: https://www.livevoterturnout.com/Orange/LiveResults/en/Index_2.html; San Diego County Registrar of Voters: http://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanDiego/LiveResults/en/Index_8.html; San Francisco County Department of Elections: https://sfelections.sfgov.org/march-3-2020-election-results-detailed-reports;

San Mateo County Assessor-County Clerk-Recorder & Chief Elections Officer: https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanMateoCA/LiveResults/en/Index_3.html; Dallas County Elections: https://www.dallascountyvotes.org/election-results-and-maps/election-results/; Fort Bend County Services: https://www.fortbendcountytx.gov/government/departments/county-services/elections-voter-registration/election-results; Harris County Clerk: https://www.harrisvotes.com/ElectionResults?lang=en-US#ElectionArchives

Tarrant County: https://www.tarrantcounty.com/en/elections/election-archives.html?linklocation=Voter%20Resources&linkname=Election%20Archives; Massachusetts Secretary of the Commonwealth: https://

electionstats.state.ma.us/elections/view/136227/; Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the North Carolina Democratic Primary." New York Times. March 3. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/03/us/elections/precinct-map-north-carolina-primary.html; Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the Virginia Democratic Primary." New York Times. March 3. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/03/us/elections/precinct-map-virginia-primary.html?action=click&auth=login-email&login=email&module=ELEX_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation; Washington Secretary of State: https://results.vote.wa.gov/results/20200310/Turnout.html; Chicago Board of Election Commissioner: https://chicagoelections.gov/en/election-results.html

8. For example, we define "Chinese" precincts as those where Chinese make up 60 percent or more of the Asian Americans that are living in a precinct. Given that some national origin groups are more populous than others, we use the 60 percent threshold to determine Chinese, Filipino, and Korean precincts and the 50 percent threshold to determine Indian, Japanese, and Filipino precincts.

9. Data Sources for Table 3: American Community Survey. 2013-2017 5 year estimates. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau ; University of California, Berkeley. Statewide Database. https://statewidedatabase.org/; Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk: https://www.lavote.net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results/past-election-results; Orange County Registrar of Voters: https://www.livevoterturnout.com/Orange/LiveResults/en/Index_2.html; San Diego County Registrar of Voters: http://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanDiego/LiveResults/en/Index_8.html; San Francisco County Department of Elections: https://sfelections.sfgov.org/march-3-2020-election-results-detailed-reports; San Mateo County Assessor-County Clerk-Recorder & Chief Elections Officer: https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanMateoCA/LiveResults/en/Index_3.html

10. Our thanks to Albert Kochaphum who helped to design and create these maps.

11. Data sources for Figure 1: American Community Survey. 2013-2017 5 year estimates. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau; University of California, Berkeley. Statewide Database. https://statewidedatabase.org/; Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk: https://www.lavote.net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results/past-election-results

12. Data Sources for Figure 2: American Community Survey. 2013-2017 5 year estimates. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau; University of California, Berkeley. Statewide Database. https://statewidedatabase.org/; Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk: https://www.lavote.net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results/past-election-results

13. Data Sources for Figure 3: American Community Survey. 2013-2017 5 year
    estimates. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau; University of California,
    Berkeley. Statewide Database. https://statewidedatabase.org/; Los
    Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk: https://www.lavote.
    net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results/past-
    election-results

References

Budiman, Abby. 2020. "Asian Americans Are the Fastest-Growing Racial or Eth-
    nic Group in the U.S. Electorate." *Pew Research Center*, 7 May. https://www.
    pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/05/07/asian-americans-are-the-fastest-
    growing-racial-or-ethnic-group-in-the-u-s-electorate/

Butchireddygari, Likhitha. 2020. "Who Are Asian Americans Supporting in Cal-
    ifornia?" *FiveThirtyEight*, 23 February. https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/
    sanders-might-have-an-edge-with-asian-americans-in-california/

Calia, Mike, and Jacob Pramuk. 2020. "Joe Biden Is the Front-Runner Again after
    He Shocked the World on Super Tuesday." *CNBC*, 4 March. https://www.
    cnbc.com/2020/03/03/super-tuesday-live-updates-results.html

Lien, Pei-te, Christian Collet, Janelle Wong, and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan. 2001.
    "Asian Pacific-American Public Opinion and Political Participation." *PS: Po-
    litical Science and Politics* 34(3): 625–30.

Lien, Pei-te, Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong. 2004. *The Politics of Asian
    Americans: Diversity and Community*. New York: Routledge.

Lublin, David. 1999. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Mi-
    nority Interests in Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Masuoka, Natalie, Kumar Ramanathan, and Jane Junn. 2019. "New Asian Ameri-
    can Voters: Political Incorporation and Participation in 2016." *Political Research
    Quarterly* 72(4): 991–1003.

Masuoka, Natalie, Hahrie Han, Vivien Leung, and Bang Quan Zheng. 2018.
    "Understanding the Asian American Vote in the 2016 Election." *Journal of
    Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 3(1): 189–215.

Misra, Jordan. 2019. "Voter Turnout Rates among All Voting Age and Major Racial
    and Ethnic Groups Were Higher Than in 2014." *United States Census Bureau*, 23
    April. https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2019/04/behind-2018-unit-
    ed-states-midterm-election-turnout.html

Nguyen, N. Kim, and James C. Garand. 2009. "Partisan Strength and Nonpar-
    tisanship Among Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* 37(3): 375-408.

Ramakrishnan, Karthick, and Farah Z. Ahmad. 2014. "State of Asian Americans
    and Pacific Islanders Series: A Multifaceted Portrait of a Growing Popula-
    tion." *Center for American Progress*, 23 April.

Ramakrishnan, Karthick, and Janelle Wong. 2020. "Early Polling: AAPI Electorate
    Leans Democratic, Still Persuadable." *AAPI Data. Data Bits (blog)*. 17 August.
    http://aapidata.com/blog/2020-aavs-august-preliminary/

Ramakrishnan, Karthick, Sono Shah, and Sunny Shao. 2019. "Record Gains

in AAPI Voting Likely to Continue through 2020 Data Bits." *AAPI Data. Data Bits (blog)*. 16 September. http://aapidata.com/blog/voting-gains/

Raychaudhuri, Tanika. 2018. "The Social Roots of Asian American Partisan Attitudes." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6(3): 389-410.

Sullivan, Kate. 2020. "Joe Biden Wins Enough Delegates to Secure Democratic Nomination." *CNN*, 6 June. https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/06/politics/joe-biden-democratic-nomination/index.html

Wong, Janelle S. 2005. "Mobilizing Asian American Voters: A Field Experiment." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601(1): 102–14.

Wong, Janelle, Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, and Jane Junn. 2011. *Asian American Political Participation: Emerging Constituents and their Political Identities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Jessica HyunJeong Lee is a PhD student in political science at UCLA with research interests in the fields of comparative race and ethnic politics and political psychology. Her research examines the role of institutions on political identity and political behavior, especially among the Asian undocumented population.

Evangel Penumaka is a PhD candidate at UCLA. Her research examines political behavior, religion, and Asian American political participation.

Natalie Masuoka is Chair and Associate Professor of Asian American Studies and Associate Professor of Political Science at UCLA.