Implicitly Biased: Voter Perception of Latina Political Candidates

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved March 2018 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2018

ABSTRACT

The 2016 election brought to light a political climate change in the United States and showed that questions scholars and pundits alike thought were answered perhaps had not been completely addressed. For some, the main question left unanswered was what would it take for a woman to become President of the United States? For others, the question of fear politics and the effects of social media were raised. Perhaps, the most intriguing was exactly who has influence over US elections? While these, and other, questions were asked in the context of the presidential election, they are also applicable to all political races. This dissertation examines how voter perceptions based on stereotypes and racial threat can affect Latina candidates' prospects for election. Using an online experiment with 660 subjects and two elite interviews to test four hypotheses in order to determine whether or not racial resentment and stereotypes play a role in voter perceptions of Latina political candidates. The results show that racial resent and gender stereotypes play a role in voter perception of Latina political candidates. The results have theoretical and practical implications.

DEDICATION

My grandfathers worked in fields, cut yards, and drove trucks. My grandmothers worked

as secretaries and cleaned houses. Their work ethic made my parents strong and that

work ethic made its way to me. I had multiple aunts that took care of me while my

mother finished her degree. My extended family put up with my curiosity and encouraged

it. This degree has been a family affair and it is just as much theirs as it is mine.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The 2016 presidential election brought to light a change in the U.S. political

climate and showed that issues considered by academic and pundits to be settled were in

fact not settled at all. For some, the main unanswered question was: What would it take

for a woman to become President? For others, it raised questions of "fear politics" and

the effects of social media. Perhaps the most intriguing question continues to be: Who

has influence over U.S. elections? Although such questions were asked in the context of

the presidential election, they are also applicable to all political races. This dissertation

will examine how voter perceptions based on stereotypes and racial threats can affect

Latina candidates' election prospects.

Although the level of control political elites hold over elections is undoubtedly

large, intrinsic reaction to certain political candidates exists that cannot be controlled by

elites, candidates, or voters. A visceral reaction to political candidates is a driving factor

in how they are received and can pose a significant issue with electability (Lodge and

Taber, 2005). Political elites can serve as gatekeepers in local, state, and federal elections.

While voters choose between candidates' A and B, invisible primaries affect who

becomes a candidate (Cohen et. al, 2009). In addition to invisible primaries, signals from

party elites, pundits, and interest groups place importance on specific candidates;

however, parties or individuals cannot control gut reactions. These implicit reactions are

based on candidates' names, images, gender, race, party identification, and issue stances.

While such factors could be held constant, the effects of race and gender cannot change

or be easily disguised. Thus, voters past interactions with people of color or women may negatively affect candidate viability.

Immediately following election night, the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) focused on one of the positive outcomes of the 2016 election: the increase in the number of elected women of color (CAWP, Election Watch 2016, 2016). While some celebrated this development, more questions arose around the concept of descriptive representation. If we are seeing an increase of women elected, specifically minority women—despite the defeat of the first female candidate for president—was there an improvement in how minority candidates are viewed? As the number of women in Congress increases and diversifies, and as the overall number of women run for office increases, the way female politicians of color are perceived by their constituents is important. The ways in which voters perceive Latina candidates is an area not fully explored. An examination of such perceptions may help explain the increase in Latina candidates' electoral successes, as well as whether these candidates are reaping an advantage based on their race and gender.

As more Latinas are elected to offices at various levels, the question of how voters view them as candidates is the topic of scholars in Latino and women and politics (Ramirez et. al, 2006; Bejarano 2014). One area of interest is whether a double disadvantage exists for women of color. The double disadvantage theory argues that women of color are doubly disadvantaged because they are from two historically politically disadvantaged groups. Thus, women of color are less likely to achieve political office (Githens and Prestage, 1978). The second focus is whether advantages exist to running for political office as a woman of color. Research on the concept of double

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advantages or disadvantages facing Black women and Latinas has been conducted, but only on the state level (Githens and Prestage, 1978; Epstein, 1973; Darcy et. al, 1987; Krenshaw, 1991).

Significance

In a 2016 conversation at Arizona State University, Sonia Sotomayor discussed the way attorneys viewed who would be successful. "I realized the difference between the people selected for promotion were the ones who looked and argued like the ones in charge. If you're successful, you will select people that fit that mold, not because you want to exclude people, but because you can see potential success" (Sotomayor, 2016). Sotomayor's comments demonstrate a key point of descriptive representation that Pitkin does not address; what the effects of merely looking like or mimicking a person in power can do. The advantage of descriptive representation does not lie within the concept of having Latinos or Women in office, but in how it changes the landscape when discussing political elites. I contribute to this conversation by examining how Latinas are perceived by voters. This is the first attempt to include a psychological component to examine what can affect voter perception and candidate selection and ultimately causes an impact on descriptive representation.

Hanna Pitkin's seminal work on representation provided a working definition from which scholars may work (Pitkin, 1967). Pitkin discusses the concept of representation by first providing two variants; authorization and accountability (Pitkin, 1967). She discusses the authoritarian role in which the elected person is authorized to act, and in turn gives up some of his rights as an individual and has gained responsibilities as the representative of the group (Pitkin, 1967 p. 40). There is no way to

measure how a representative behaves in their position, all that can be assessed is how the person gained the position. Accountability refers to how constituents are able to measure and sanction representatives' actions (Pitkin, 1967 p. 41). Within the accountability model, constituents are able to assess how representatives respond to their needs and preferences.

In discussing descriptive representation, Pitkin begins with the concept of a representative body looking exactly like the larger group it is supposed to represent (Pitkin, 1967 p. 62). This definition establishes the importance of a representative physically matching the group, but does not discuss the role of actual representation. "What is necessary to make a representation is not accuracy or depiction of something visible, but simply depiction of something visible, the intention to depict" (Pitkin, 1967 p. 67). Pitkin is suggesting that the representative of color may or may not represent the group's interest, but the physical appearance of the representative is close and creates representation. For Latinas, the first step would be to have members of this historically disenfranchised group involved in government. Having more Latinas in Congress provides a type of representation that had not been experienced before, and is valuable. However, this form of representation does not account for how a representative from the group acts, leaving the ability for a representative to not act in their interests.

Lastly, Pitkin discusses what descriptive representation cannot do. "Representing means being like you, not acting for you" (Pitkin 1967, p. 89). In the theoretical setting, descriptive representation does not account for accountability or authorization. In application, we know that authority and accountability is checked with elections; but the definition of descriptive representation having similar characteristics is paramount, not

how representatives act (Pitkin, 1967 p. 90). How does descriptive representation provide representation in forms of action? Is the mere presence of disenfranchised groups essential for voting on policy? When applied to Latinas, does it truly matter if they are elected to Congress? The theoretical groundwork paved by Pitkin allows for further analysis.

As Mansbridge (1999) describes, it is not merely the symbolic presence of minorities in Congress, it is their role in deliberations that matter. Mansbridge argues that disadvantage groups gain advantages from descriptive representation because it can lessen group mistrust, find and represent new interests and improve deliberation of policy (Mansbridge, 1999 p. 634). Does the number of minorities in office matter in regard to substantive representation? Mansbridge maintains three aspects that of deliberation that are affected by increased descriptive representation. The first is the quality of ideas and synergism between representatives. With more perspectives represented, better and more informed ideas can occur (Mansbridge, 1999 p. 636). The second is critical mass for the underrepresented (Mansbridge, 1999 p. 636). One representative from a group may be able to speak about a topic or raise a different position, but with a larger presence they then have a better chance of convincing the dominant group to change positions, or concede certain things. The final improvement in representation is the heterogeneity of ideas, ultimately leading to the better policy solutions (Mansbridge, 1999 p. 636). The crux of Mansbridge's argument lies in context. Rather than arguing for quotas in all situations, she argues to take into consideration the situations, which may call for institutional changes to have adequate representation (Mansbridge, 1999).

The intersection of race and gender merely magnifies the necessity for more Latinas serving in Congress. As women, Latinas have different experiences from their male counterparts and due to their ethnicity, their experience differs from women of other ethnic groups. This leads to a unique set of experiences that ought to be voiced when policy decisions are being made. As Mansbridge (1999) argues, context matters when discussing descriptive representation. The addition of Latina voices in Congress can lead to changes not only in policy, but may affect whether other Latinas can see themselves running for political office or participating in politics.

Visibly seeing someone that looks like a disenfranchised group in positions of power can have positive effects, as scholars have seen changes in attitude towards the government in Blacks when a Black person is elected (Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson, 1998). Yet, Gay (2002, 2011) found that there was no difference in trust of Congress when a Black person was elected. This raises the question of when descriptive representation matters; is there more of an effect at the local level than at the state or federal level? Does it matter if there are Latinas in Congress? Why is it important how Latina candidates are perceived by voters? As described above, the number of Latinas that serve in Congress has remained stagnant while the Latino population continues to grow. With an increase in population, representation of Latinas is necessary into order to improve policy.

Does seeing other Latinas run participate in politics lead to higher Latina political participation? Campbell and Wolbrecht (2006) examine whether or not an increase of women political role models leads to an increased political activity from adolescent girls by examining data from the Monitoring the Future survey from 1976 to 2001. (Campbell

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and Wolbrecht, 2006). First, the authors examine temporal data and note marked increases when Geraldine Ferraro was the Democratic nominee for Vice President and in 1992, the year of the woman (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006). Next, the authors looked to see if it was the number of women that run for office that increases political activism and found that it was the visibility- defined as the amount of political news coverage the candidates received- that mattered (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006). The authors also found that increased political discussion within family units led to an increase of political involvement from adolescent girls. The findings suggest that not only does visibility matter, but more so, discussion of female political candidates is important. For groups with low number in Congress like Latinas, an increase of Latinas in Congress can lead to the normalization of political activism and participation.

Preuhs (2007) examines the effects of increased representation of Latinos in state legislators. Using time series and longitudinal data from 1984-2002 Preuhs examines the effects of an increased Latino population and increased number of Latinos in state legislators on the effects of policy. Preuhs finds that in relation to welfare policy, an increase in the number of Latino representatives creates an increase in welfare generosity, welfare expenditure and welfare benefits in the state (Preuhs, 2007). Preuhs work also suggest that an increase of Latino representation cannot fully combat racial resentment in the majority of state legislator contexts, largely due to the overall size of the Latino population (Preuhs, 2007). Whether or not Latinas are perceived as electable by constituents informs whether or not Latina constituents can be fully represented in Congress. As Preuhs shows, descriptive representation can have a substantive affect. In the case of Latinas as congresswomen, different aspects of policy may be discussed and

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viewed differently compared to having a Latino or a woman of another ethnicity represent their opinions. The perception of Latinas as candidates can limit the number of Latinas that are elected to represent congressional districts, potentially creating a negative impact for the Latina population.

Methodological Significance

This dissertation is the first study to use a psychological model to explain a portion of voter selection in regard to Latina congressional candidates (Taber and Lodge, 2005). I begin to justify the relationship between implicit bias and racial threat, and propose an underlying mechanism that causes for disproportionate change in who is elected and how. I argue that past information about different race and ethnic groups is recalled when voters see candidates of color. When that information is recalled, using system I processing, voters have an instant reaction that leads to a candidate evaluation. By using racial threat theory, I explore how voters react to Latina candidates by isolating racial motives as an underlying cause for minority electability via two methods (Taber and Lodge, 2005; Sears and Kinder, 1980). Using data showing responses to symbolic racism questions and likelihood to vote for a Latino candidate, we see a direct measure of racial attitudes and electability. This dissertation looks at a key relationship between minority candidates and the voting population before adding party identification and ideology to determine the context in which a Latina can or should be able to win.

This dissertation combines techniques from the fields of political psychology, gender politics and race and politics to create an experiment that builds upon past work and tests implicit bias effects in a new way. Using a nationwide sample, I expose subjects to color images of political candidates varying race and gender. Rather than using stock

photos, these images are of members of Congress, mimicking the party selection process. In addition, this is the first experiment designed in this manner to test the interaction of race and gender on political candidates.

The second contribution the dissertation makes is by providing a better understanding of how minority candidates are perceived based on appearances and what cues voters use to determine thoughts on candidates of color. I establish a hierarchy of candidate preference based past memories of voters. Memories that subjects can draw upon are limited to the candidates' gender and race by design. This will determine whether or not candidates are perceived differently based on their identities prior to being exposed to their party, ideology or stances on issues.

Researchers have found that how a candidate looks affects the way they are perceived, specifically how competent, intelligent, attractive or dominant they are (Rosenberg et. al, 1991; Todorov et. al, 2005; Greenwald et. al, 2009; Hermann and Shikano,2015; Franklin et. al, 2016). This study allows for an understanding of whether or not negative stereotypes that have been placed on candidates of color effect the way they are perceived (Haney Lopez, 2014; Davila, 2008; Hancock, 2004). By including different races and genders I create a hierarchy of acceptability which allows for an understanding of who is deemed less threatening. In conjunction with the data revealing preference based on racial attitudes, the identity experiment allows for a measurement of implicit preferences. The two findings will provide a strong indicator of how comfortable voters are with voting for Latinas without any other knowledge than their race and gender.

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In addition, by interviewing candidates that have lost races, I provide insight to how Latinas view their chances for getting elected and what they feel is detrimental to their campaigns. Ultimately, this allows for an understanding of what may be a strong strategy for Latinas seeking election to Congress. While scholars such as Dittmar (2012) examine campaign strategies involving gender bias, there is no discussion of the intersection of race and the way it may complicate running for office.

Background

Figure 1 shows the overall trend of the numbers of women that served in the 107th to 115th (2000–2016) sessions of Congress. While the overall total of women winning congressional seats has steadily increased, the trends for White women, African American women, Asian American women, and Latinas show interesting patterns. White women have seen a decrease in office holders from 2008–2016 while African American women and Asian American women have seen an increase. Latinas have remained stagnant throughout this time. Figure 2 depicts the number of women of color in Congress for the 113th, 114th and 115th (2012–2016) sessions. When looking at the three sessions, African American women have the most members in each session, as well as the most women that have served in Congress, whereas the number of Latinas remains the same. Asian American women continue to show an increase in seats gained.

Figure 1. Number of Women in Congress by Ethnicity
107th-115th

○ Total   ○ White Women   ○ African American   ○ Latinas
○ Asian/Pacific Islander
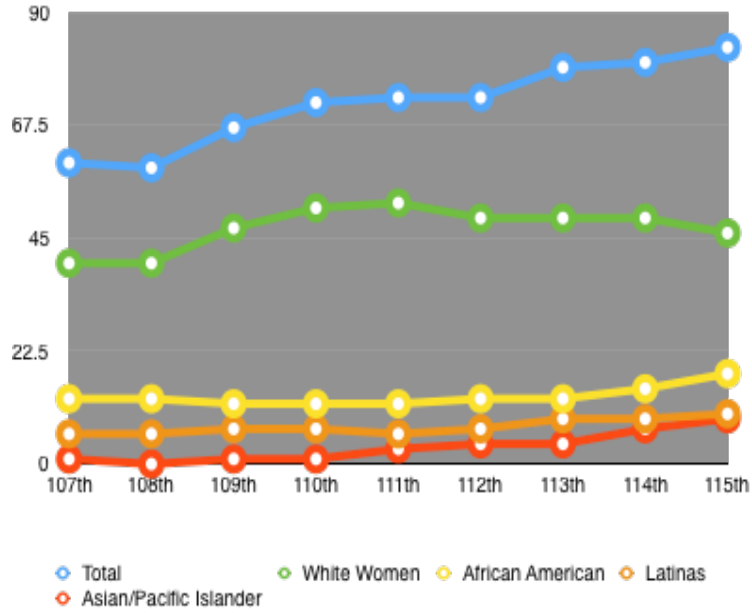
FIGURE 2. MINORITY WOMEN IN CONGRESS

■ African American   ■ Latina   ■ Asian/Pacific Islander
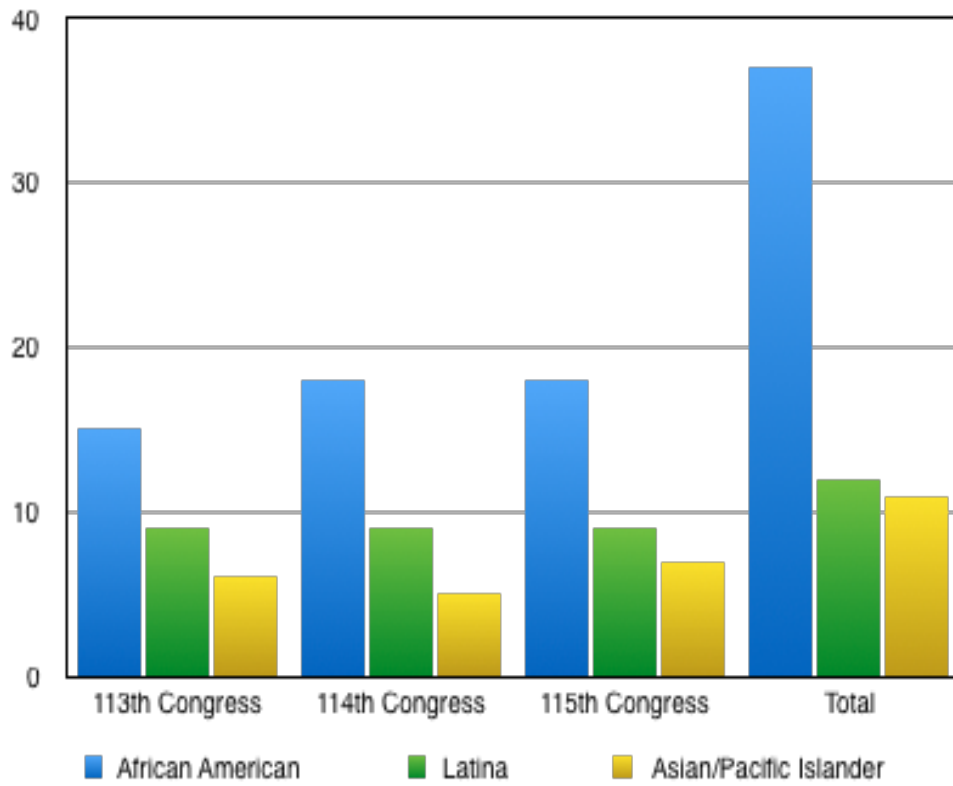
Fulton et. al (2006) examined progressive ambition to explain gender discrepancies in running for congressional seats by candidates in the state legislature. Attempting to create an understanding of political ambition and the gender gap in politics, the authors study, in broad terms, the effects of ambition on women. Fox and Lawless (2010) find that women will select lower offices, while Maestas et. al argue that women will run for congressional office when the benefit outweighs the risk (Fulton et. al, 2006). The authors examined survey responses from state legislators to determine what variables affect the likelihood for running for higher office near each state's filing deadlines.

Fulton et al (2006) show similar findings to Fox and Lawless (2010) and discuss the effects familial roles can play on female state legislators' decisions to run for higher office. Although the studies show questions of how and when women decide to run, the discussion of minority women needs to be expanded upon. It is important to note that Fox and Lawless used data with less than 10 Latinos responding. Such a sample size does not allow for an understanding of how Latinas view their chances of election to office.

The authors did not account for race. The omitted variable of race creates a gap in our understanding of why Latinas are not represented in Congress at the higher rate of their female counterparts irrespective of race. This is shown by the number of African American women elected to Congress since the election of Shirley Chisholm, the first elected African American woman, compared to Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, the first Latina elected to Congress. With the election of the first Latina to the Senate, and the overall increases in types of "first" women to win office, it appears that women of color are making great strides when they run for office. However, the question of how and when

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these women are elected remains. In terms of representation, the perception of these candidates matters. Are constituents in these districts seeing women of color as strong candidates? What dynamic is at work that enables a change in voter perceptions so that women of color can be elected?

Latinas and Political Ambition

Another research area applied to female candidates is the role of political ambition among women. The recent literature on political ambition among women highlights the fact that women self-select into lower offices (Fox and Lawless, 2005). Fox and Lawless used a theory of political ambition that largely focused on general citizen ambition. In their study, the authors examined survey data of male and female political candidates. The authors find that women are less likely to view themselves as qualified to run for political office than men despite having similar characteristics and professional qualifications.

The recruitment of women to run for political office by elites can also be a hindrance. If party leaders view women as an electoral risk, they are more likely to choose male candidates (Sanbanmatsu, 2006). By choosing to select safe candidates—i.e. males—parties create an additional institutional barrier for women to be elected (Carroll, 1994). For Latinas and other women of color, this barrier is intensified by their race.

Following the theory of political ambition advanced by Fulton et. al (2006) and Fox and Lawless (2010), I examined the number of women of color in state legislatures after the 2016 election cycle. Figure 3 shows that 257 African American women, 88 Latinas, and 39 Asian/Pacific Islander women currently serve in state legislatures. African American women serve in state legislatures at nearly three times the rate of

Latinas and two times that of Latinas in Congress. While there are twice as many Latinas in state legislatures than Asian/Pacific Islanders, in Congress, the numbers are nearly identical. In addition, while African American and Asian/Pacific Islander women have served in state legislature leadership positions, no Latina has yet served in such a position.

FIGURE 3. NUMBER OF WOMEN OF COLOR IN STATE LEGISLATURES
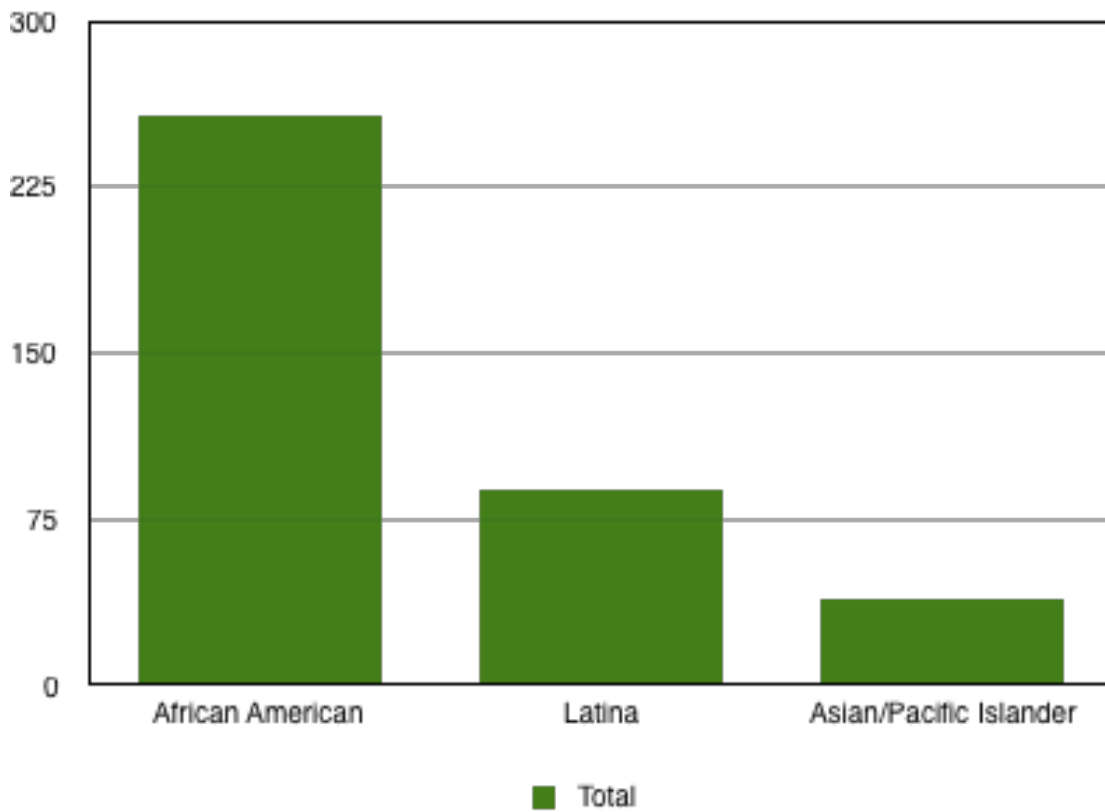
If we are to accept that political ambition plays a role in a woman's decision to run, the numbers of Latinas currently holding offices would suggest that Latinas are less politically ambitious than their African American and Asian/Pacific Islander counterparts. However, Figure 4 shows that Latinas have held more statewide elected

positions than African American or Asian/Pacific Islanders.[1] With more women serving

in state leadership positions, this statistic becomes less a question of political ambition

and more a question of when and where Latinas can succeed, and why we see such a

difference between women of color seeking congressional office.

FIGURE 4. NUMBER OF STATEWIDE OFFICES HELD BY WOMEN OF COLOR

State Wide Elected Positions

■ African American   ■ Latinas   ■ Asian/Pacific Islander

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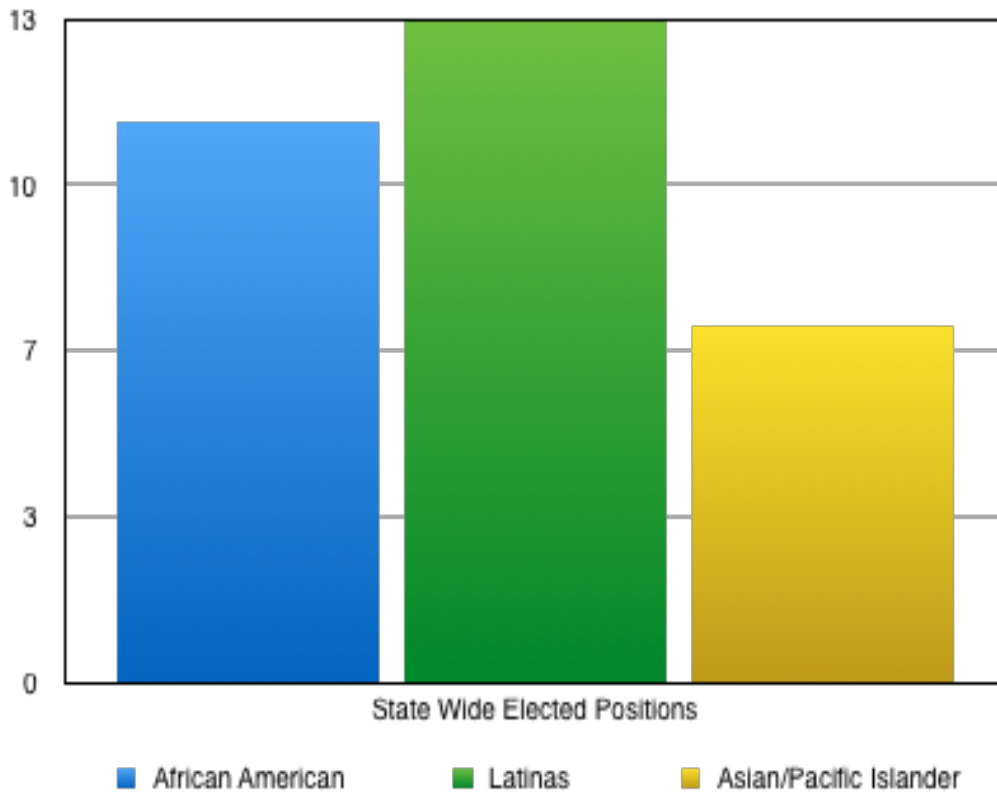
[1] It is important to note that of the 13 Latinas elected to state office, 8 are from New
Mexico.

There are currently 88 Latinas who serve in state legislatures. At the moment, three

Latinas serve as a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Secretary of State (CAWP, 2016).

Out of the 104 women currently in the U.S. Congress, 9 are Latina. Thus, the question of

how many Latinas need to be in the pipeline in order to have a Latina in Congress from a

specific state arises. I examined the number of Latinas in lower offices in states that had

Latinas serving in Congress from the 107th (2000) to the 115th (2016) using data

provided by the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials

(NALEO). While the number of women serving in lower levels of office fluctuates, the

theory that deeper benches must exist for Latinas to be elected to Congress is partially

supported. The state of Washington saw an increase from an average of 5 to 19 women in

lower level offices before Jaime Herrera Beutler was elected to Congress. However, New

Mexico, with an average of 192 women in lower level offices from 2000 to 2012, elected

Michelle Lujan Grisham to office in 2013, Similarly, while the number of Latinas elected

to lower level offices in California steadily increased, the number of Latinas in Congress

representing California has yet to increase above 5. This means that, for every 116 lower

elected officials, 1 Latina is elected to Congress. Florida and New York, though the first

two states to elect Latinas to Congress, have only elected those two women. Although the

case of California may lead to the assumption that once a state hits its threshold related to

its overall population, a Latina will be elected to Congress; however, the number of

Latinas in the pipeline in Texas, New Jersey, and Illinois suggests otherwise. Currently

there are 797 Latinas in lower level offices in Texas, but a Latina has yet to win a

national congressional race. This means that, in the case of the 2018 elections, nearly 800

Latinas would need to be serving in lower offices before one Latina could be elected to

Congress this year.

FIGURE 5. GROWTH OF LATINAS IN LOWER OFFICES OF STATES THAT
HAVE ELECTED LATINAS
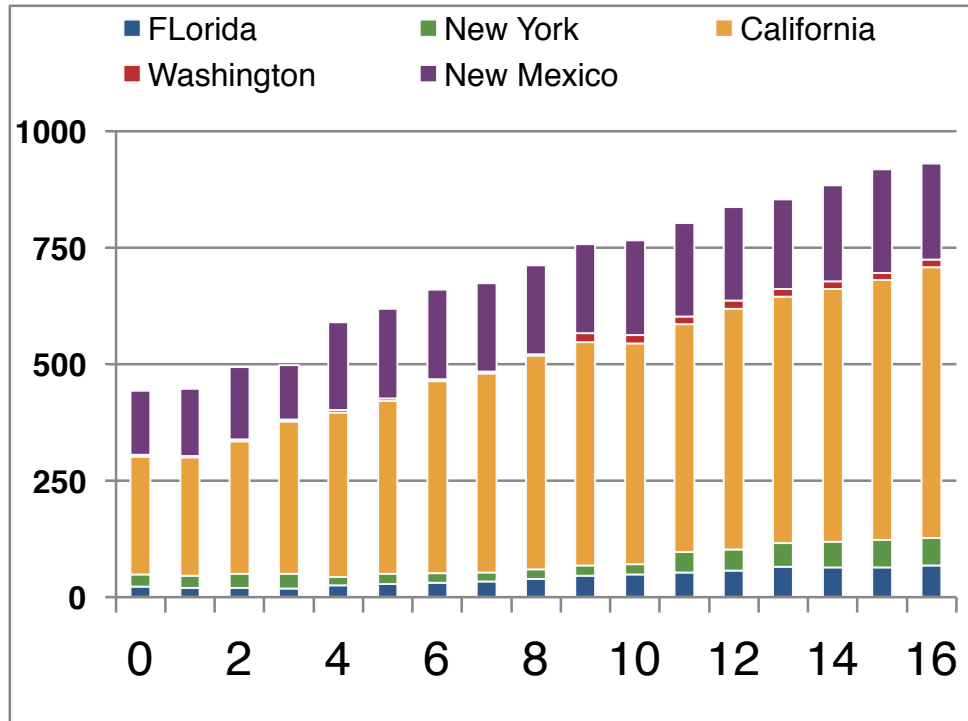
Figures 6 and 7 depict the number of Latinas that have run in primaries compared to general elections, as well as the net increase of Latinas in Congress. Figure 6 highlights that the problem is not necessarily recruiting or inducing Latinas to run in primary races. However, we see a significant gap in the number of women that can win primary races and make it to the general election.

FIGURE 6. LATINA VICTORIES IN PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

Number of Latina Candidates in Primary and General Congressional Elections
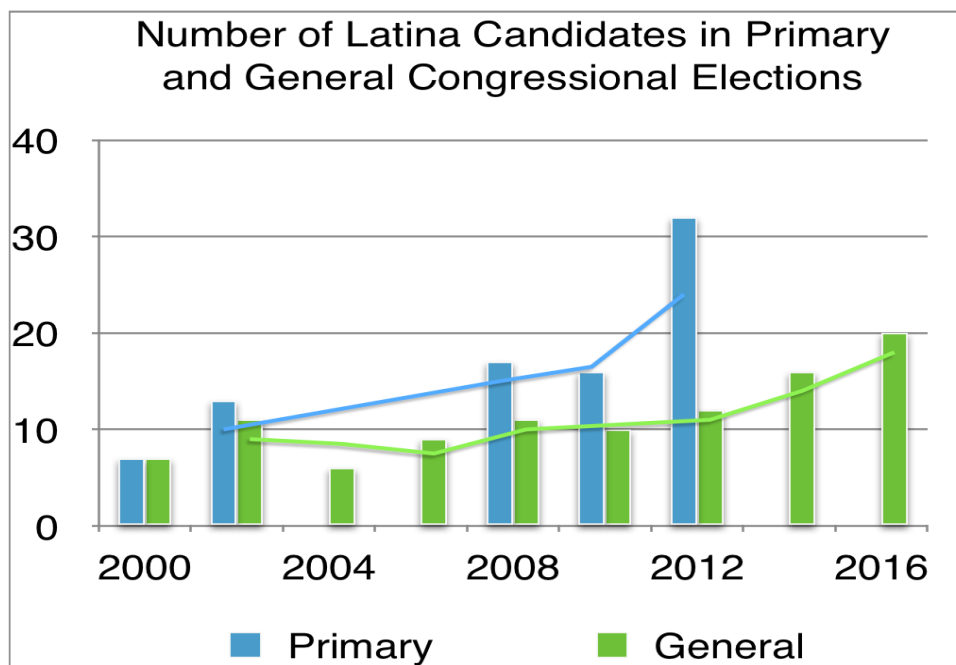
In addition, Figure 7 shows the number of Latinas that run in the general election and win. Most notably, when excluding incumbents, we see a slow net increase of one Latina elected to Congress each cycle.

FIGURE 7. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT VICTORIES FOR LATINAS

Number of Latinas that Ran for Congress vs. Number of Latinas that Won
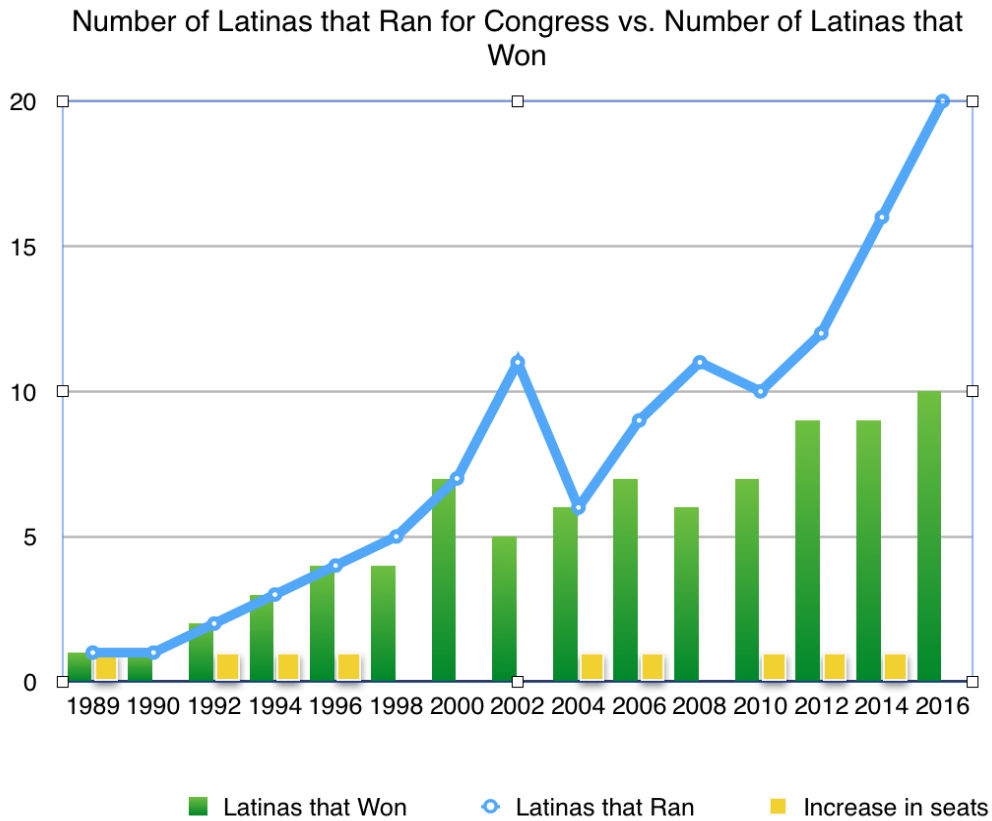
Alternative Findings

Scholars such as Bejarano and Hardy-Fanta (2016) have examined the number of Latinas that have held office and argued that improvements in Latina representation exist, and Latinas have higher rates of electability compared to Latinos at the state level. However, the number of Latinas that have served in Congress compared to the Latinos suggests a gender disparity. This brings into question Latinas' ability to turn local and state level success into success at the federal level.

Some political science scholars have examined candidates, campaigns, and elections and focused on the effects of stereotypes to determine how voters evaluate candidates (McIllwain and Caliendo, 2006; 2011; Squires and Jackson, 2010).

Scholarship on Latinas in politics has largely been drawn from case studies and has illustrated the issues faced by "firsts" within states to run for political office. However, these studies have not systematically shown the effects of Latinas running for office (Garcia et. al, 2013). Recently, work from scholars such as Scola (2013), Sanbanmatsu (2013), Bejarano (2013), and Weldon (2006) have called for a study of female minority candidates by race and ethnicity. "We have very little to guide our understanding of how race/ethnicity of the female office holder corresponds to the conventional wisdom about where female legislators serve" (Scola pg. 3, 2013).

Hardy-Fanta et. al (2016) conducted an empirical analysis to determine if differences existed among minority groups elected to Congress. The authors examined differences in the groups' ambition, political ascension, and how they govern. Using survey data from elected officials of color, the authors determined differences and similarities by races/ethnicities and gender related to political incorporation. The authors contend that Blacks, Latinos, Asians and Native American Indians have been excluded from political institutions and that minority women that noticed discrimination stated that it was based on both race and gender. In regard to ambition, there was no significant difference in political ambition, but the utilization of social capital and resources affected the likelihood to run. Further, the authors demonstrated that party recruitment of women of color is low, with encouragement more likely to come from family, friends, and community members.

To continue and expand upon this work, this dissertation examines the perceptions Latinas face when running for U.S. Congress. I argue that the intersection of race and gender creates a disadvantage for Latina political candidates and the need for

creative campaign strategies to mitigate the effects of racial threat thereby increase electability.

Latina Party Identification

Of the Latinas currently serving in Congress, an overwhelming majority are Democrats. In general, party identification is formed based on issue stance (Fiorina, 1981) or socialization (Campbell et. al, 1960). However, in the case of Latinos, difficulties lie in pinpointing the sources of identification. There are few studies on Latino party identification. However, Merolla and Pantoja, using data from the 1992 and 1996 elections, found that party identification varied depending on immigration status, home country, years in country, and country of origin (Merolla and Pantoja 2013). Bejarano found that not only does a modern gender gap exist, a generational lag also exists between Latinos and Latinas (Bejarano, 2014); that is, those who have been in the United States longer are more likely to identify or support Democrats, with Cuban women more likely to support or identify as Republicans. Examples of this generational gender gap can be seen when examining data provided by Latino Decisions for the 2016 election results. Based on Bejarano's findings related to the gender gap and how Latinos vote compared to Latinas (2012), partisan identification based on generational status, gender, and district composition can add an additional barrier to Latina electability by unintentionally limiting the number of voters that would support a Latina candidate. Cooperman and Oppenheimer (2001) examined when and how Republicans choose to run female candidates. The authors find that female Republican candidates do worse than males, in part because the Republican Party chooses to run Republican females against strong incumbent males.

Racial threat theory, or in-group theory, which has been widely discussed in various fields since the 1960s, came to the attention of political scientists in relation to public opinion by Kinder and Cam (2010). Originally discussed as ethnocentrism by Sumner in 1906, and later developed into in-group/out-group theory by Blumer in the 1960s, racial threat theory can be simplified as the limitation of power from the minority group (out group) by the majority group. In this dissertation, the minority group is Latinos and the majority group would be the largest portion of the American electorate, Whites.

The theory holds that the majority group has one goal: controlling and maintaining power. Racial threat is potentially complicated more when introducing gender into the equation. This complication occurs when minority women, in this case Latinas, are seeking political office and face challengers that are either White females, White males, or men of color (Casellas, 2011). I propose the following research question: How does racial threat affect the electability of Latina candidates to national office?

I argue that, along with other factors, *racial and gender bias may lead to fewer Latinas being elected to Congress*. Electability is correlated to a racial hierarchy established from the political candidates' perceived race and gender. In turn, the created racial hierarchy demonstrates the level of threat felt by voters from a minority political candidate's race/gender group to that of the majority group.

Latino Racial Threat

Blumer first discussed racial threat theory in terms of group positioning. He argued that group hostility was not created by material conditions or individual feelings, but that feelings of hostility and completion emerge from historic and collective opinions

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about the roles of one group. This theory focuses on where the majority (in-) group sees themselves in comparison to the minority (out-) group and vice versa.

Blumer established four criteria to determine whether groups are positioning themselves based on racial threat. The first is a *belief about in group superiority*, or ethnocentrism. The second is whether in-group members view *outgroup members as alien and different*, that is, the use of stereotyping. The third is the assumption of what *proper or proprietary claim of over certain rights* they have. The final criterion focuses on the out-group wanting a greater share of rights, privileges, and capital that belong to the in-group.

As Lodge and Taber have explained, unconscious events can drive political behavior in the form of quick decision-making, or such events may have an influence on the conscious thought process (Lodge and Taber, 2005). While Lodge and Taber's work focuses on survey response, it can also be applied to voting. Scholars have studied how implicit attitudes can affect a variety of social behavior (Greenwald, et. al, 2009; Tetlock and Mitchell, 2009; Stanley et. al, 2011). The studying of implicit racial attitudes has shown a difference between subconscious behaviors and self-reported measures of racial attitudes. These findings indicate that group information and stereotypes of different racial groups create a disadvantage for candidates of color. Figure 8 demonstrates a portion of the cognitive model proposed by Taber and Lodge. As shown, an unconscious event begins to be processed through prior attitudes and leads to an evaluation.

FIGURE 8. PORTION OF TABOR AND LODGE COGNITION MODEL

Previous ideas of racial threat and Latinos have been tested using policy preferences and estimations of acceptance on the likelihood of voting for women or minorities as candidates (Bejarano, 2014). More notably, examinations of Whites' racial resentment towards Latinos are demonstrated by economic factors (Scheve and Slaughter, 2001; Citrin et. al, 1990) spatial proximity (Alvarez and Butterfield, 2000; Dunaway et. al, 2010; Hood and Morris, 1998; Hood et. al, 1997; Rocha et. al, 2011; Branton et. al, 2007) and cultural threats such as language (Citrin et. al, 1990; Rocha and Espino, 2009). With regards to voter behavior, this point is substantiated by a previous study by Matson and Fine (2006) that examined the effects of candidates' names on voting. The authors found that women and minorities were less likely to receive votes because of their name. Findings of racial resentment based on economic factors and cultural threat highlight the need to study the likelihood of Whites to vote for Latinas running for higher levels of office based on their ability, or perceived ability, to change or make policies that benefit Whites (Haney Lopez, 2015).

I argue that the information that will come forward will largely be shaped by the social and cultural experiences held by the voter. While issues, race, party identification, and gender can all be associated with socio-cultural experiences, when voter knowledge is low, candidates' race and gender identification can be assumed and comprehended at

least in general terms.

Thus, if groups have associated negative memories, thoughts, or feelings regarding Latinos, in addition to negative memories, thoughts, or feelings regarding women, a double disadvantage would be created for Latinas. Examples that Latinas may need to overcome are the stereotype of hyper-sexuality and bearing multiple children in contrast to a voter's stereotype or preconception of a successful congressional candidate. In addition, competition between minority groups for seats would also make it difficult for Latinas to win seats over African Americans and Asian Americans. Asian Americans are elected to Congress from Hawaii and California, and African Americans are elected from the Southeast, California, and the East Coast. Both of these groups have something that Latino candidates do not—concentrated areas from which they can be elected.

Latinos, in contrast, are spread out in various parts of the Southwest, South, and Northeast. This geographic situation creates a barrier in which Latinos could deal with negative memories and experiences members from other minority groups may have about Latinas, as well as competition from White groups.

Lastly, stereotype threat is a barrier that minorities have to overcome within their own demographic groups. The classic work of Steele and Amarason found that when looking at the performance ability of African Americans, presenting subjects with a stereotype toward their community led the group to underperform (Steel and Amarson, 1995). When working with minority groups, the idea of a minority as their representative may cause low voter turnout because the voter assumes the candidate is going to lose, or the voter will question the candidate's ability. The work of Lodge and Taber demonstrates the importance of embedded beliefs. When tied together with symbolic

politics, embedded beliefs can explain the lack of Latinas elected to congressional seats. To better explore this phenomenon, I employ racial threat theory as a subset of Lodge and Taber's work and apply it to the study of voter responses to Latina candidates.

Christina Bejarano argued in recent work that an advantage might exist for Latinas running for state-level political office (Bejarano, 2014). She proposed that there is a diminishing racial threat that Latinos in general face. "Latinas benefit from the availability of a wide variety of voting coalitions. Such coalitions exemplify the increased importance of descriptive congruence (co-ethnic and co-gender voting), as well as the softening of racial threat effects when there is descriptive divergence" (Bejarano, loc. 1996, 2014). Further, Latinas benefit from building coalitions with other women, which allow them to benefit from their ethnicity when they run for office (Bejarano, 2014). More specifically, Bejarano uses survey data to demonstrate the lack of voters' racial bias by using two separate questions. The first examines whether people would vote for a woman running for president, while second questions whether people would vote for an African American running for president. Although Bejarano found support for both women and African Americans running for president, she did not determine how intersectionality affects candidate chances of winning. In addition, the author examined the 2004 candidates in Texas and California to show that candidate electability was increasing for Latinas. Bejarano used district makeup, campaign fundraising, and experiences of incumbent Latino and Latina officials to determine how electoral status was improving.

In a similar vein, Deborah Jordan Brooks (2013) argues that a gender bias against female politicians no longer exists and that their leadership is viewed before their gender.

Brooks introduced a counterargument to the double standards theory we see borne out in various streams of the women and politics literature (see Mendelberg and Terksilden 1991, Kahn 1993). The author (2013) argues that findings of women and politics scholars relating to gender stereotypes and standards from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s are no longer relevant and thus such findings are moot in a political climate more tolerant toward female candidates. To support her claim, the author proposes an alternate theory to the double standards theory, namely, the leaders-not-ladies theory. Applying this theoretical framework to various experiments, Brooks ultimately finds that gender stereotypes would affect inexperienced female candidates. Additionally, she finds that, in regard to showing emotion and public opinion, women do not face a double bind compared with men.

Outline

In the following chapters I will examine the ways that racial threat and stereotypes play a role in the electability of Latina candidates. Chapter Two begins with a detailed discussion of subconscious- and conscious-thinking processes. I will establish how subconscious processing and information held in the long-term memory affect voter perceptions of Latina candidates. While studies have examined how direct interaction with race and gender stereotypes, there has yet to be a study to determine if subconscious thought processing, also known as hot cognition, drives these reactions. To demonstrate this, I add to the model created by Taber and Lodge to show how racial threats and stereotypes affect voter perceptions of Latina congressional candidates. I conclude this chapter by introducing the hypotheses that will be tested in Chapter Four.

The model for voter perception is further developed in Chapter Three. I provide a

detailed description of racial threats and stereotypes as measurements for voter

perception. To best explain how these two variables are operationalized, I discuss past

ways such variables have been tested, which then allows for a complete understanding of

the voter perception model. I also begin to discuss the experimental design and process,

the study sample, and expected results.

In Chapter Four I examine the theory adapted in Chapter 2. To determine how

voters, perceive candidates based on gender and race, I examine underlying attitudes

toward candidates of color and female candidates by creating candidate biographies void

of ideology, issue stance, and party affiliation. Upon reading the biographies, subjects are

shown two pictures of candidates and have approximately one second to hit a key that

corresponds with the candidate they feel is best described in the biography. After the first

candidate is selected, the subject is then exposed to two other candidate biographies and

repeats the process. There are be three iterations with two candidates for each subject,

with attention checks between varying iterations to ensure accurate participation.

In Chapter Five I summarize key findings and discuss limitations of the

experiment. I also explore what future research should look like, as well as real world

implications.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

To examine how feelings of racial threat affect voters' perceptions of candidates, in this Chapter I offer a variation of the John Q. Public model created by Kim, Taber, and Lodge (2007). First, I discuss how implicit bias might work in the model and provide a description of how voters view Latinas, and how such views may affect Latinas' chances to election to Congress at the same rates as their counterparts. After I introduce the model, I examine stereotype and racial threat theory to explain how voters' perceptions may be created by past experiences and assumptions about specific races and genders. I will discuss factors determined to be positive for Latinas running for office, and given the theory I propose, actually act as a disadvantage for seeing more voters choosing Latinas. Lastly, I will provide a set of hypotheses regarding voters' perceptions of Latinas as congressional candidates. Although these observed perceptions are consistent with racial threat theory, alternative explanations may also explain these perceptions as well.

Why Examine Voters' Perceptions of Candidates?

Many studies have explored the topics of voter choice, party identification (Kelly and Mirer, 1974; Brody and Page, 1973), issues (Page and Brody 1972), and party attachment (Jackson, 1975) to show connections in voter's choices of specific candidates. More recently, Greenwald et. al (2009) examined the effects of implicit bias and candidate vote choice in the 2008 election and found that those with implicit bias against African Americans were more likely to vote for John McCain. His work suggests that when voters are choosing which candidate to support, they are processing multiple pieces of information and quickly weighing such information while the decision is being made.

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With this myriad of information regarding a candidate choice, various interactions should be examined. I suggest that of all these interactions, the intersection of race and gender— the most basic and easily recognizable— needs to be examined. General voter perceptions of this intersection highlight the complexities of group competitiveness and provide context to the interaction within a political context (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996).

Group competitiveness affects how different racial groups view one another in regard to group dominance. Because the group in power does not want to lose its position, it puts emphasis on keeping the challenger group out of control (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). Applying this concept to politics, parties and voters use the same group instincts. Parties want to keep control of the seat that is up for election so they nominate a candidate that they think is likely to win, and their biases may affect their choice. Although voters react to the selections they are presented, their instinct to maintain their group in power may affect candidate choice. In other words, voters naturally react positively toward a candidate that belongs to their group. Because media coverage largely focuses on political party, racial and gender group identity needs to be taken into consideration as well.

Examining voter perceptions of candidates is important for a number of reasons. In general, understanding of how minority candidates are perceived provides one explanation for the lower numbers of women and people of color in political office. As discussed in the previous chapter, the case of Latina political ascension provides an interesting case to examine. The perceptions of Latina candidates based on gender and race can be detrimental in districts that demographically would be assumed safe for them to win. Districts that would fit this model might be in areas with a high Latino voting

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share population, but breakdowns by gender, age and or socio-economic status may not benefit the candidate. This means that based on gender and age demographics within the racial voting population groups, candidates may not receive the number of anticipated votes. In other words, running in a district with a high Latino population does not guarantee victory for a Latino candidate. An example of a district with high Latino voting population share that has failed to have successful Latina candidates is Texas District 27. The vote share for the Latino population is 61.5% and 43% of the overall vote. Despite the partisan voting index score that creates a strong Republican district, the district's gender makeup and race coalition should be enough for a Latina candidate to make it into the general election and provide a challenge to any candidate.

However, if more voters have a perception of racial threat in areas where Latinas are running, the perceived advantage from their intersectionality quickly becomes a disadvantage, as the demographics would not create a voting block that provides an electoral advantage. As Casellas (2011) noted, parties often place Latinas in races that have higher non-Latino voting populations. An example of this was the 2016 Idaho District 2 race in which Jennifer Martinez(D) ran against incumbent Representative Mike Simpson (R). Martinez ran in a district with an 8% Latino population. Of the 547,000 eligible voters in the district, 44,000 were Latino. With less than 10% of a Latino voting population in a district with a partisan voting index (PVI) of +17 in favor or Republicans, the democratic nominee had a monumental task to win (electionwatch 2016, 2016).

Issues, race, party identification, and gender can all be associated with socio-cultural experiences. When voter knowledge is low, candidates' race and gender can be assumed and comprehended, at least in general terms. If groups have associated negative

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memories, thoughts, or feelings toward Latinos, in addition to negative memories, thoughts, or feelings toward women, a double disadvantage would be created for Latinas. Examples of stereotypes that Latinas may need to overcome are hyper-sexuality and bearing multiple children in contrast to how a successful congressional candidate should present in a voter's mind (Chavez, 2013, Hancock, 2004; Davila, 2012). In *Latino Threat*, Leo Chavez discusses the idea that Latinas are perceived to be more fertile than their White female counterparts. By examining birth records in California, Chavez finds that despite the stereotype, Latinas in fact had fewer children than White women (Chavez, 2013). Ange Marie Hancock found similar results when examining the stereotype of the welfare queen. Black women and Latinas were more likely to be viewed as having multiple children and needing welfare assistance (Hancock, 2004). Focusing on how both Black and Latina women rely too much on the government and/or produce too many children creates a negative perspective that puts an emphasis on their bodies, as well as the notion that they produce and care for children rather than acquiring knowledge or leadership skills.

A Model of Voters' Perceptions of Latina Congressional Candidates

Political scientists have examined both implicit and explicit bias against political candidates (Sigelman et. al, 1995; Peffley et. al, 1997; McDermott, 1998). Implicit processing occurs quickly, subconsciously, and effortlessly while explicit processing is slow, effortful, and an awareness of the decision-making process (Critchley et. al, 2000). Citizens form their views of the world and reactions to certain events through preexisting information, attitudes, and beliefs; perceptions of actions; and specific types of interactions. Information that helps citizens make their decisions are housed in their long-

term memories (LTM). In order for these preexisting thoughts, ideas, and beliefs to move from the LTM to the working memory (WM), a mechanism has to exist (Taber and Lodge, 2005).

Heuristics and habits are the mechanisms that move decision-making information from the LTM to the WM. When information is pulled from the LTM to the WM connections between topics are solidified. Old information must be displaced in order for new information to enter the WM, which can hold about seven pieces of information at a time. For example, the concept of a stove burner being hot is permanently stored in your long-term memory. This piece of information is not necessary unless you are near a stove or are thinking of cooking. You do not need to know that a stove burner is hot when you are voting for a political candidate. Rather, information that you know about the candidate or that you associate with the candidate is what is needed at the time. The information about a stove burner is not in your working member at that time so relevant information can be in your working memory that is needed at that time. New information in the WM also must be systematically and sequentially processed, whereas information in the LTM can be processed faster, making more connections to other items (Taber and Lodge,2005).

Concepts from the LTM are brought to the WM through concept associations. Associative memory (AM) is the ability to remember or learn the relationship between unrelated items. AM is where information about one item is linked with another. Returning to the hot stove as an example, the color red is associated with a stove burner being on. If someone sees a stove burner that is red, she knows the stove burner is hot. The color red is associated with the temperature of the stove.

In any election cycle, there are multiple pieces of information about each electoral race as well as each candidate running. Each candidate has multiple features such as party identification, opinions on specific issues, gender, race, age, and other identifying information. All information that the voter knows about the candidate is called from the LTM to the AM when the voter sees the candidate's name on the ballot. The most important information is moved to the WM when a decision is being made.

For political candidates, the general base of information everyone first acknowledges is party identification. Gender only becomes introduced if a female is running against a male. Race and ethnicity is raised when the opposing candidate is not White. Thus, for Latina candidates, party identification, race, and gender are all factors that can be immediately recalled. Just like the color red is associated with a hot stove burner, each voter has unknown pieces of information that are associated with a candidate's race and gender.

Florida Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen was the first Latina elected to Congress. She is a Republican teacher whose family fled Cuba. One of the pieces of information that would come to a voter's mind would be that she is a female; another would be she is Republican (Taber and Lodge, 2005). The information that is known about Representative Ros-Lehtinen would then be used to develop an attitude towards her. Attitudes are defined as the positive or negative expression of a person's preference (Petty and Brinol, 2010), and are attached to information held in the LTM. A person who knows that Rep. Ros-Lehtinen is a Latina and conservative would use their previously formed attitudes about Latinas and conservatives to create an evaluation of the congresswoman.

I draw from Lodge and Taber's John Q. Public model to explain how racial and gender stereotypes affect candidate electability. The John Q. Public model claims that information processing is automatic—infused with emotions and physiological systems. The model also holds that information processing is affected by the environment and builds momentum through affect transfer and affective cognitions. As Lodge and Taber (2005) explain, unconscious events can drive political behavior in the form of quick decision-making, or such events may have an influence on a person's conscious thought process.

The study of implicit racial attitudes has shown a difference between subconscious behaviors to self-reported measures of racial attitudes (Greenwald et. al, 2009). Greenwald et. al conducted a meta-analysis of 122 research projects that studied implicit or explicit attitudes related to self-concepts or self-identity. While both implicit and explicit studies were found to have moderate effects, when topics were socially sensitive—such as gender or race attitudes—the reliability of explicit reporting went down, while implicit response stayed the same (Greenwald et.al, 2009). These findings indicate that group information and stereotypes of different racial groups create a disadvantage for candidates of color.

Figure 6 demonstrates a portion of the cognitive model proposed by Taber and Lodge. An event begins to be processed through prior attitudes and eventually leads to an evaluation. Figure 7 illustrates the process for a candidate of color by labeling prior attitudes into two different areas. Following the John Q. Public model, I argue that when voters are presented with a candidate of color, in this case Latinas, racial information and stereotypes are immediately processed. In order to quickly synthesize information about

the candidate's race, voters will recall the most relevant information or experiences with members of that race. The candidate is then filtered through known threats presented by their race to voters.

Figure 8 assumes a specific issue associated with the candidate either by knowledge or stereotype. The candidate's party identification, gender, and race are known. All of these factors contribute to the voters' decision. The voter's previously held ideas on party identification, specific issue, gender, and race of a candidate can lead to a favorable or unfavorable evaluation. As information on the candidate diminishes, the voter will then use what information can be recalled. I argue that the information that comes forward will be largely shaped by the voter's social and cultural experiences. I maintain that the voter will recall past experiences and knowledge to create an opinion of a candidate as a way to reconcile their perceptions of the candidates' ethnicity and the candidate themselves.

Stereotypes are a barrier that minorities also have to overcome within their own groups. This is illustrated in the classic work of Steele and Aronson that studied the perception of performance ability of African Americans (1995). Steele and Aronson argue that when performing academic or intellectual tasks, African Americans face the threat of confirmation or judgment by a racial stereotype. The threat of stereotype confirmation then places additional pressure on African American students to either under- or over-perform and leads to a lesser performance than White students. The authors ran five experiments to determine how racial stereotypes on performance ability affect Black participants' performance on difficult verbal exams. The first two experiments looked at whether, when introducing an exam as a diagnostic test of

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intellectual ability and told that the test would determine their intelligence level, Blacks

performed worse than those not told (Steele and Aronson, 1995). The third experiment

showed whether Blacks told that the test was determining intelligence levels were more

likely to report harboring stereotypes that Blacks do not perform as well on tests as

others. Finally, recording a subject's race was enough to effect performance regardless of

telling subjects if the exam was measuring intelligence (Steele and Aronson, 1995).

These findings suggest that it is difficult for individuals to escape community stereotypes.

If members of a minority community harbor stereotypes about themselves or others

within their communities, the ability to overcome these stereotypes would be difficult.

Applying Steele and Aronson's findings to politics, the idea of a member of an

ethnic or racial minority being on the ballot for their district may cause low voter turnout.

The authors make this assumption because voters presume the candidate is going to lose,

or the voter will question the candidate's ability to hold office. In the case of Latinas, this

perception may be heightened when running in districts with a high Latino population.

This scenario becomes convoluted more when Latinas run against a Latino candidate.

The work of Lodge and Taber demonstrate the importance of embedded beliefs (Taber

and Lodge, 2005). When tied together with symbolic politics, such beliefs can help

explain the lack of Latinas elected to congressional seats.

Symbolic Racism and Candidates of Color

The theoretical framework for this dissertation is couched in the work of Lodge

and Taber (2005) with a modified ancillary of symbolic racism. In their 1970 discussion

of White political attitudes, Sears and Kinder argued that symbolic racism has largely

been used to understand White's attitudes towards Blacks (Sears and Kinder,1981). The

core tenets of symbolic racism are to examine "...the blend of anti-Black affect and the kind of traditional American moral values embodied Protestant Ethic" (Kinder and Sears, 1981). The authors continue to discuss symbolic racism as capturing Whites' feeling that Blacks violate traditional American values such as hard work, and self-reliance (Kinder and Sears, 1981).

Traditionally, symbolic racism has been measured by three different categories. The first category, antagonism, has been characterized as Whites feeling that Blacks are overly challenging societal norms and hierarchy. An example of a question asked to test this concept is, "Are Blacks getting too demanding in their push for equal rights?" (Sears 1998). The second category, resentment towards Blacks, has been examined by respondents being asked questions as, "Over the past few years, have the government and news media shown more respect to Blacks than they deserve?" (Sears 1998). Denial of continued racism is measured by asking, "Do Blacks have it better than they ever had it before?" (Sears 1998). Recently, these categories have been used to construct questions dealing specifically with feelings towards Latinos. In the 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES, 2016), the battery was used on 1,000 respondents in an experiment to determine subjects' feelings towards Latinos. Using symbolic racism as a measure of Latino resentment allows for nuanced reactions, developed over time, to be measured.

The questions that fall into each category of symbolic racism are meant to elicit specific responses that were established in respondents' childhood (Sears 2001). The questions draw on predispositions created in early life through classical conditioning. Overall, although the predisposition should be strong, the degree of strength will vary

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depending on the frequency of the symbol (i.e., dislike towards a race) and the evaluation (i.e., Blacks have been given too much help). The effectiveness and impact of predispositions on a variety of subjects regarding race has been tested various times with Whites' responses towards Blacks (Markus and Converse, 1979; Sears, 1983; Sears, 1988; Kinder and Sears, 1981).

I apply the same arguments used by Kinder and Sears and Chavez (2013) to explain racism toward Latinos. The rapid increase of immigration from Latin America, along with U.S. proximity to Latin American countries compared to Asian and European countries creates a perception of threat from Latinos for United States citizens, particularly for Whites (Chavez, 2013). Using attitudes towards Latinos as the symbol, stereotypes and opinions about language, the quality of work, the number of children born, and how they affect U.S. culture all come into play. As argued by scholars such as Davila and Chavez, the actual stereotypes of Latinos vary, ranging from being hard workers to lazy Mexicans (Chavez 2013; Davila 2008). Davila and Chavez document the fears of Latinos having multiple children and taking advantage of the welfare system are well documented, as well as the issue of speaking Spanish instead of English (Chavez, 2013; Davila, 2008). Chavez terms this fear in the Southern part of the U.S. as the "Reconquista of the South." With stereotypes of Latinos changing and supported by media characterizations, the likelihood of predispositions exists toward Latinos.

In recent years, many have asked the question of how accurately symbolic racism measures racial resentment, and how accurate it is in a "post-racist society" (Highton, 2004; Bullock, 2000). Using exit polls from the 1996 and 1998 congressional election cycles, Highton found that in congressional races there was little to no evidence of

Whites being less supportive of African Americans (2004). The findings suggest that

with congressional races, Whites are comfortable with having Blacks hold office.

Highton acknowledges that geographical proximity to African Americans may provide

some explanation for how such candidates fair in elections. More specifically, in districts

where the overall population is majority White and a candidate fits the partisan needs of

the district, the candidate is likely to win.

Work by Bullock showed that in the 1996 Georgia elections, little difference

existed in the support White voters showed to White and Black candidates when looking

at precinct- level data. Bullock compared White support for two Black democratic

candidates and concluded that their support level was similar to that of support for two

White democratic candidates (Bullock, 2000). The readings suggest that although White

support for Black candidates may have increased, none of the studies have examined how

gender can affect voter turnout. While different methodologies (precinct-level results vs.

self-reported voting) provide an opportunity to validate findings, nuances within an

election are missed. For example, whether a scandal or past behavior or a candidate

affected voter behavior is not examined.

Is symbolic racism an adequate way of measuring racial resentment (Sears and

Henry 2000)? Or is something other than racial resentment being measured? Meyer and

Woodard (2017) argue that symbolic racism measurements merely capture the level of

conservatism rather than actual attitudes towards race. The authors examine questionnaire

results from South Carolina undergraduate volunteers on the likelihood of voting for

senatorial and gubernatorial candidates. The results showed that those who scored high

on the racial resentment scale were just as likely to support a Republican minority

candidate as they were to support a White Republican, suggesting that party may trump race when gender is not accounted for (Meyer and Woodward, 2017).

Although these studies demonstrate weaknesses with the symbolic racism scale, there may be ways to remedy two of these issues. First, in order to address the question if party preference plays a role in diminishing the effects of racism, we first need to know if racist tendencies are actually present. Do subjects have automatic connections between stereotypes and specific races? Further, proximity towards the race in question, as well as intragroup conflict has to be examined. Once those factors are identified and isolated, a better understanding of what mechanisms are at play can be achieved. I take some first steps in doing so. Using symbolic politics as a means of measuring Latina success in winning a congressional seat, I examine both institutional barriers by party elites (invitation to join) and voter perception of those invited. We can then see how and why this group is not winning congressional races.

The first tenet that symbolic politics examines is human beings' tendency to group themselves according to similar beliefs and identities. In this case, we are specifically looking at racial/ethnic cleavages (Blumer, 1958; Kinder and Cam, 2010). These cleavages are created and embedded in groups prior to political elites discussing them. Once those cleavages have been decided, party elites will use them as cues to maintain group differences to stay in power. As a result, we begin to see assertions of a majority group over a minority group. To further develop how this could affect congressional elections, I use racial threat theory to explain voters' bias against Latina candidates.

Racial Threat and Candidate Perception

Racial threat theory, or in-group theory, which has been widely discussed in various fields since the 1960s, came to the attention of political scientists in relation to public opinion by Kinder and Cam (2010). Originally discussed as ethnocentrism by Sumner in 1906, and later developed into in-group/out-group theory by Blumer in the 1960s, racial threat theory can be simplified as the limitation of power from the minority group (out group) by the majority group. In this dissertation, the minority group is Latinos and the majority group would be the largest portion of the American electorate, Whites.

Bobo and Hutchings expanded on this theory by examining how minority groups view one another. Bobo and Hutchings maintain that racial alienation, the measurement of the degree enfranchisement or disenfranchisement a group feels given current political, social, and economic conditions affects views of other groups. The authors' findings also highlight that, when examining Whites perceptions of Latinos, negative stereotypes affect and increase the perception of threat from Latinos, whereas a negative affect increases the perception of threat from Latinos towards Blacks and Asians (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). If affect and perception of threat creates animosity between different racial and ethnic groups, the ability to form coalitions to garner enough votes becomes difficult. When examining political and economic competition, Bobo and Hutchings found that Whites viewed Latinos as a larger threat than Blacks (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). In addition, the authors found that the difference in White respondents' perceived threat via political competition between Latinos and Asians was not significant. While Blacks viewed Asians as a larger political and economic threat than Latinos, non-native-born

Asians were more likely to view Latinos as a threat (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). The authors' findings suggest that building a coalition around a Latino congressional candidate would be difficult.

Furthering the findings of Bobo and Hutchings in regard to race relations and coalition building, political scientists have examined group conflict between Blacks and Latinos or how Blacks and Latinos work together (Sanchez, 2007; Hero and Preuhs, 2013). Work focusing on immigration or housing issues has shown the effect of proximity on reactions towards Latinos (Branton et. al, 2007; Rocha and Espino, 2009). Such resentment towards Latinos leads to covert and overt attempts of exclusion and differential treatment in various aspects of public life, including public service.

While a racial alienation explanation leads to the argument that historical perspective of group standing is important, recent work has shown that demographic projections of minorities surpassing Whites as the largest racial/ethnic group has increased anxiety among Whites (Craig and Richeson, 2014). Craig and Richeson conducted three experiments to determine if an increase in exposure to changing minority demographics—i.e., larger African American, Latino and Asian American communities—leads to an explicit racial bias increase amongst Whites. In the first study, participants were exposed to either current census information or the 2042 census projection. After reading the information, they were asked questions regarding their socialization and work relationship preferences. Those exposed to the 2042 census information were more likely to say they preferred associating with people of their same race than those exposed to the 2010 census data (Craig and Richeson, 2014). In their final experiment, subjects were answer questions to determine which group (Whites, Blacks,

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Latinos, Asians) they were most hostile to. All groups were more likely to favor Whites and feel the most threatened by Latinos (Craig and Richeson, 2014). Ultimately, the effects of demographic shifts lead to issues in coalition building for Latinos.

As multiple studies bore out, a group's proximity and growth creates hostility. In this case, growth and changes regarding Latinos causes other groups to feel threatened and makes it difficult to build voting coalitions. For Latinas, gender provides another layer of complexity. The question of how gender stereotypes affects female candidate electability has been examined in several studies, which provide insight on the effects of race and gender on political candidates.

Gender, the Other Factor

Gender is a low-information shortcut that can affect how voters perceive and ultimately vote for candidates. The perception of candidates by gender has been studied and two camps currently exist. The first argues that voters are not biased by a candidate's gender, while the second holds that stereotypes help shape voters' perceptions of a candidate, as well as their issue stances and party identification. I review work regarding candidate portrayal and stereotypes in the media to gain a clear view of women run and the effects it creates.

Research on media coverage of female candidates compared to their male counterparts is derived from the study of stereotypes. Huddy and Terkildsen's (1993) seminal work examined the effect of candidate trait stereotypes and candidate belief stereotypes. The authors conducted an experiment to determine how subjects reacted to male and female candidates and found that male candidates with masculine traits were viewed more competent on a broader range of issues than female candidates who

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expressed warmth and expressiveness. Candidates that were perceived as warm and expressive were perceived as better at compassion issues while masculine traits were perceived better with military and economic issues. The study highlights how and when traits can affect candidates, specifically those traits that are harmful to female candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993).

Research on female candidates and the media has largely been centered in the U.S. The study of female candidates' relationship with the news media began in the early 1990s with an emphasis on gendered differences (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, 1992; Kahn 1994; Kahn 1996). The double standards model argues that male candidates receive better treatment from the news media and puts women at a disadvantage when running for office. In her 1996 work, Kim Fridkin Kahn explained how women candidates receive different treatment from men in gubernatorial and senatorial races. She found that the media is more likely to focus on the viability of a female candidate, and they receive less coverage than men. Kahn (1996) also found that the level of the race results in coverage differences. In gubernatorial races, the media is more likely to focus on a female candidate's personality traits, whereas in senatorial races, the media will focus on the female candidate's likelihood of electoral success. Overall, Kahn found that the level of office that the female candidate is seeking affects how the media covers the candidate and that women running for governorships benefit from less-dramatic media coverage changes than their male counterparts in contrast to women who run for senate positions.

The double standard research indicates that women running for office need to focus on personality traits deemed to be more masculine, such as leadership, though later

research has shown that running as a masculine candidate may not give women the success it would seem to (Lawrence and Rose, 2009). Past research has demonstrated portraying women with masculine traits has led to negative media coverage. In the U.S., the best example is the 2008 presidential race in which Hillary Clinton's team decided to run her as an "Iron Lady." This decision led to male journalists focusing on her lack of femininity rather than her experience, which she was trying to tout (Lawrence and Rose, 2009; Kornblut, 2009) In contrast, the same election showed that if a female candidate is running for office, portraying the candidate as too feminine leads to the sexualization of the candidate, with more focus on her looks and intelligence than leadership ability (Lawrence and Rose, 2009; Kornblut, 2009). The media treatment of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin highlighted the levels of masculine/feminine traits that women are held to. This hyper masculine/feminine paradox places a burden on female candidates. Though one would hope this treatment of female candidates is a case of U.S. exceptionalism, scholars of women and media have demonstrated that this coverage also occurs in Latin America and Europe (Hinojosa in Murray, 2010; Murray, 2010). Such some double standard results in female candidates having to choose the way the media will frame them, which has been found to effect women's decision to run (Lawless and Fox; 2010).

More recent studies related to women candidates and the media suggest that stereotypes are no longer as salient as they had been in the past (Banwart, Bystrom and Robertson 2001; Jordan Brooks, 2013). The authors of these studies determine that other factors affect currently women running for and being elected to office. Most notably, Hayes and Lawless (2010) argue that past research has not incorporated key aspects such as political knowledge, party identification, and ideology. The authors maintain that these

sources of information need to be incorporated, and that the examination and use of gender stereotypes from a methodological perspective has issues due to the limited scope. Their main concern focused on how stereotypes were interpreted and whether the correct level of analysis truly captures the full effect of the stereotype. For example, if I read an article of information where the stereotype is couched (Kahn, 1992) as that described by Hayes and Lawless, context clues form the reaction to the stereotype. Hayes and Lawless argue that to better understand the effects of the stereotype, it should be examined at the paragraph level to get a better understanding of the stereotype (Hayes and Lawless, 2010). In order to test their hypotheses, the authors conducted a content analysis of U.S. congressional candidates and found no reason to believe that stereotypes affected voter opinion in the 2010 congressional election cycle. Hayes and Lawless also acknowledge that although it was an examination of just one election cycle, but that the volume of data makes the case more impressive and telling than past work (Hayes and Lawless, 2010).

Deborah Jordan Brooks (2013) argues that findings of women and politics scholars relating to gender stereotypes and standards from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s are no longer relevant and thus such findings are moot in a political climate more tolerant toward female candidates. To support her claim, Brooks proposes an alternate theory to the double standards theory, the leaders-not-ladies theory. Applying this theoretical framework to various experiments, Brooks ultimately finds that gender stereotypes will affect inexperienced female candidates and, in regard to showing emotion and public opinion, women do not face a double bind compared with men.

Over time, changes in the literature's perceptions of females as political candidates and leaders have softened. I maintain that age and ideology will still affect

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perceptions of females as candidates, however, the majority of the population will be accepting of females running for office.

I rely on racial threat theory to explain the electability of Latina candidates and better understand the ceiling they face when running for higher office. As noted in Chapter One, while there is an increase in Latina elected officials, the rate at which they are being elected overall is lower compared to White and Black females, as well as to the overall Latino population. The crux of this dissertation is an attempt to address why this may be the case.

As previously described and depicted in Figure 9, racial threat theory assumes the majority group (M) feels an encroachment by the minority group (m). In order to deter m from gaining power, M uses various methods of racial resentment to keep power gains from m. Voter perceptions of Latina candidates have practical applications. How Latina candidates are perceived can affect the ways campaign strategists run Latina candidates. Voter perceptions of Latina candidates can also affect where the political parties choose to run Latinas, or if Latinas are given the opportunity to run for higher office in such areas.

FIGURE 9. MINORITY GROUP GROWTH
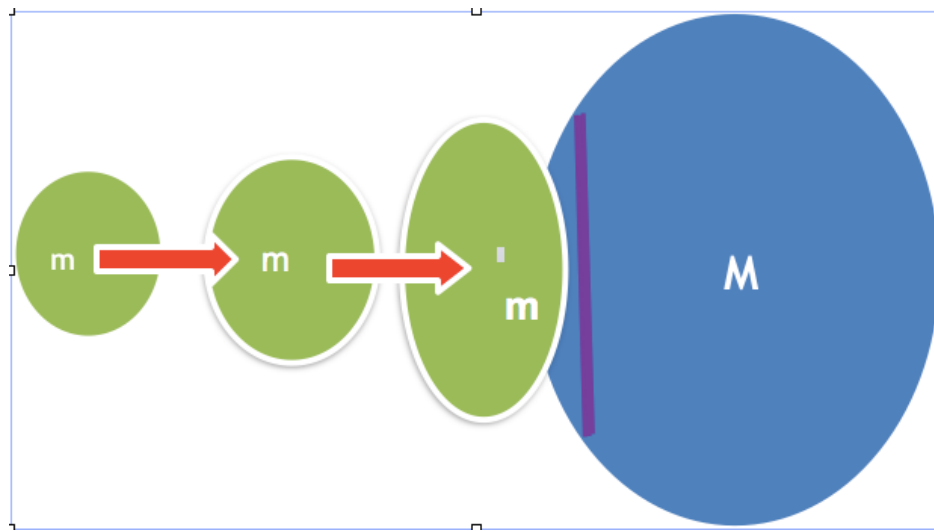
Outside of Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes may affect female candidates, but for Latinas and other women candidates of color, another dimension outside of race and gender stereotypes exists: skin color. Skin color stratification refers to the variation between light and dark skin tones (Hunter, 2002). It is one of the roots of the issues that people of color face within society. Those with lighter skin tones appear more European (Anglo) and are able to assimilate into American society easier than those with darker skin tones and more indigenous appearances (Hunter, 2002). Hunter argues that skin color stratification exists because of the history of American institutional exclusion and discrimination that allows continued power structures and groups to stay in place (Hunter, 2002). Teles and Murguia (1990) explored how skin color stratification led to discrimination in the U.S. labor force towards Mexican Americans and found that those with darker skin were less likely to be employed.

Espino and Franz (2000) expanded the scope of phenotype discrimination by including increasing the ethnic groups in their study as well as varying geographic location. Using the 1990 Latino National Political Survey, the authors had access to data collected from Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans (Espino and Franz, 2000). Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were defined as people with Latin decent that had either one parent that was solely from one of the above mentioned ethnic groups, or having two grandparents with belonged to the mentioned groups (Espino and Franz, 2000). The authors defined occupational prestige by using the Hauser-Warren index, which scored one hundred types of jobs. The higher the score, the more prestigious the job. For example, lawyers were ranked higher than taxi drivers. Skin tone was measured by the interviewers. Ultimately, they found that Mexican Americans and Cubans with darker skin tones were less likely to occupy jobs with higher prestige scores.

Using the 1980 National Chicano Survey, Hunter (2002) examines the added effect of gender to skin color stratification. The author notes that skin tone stratification affects Mexican American women's likelihood to achieve high levels of educational attainment and personal earnings. Skin tone was measured by interviewers who were trained. The effects of skin color stratification found by Hunter (2002) demonstrate the difficulty in achieving occupational prestige, educational attainment and personal income. All of these factors are traditionally associated with successful political candidates. This suggests that Latinas have an additional barrier to overcome that traditional female candidates do not need to consider. My design does not include a test for phenotypes, however, it is an important aspect that should be controlled for in future designs.

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I rely on racial threat theory to explain the electability of Latina candidates and therefore better understand the ceiling they are facing when running for higher offices. As noted in chapter one, while there is an increase of Latina elected officials, the rate at which they are being elected overall is lower compared to white and black females, as well as the overall Latino population (CAWP 2015). The crux of this dissertation is to provide an answer as to why this may be the case.

As described above and depicted in Figure 8, racial threat theory assumes the majority group (M) feels an encroachment by the minority group (m). In order to deter m from gaining power, M uses various methods of racial resentment to keep members from the m group gaining power. Voter perceptions of Latina candidates have practical applications. How Latina candidates are perceived can affect how campaign strategists run Latina candidates. Voter perception of Latina candidates can also effect where the political parties choose to run Latinas, or if Latinas are given the opportunity to run for higher offices in those areas.

Theory Application

A common theme that can be found between the gender and politics and race and politics literature is that neither includes research findings from the other when examining voter perceptions. Bejarano's (2014) work on Latinas' ability to win offices does look at race and gender, however, her methodology does not allow for simultaneous testing. Although Bejarano's work examines how race or gender will affect a candidate's electability, she does not look at how voters would react to a female candidate of color. Rather, by using two separate batteries on race and gender she establishes levels of support for candidates of color and women; however, she does not establish how women

of color would or would not be supported. Hardy-Fanta and Sierra's recent work examines the role of ambition by using questionnaires of minority representatives and argues that Bejarano's work merely highlights the work of Ramirez et. al (2006).

Although the theory established in this chapter answers the questions that the latest research attempts to answer, it cannot fully do so without taking into consideration voter perception. By examining voter perception of Latina candidates, the dissertation creates a racial and gender affinity similar to what Sanbanmatsu created for the field of women and politics by establishing a baseline voter perception of candidate stereotypes (Sanbanmatsu, 2006). In order to test this, I employ an experimental design that allows for an understanding of how race and gender stereotypes affect voter perceptions of candidates. A brief description follows.

The experimental design will examine the effects of cultural experience in creating a preference of candidates. Scholars have examined facial appearance to determine a subject's initial reaction to a candidate based on gender, attractiveness, perceived competence, and facial softness (Todorov et. al, 2005; Little et. al, 2007; Armstrong et. al, 2010). While these studies provide insight into how facial appearance could affect voter choice, there is no understanding what causes these decisions. I examine how voters perceive candidates by exposing them to general candidate biographies.

Experiment Overview and Hypotheses

The experiment is broken down into three sections. The first part focuses on candidate stereotypes. In this section subjects will be exposed to two candidate images and a candidate profile with stereotypes playing towards race and gender. After subjects

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finish this portion, they will begin the second section. In the second section subjects will be exposed to two images of political candidates and asked to choose the candidate they would vote for. One image will be a Latina, and the other image will be of varied race and gender. Based on the subjects' choices, an ordered preference will be created based on how Latinas fair against both male and female candidates of other races. This will demonstrate how race and gender create a hierarchy of candidate preference. The final part will ask subjects to complete a post-test questionnaire of basic demographic information as well as party identification, ideology, and language preferences. Within this final section subjects will also be asked two batteries focused on racial and gender resentment to determine whether they demonstrate resentment towards candidates of color, and of Latinas, in particular.

In short, the three segments examine whether affective reasoning occurs when selecting candidates. To determine if subjects are using stored information about different races and the two genders to make decisions, four hypotheses will be tested. Racial threat and symbolic racism is the focus of the first hypothesis. Using the racial resentment battery, the following hypothesis will be tested:

H1: Subjects demonstrate a perception that Latinos represent a threat.

If supported, this hypothesis would demonstrate that resentment toward assimilated Latinos presents a threat to non-Latinos. This may ultimately lead to the belief that candidate perception and candidate electability would be affected by biases demonstrated by voters' natural instinct to keep their racial and gender groups in positions of power.

Subjects' reactions towards race and gender of candidates has been examined using survey data. Most recently, Bejarano (2014) used survey data to examine how subjects

react to Latina political candidates. Bejarano's central argument focused on the "softening" of racial attitudes based on gender (Bejarano, 2014), suggesting that when Latinas run for office they have support from women regardless of race, as well as support from members of their racial group. The argument is that this softening, or alliance, provides an increase in support for Latina candidates. The second hypothesis holds that perceptions of females as political candidates and leaders will have softened. I maintain that although age and ideology will still affect perceptions of females as candidates, the majority of the population will accept females running for offices.

H2: Subjects that do not fall in the oldest age category will not demonstrate less bias/resentment against female candidates

The third hypothesis focuses on the second portion of the experiment. Based on mixed results in the changing views of women in the race and politics literature, Hypothesis three looks at how the two types of stereotypes will interact.

H3: Voters will follow race and gender stereotypes in their preference for candidate.

Support for H3 would establish a candidate racial hierarchy. A racial hierarchy would be established by the choices subjects make—ultimately showing how Latinas are ranked compared with other genders and races—and allows us to see whether an advantage or disadvantage exists.

Finally, Hypothesis 4 examines the idea of coalition building regardless of race. This hypothesis is designed to determine if gender matters and whether women will support female candidates regardless of race.

H4: Female subjects are more likely to rely on racial stereotypes than gender stereotypes.

Female subjects are more likely to rely on racial stereotypes because they are able to identify with gender stereotypes. This allows for female voters to be more aware of racial stereotypes.

Past experimental studies (Monforti and Gershon, 2016; Cargile et. al, 2016) examined policy preferences and knowledge of the Latina candidates and how voters responded to the information, this experiment asks for subjects to draw on their past information to decide what candidate fits the biography. This experiment, described fully in the next chapter, provides a better explanation for candidate preference and understanding of voter effects.

In the next chapter I will also define important concepts of this theory. After setting definitions, I will examine the reasoning for an experimental design, as well as the design itself. Finally, I will discuss the batteries used in the post-test and how both the experiment and the batteries provide the best explanation for voter perceptions of Latina candidates.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I discuss the methodological approaches employed in my study. First, I discuss the elite interview method used to understand the perceptions candidates have about voter perceptions and how they feel such perceptions affects their candidacies. I then turn to the experiment portion of the research design, providing information on the independent, dependent and control variables, as well as the measures' appropriateness. I also discuss the experimental design, how the sample size was chosen, and justify why an experiment provides the best opportunity to measure how stereotypes and the perception of racial threat affect Latinas' campaigns for congressional office.

Methodological Approaches

To test if and how voters' likelihood to vote for a Latina is affected by their implicit reactions towards race and gender, I employ a multi-method design. The first method, elite interviews, allows for an understanding of how Latina candidates perceive voter behavior and whether their gender and ethnicity affect them on the campaign trail. The second method, an experimental design, examines the presence of racial and gender threat perceptions, the ability to identify candidates through stereotypes, and the likelihood to vote for Latina candidates compared to other genders and ethnicities.

Elite Interviews

Elite interviews provide an opportunity to gain information from a specific group of people to confirm hypotheses, understand findings, or create theories to explain group or individual behavior (Aberbach and Rochman, 2002). Interviews can help to reconstruct events and provide insight into the thoughts of a specific set of people (Tansy, 2007). In

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this instance, elites are defined as women, specifically Latinas that have run for congressional seats.

I created a list of candidates for congressional races during the 2012, 2014, and 2016 election cycles. Using a stratified sampling technique, eight Latinas were then identified. Of the eight women, three had won their election; however, none of the three (or eight?) women consented to an interview. The remaining five Latinas ran in states that both had and had not previously elected Latinas to Congress. Of the eight women, two consented to interviews.

 Defining the people that are considered to be elites has been a topic of conversation among scholars (Harvey, 2011; Stephens, 2007; Smith, 2007; Harvey, 2011). For the purpose of this study, elites are defined as Latinas that have run for congressional office. Smith notes that in her interviews, the worst experience she had was not from the elites themselves, but from people that were mid-senior level, or those close to the person in charge (Smith, 2007). The concern regarding the behavior of elites or "hybrid elites" (Parry, 1988) can be warranted, as they may view interviews more as a challenge than a learning opportunity (Harvey, 2011).

These concerns are noteworthy when you are dealing with candidates that lost their electoral bids. In this case, such candidates could try to control the interview or create a situation in which questions are viewed as a challenge. However, as Aberbach and Rockman (2002) state, the use of open-ended questions allows for elites to state their full experiences and views. "Open-ended questions provide a greater opportunity for elites to organize their answers in their own frame work" (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002). Allowing elites to use their own framework provides insight and understanding that is

unique to the race and the candidate's experience. In the case of Latinas, allowing the

candidates to use their own framework provides information on a group that was first

elected to Congress 26 years ago. Elite interviews provide firsthand experience that

cannot be captured through newspaper articles or polling data. Ultimately, the amount of

information available in the interviews highlights the importance of this research method.

As such, I chose to conduct two interviews with Latinas that had competed in

congressional races.

The two interviews were conducted with Gabriella Saucedo Mercer (AZ) and

Roxanne "Rocky" Lara (NM). The candidates ran during the 2014 election cycle, and

Saucedo Mercer had also previously run in 2012. Both women were asked five open-

ended questions and given the opportunity to provide comments on whatever they felt

was necessary to understanding their experiences. The five questions were:

- Were you approached or encouraged by anyone to run for Congress?
- Did you notice how voters received you?
- Was there any group that was less receptive than other groups? Do you think women perceived you differently than men? Latinas compared to non-Latinas?
- Do you think that voters perceived you as a woman of color, or simply as a woman, and do you think they emphasized one more than the other?
- If you could change how you were perceived by voters, what would you change?

The two interviews provided unique insight into Latinas' issues and opportunities when

running for congress. I acknowledge that although two interviews do not provide a

complete picture of what all Latina candidates will or have experienced, they provide a

starting place. These interviews present a foundation for Latinas' experience on the

campaign trail. Accounting for these experiences allows for a better understanding of past

and future research by seeing the perspectives of losing candidates.

Both women were running in states with large Latino populations, although only one state has a history of electing Latinas to Congress. Each woman presented different candidate profiles. Saucedo Mercer emigrated from Mexico to the U.S. when she was a teenager. At the time she ran for Congress she was 50 years old, married, and had adult children. In contrast, Lara is a third-generation Mexican American. When she was running for Congress she was 38 years old, married, and had no children. While Lara obtained her law degree and was viewed as a rising star in the New Mexico Democratic Party, Saucedo graduated from high school and was relatively unknown in the Arizona Republican Party. Although both candidates had familial support, support from their political parties and outside groups varied. While Saucedo Mercer received little party and organizational support, Lara received party and organizational support, however, the support varied. The interviews highlight themes within a specific election year from the perspective of two candidates that differed in party identification, age, educational status, and marital status.

My main interest in the two interviews is both woman's' discussion of race or gender bias that they observed on the campaign trail. Since both candidates lost their races, their insights as to how their race and gender played a role in their campaign experiences provides an interesting perspective. Hearing from candidates that have won races allows for a perspective of overcoming such barriers, while candidates providing the perspective of when such barriers could not be overcome. The findings of how voters perceived the candidates and their campaigns could provide an explanation for how subjects respond in the experiment. Additional areas of interests are party and familial support, reactions to

opponents' attacks, and overall candidate experience. Do these women see themselves running again? Are there similar reasons for their experience of certain phenomena?

Interviews only provide the candidate perspective, yet the details highlight areas of research that previous studies have not covered. More importantly, these interviews help inform my hypotheses. The experimental design allows for simulated responses that can be assumed, and the candidates gave accounts of life on the campaign trail that are not always captured. These interviews provided clarity for potential findings in the experiment. Ultimately hearing from people that have undergone the campaign process as a candidate provides insights into the overall effects of perceptions from voters on the candidates themselves and their reactions.

Experimental Design

Experimental designs in the social sciences have been received with mix reactions (Falk and Heckman, 2009). Former American Political Science Association President A. Lawrence Lowell cautioned political scientists about a methodological tool used by the natural sciences, stating that we are limited by the impossibility of experiments (Lowell, 1910). Over the course of decades, the use of lab, field, and survey experiments has increased and become a widely popular methodology, reaching peak usage in the 2000s (Druckman et. al, 2006). The increase of experimental designs used in political science demonstrates changes within the field and the types of questions researchers are able to answer.

Experimental designs allow for the exploration of causal relationships between two variables. Unlike observational data, experiments allow researchers to introduce treatments and addressing the introduction of a specific stimulus rather than waiting for

the stimulus to be observed (Druckman et. al, 2001). In this instance, rather than examining through multiple cases of how race and gender may affect Latina candidates' electability, this design exposes subjects to images to determine if race and gender play a role in candidate selection. We know from the literature on female candidates and stereotypes that although there is a potential change in how female candidates are viewed (Kahn, 1992; Brooks, 2013), the race and politics literature demonstrates mixed results to whether race matters (Highton, 2004; Bullock, 2000). The experimental design allows for the testing of how race and gender of the candidates affect voter choice.

Plagued with critiques on the accuracy of widely applicable findings (Druckman et. al, 2001), the randomization of subjects in treatment and control groups paired with a careful approach of simulating events allows for generalization of results. Other experimental-design concerns that can be applied to the current experiment include prior knowledge of the subjects and history effects. In regard to the current experiment, prior knowledge and experiences of subjects greatly affect responses and, although necessary, cannot be measured. What subjects know about and feel toward Latinas forms their reaction to the stimuli. Since this is an online experiment, I cannot control for subjects having other windows opened and researching items they are asked about. I also cannot control for any events that may have happened while participating in the experiment.

For the current hypotheses, the fact that the experimental design can control the information subjects are exposed to and for the amount of time that they are exposed to the stimuli—i.e., gender can play a role in candidate choice—I have to be able to control all other information otherwise we are unsure as to the largest effect on choice.

Recent studies have attempted to measure the likelihood of the election of a Latina candidate by presenting presumed stereotypes (Cargile et. al, 2016) or using online images (Laveriega Monforti and Gershon, 2016). Cargile et. al's (2016) experimental design focused on trait and issue competency. The authors placed subjects into groups and varied the types of candidates to which they were exposed. For example, candidates in one group were exposed to Latino male and female candidates, while another group was exposed to Black males and females (Cargile et. al, 2016). The authors used generic stereotypes associated with candidate traits and stereotypes for males and females.

Laveriega Monforti and Gershon (2016) examined Latina candidate viability by varying the race and gender of their political opponent. The authors also included candidate biographies and only varied the names of the candidate within the biography. The authors chose generic photos of Black, White, and Latino males and females for the experiment in order to create an imaginary political race.

My experiment differs from the survey and experimental designs used in the above-mentioned studies. First, I selected images based on a pool of people that previously ran for Congress. This process was chosen because it mimics the candidate selection process that party officials conduct. While subjects were not aware of this process, similar to how voters are not aware of the process that candidates go through before the election cycle, it added to the validity of the experiment and generalizations of the results.

Secondly, I created candidate biographies incorporating both gender and racial stereotypes instead of traditional stereotypes and traits that have been found to affect female candidates (Kahn, 1992). The importance of incorporating racial and gender stereotypes when dealing with candidates of color is because, by focusing solely on

gender, it simplifies the situation Latinas face by removing racial stereotypes from the biographies. The simplification of stereotypes also removes geographical and cultural contexts Latinas face.

When racial stereotypes are not accounted for with political candidates it removes the cultural context of addressing what voters in the district have been exposed to or the complexity of Latina candidates. Creating general stereotypes and assigning them to Latina candidates does not allow for variance to represent known "types" that have been elected. More specifically, Latinas that have been elected to Congress have various educational status, marital status, and most importantly, cultural experiences. For example, Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen came to the U.S. as an exile from Cuba. In contrast, Representative Linda Sanchez' parents emigrated from Mexico. These variations matter because it changes the candidates' ability to relate to constituents and points out the nuances in their backgrounds, appearance, age, and ethnicity.

Latina candidates elected to Congress do not fit general molds of what the early literature of Latinas in politics (Hardy-Fanta, 1993) describe. Rather than focusing on local issues and remaining local, or coming from an activist position, these women have attended secondary or post-secondary education, vary in issue stance, and blend masculine and feminine traits to market themselves to constituents (Navarro et. al, 2016). The blending traits, along with racial stereotypes, create a different candidate profile than what would be expected from female candidates.

In addition, by removing known candidate stereotypes and constructing biographies based on racial and gender stereotypes allows for the exploration of a dual effect. Known stereotypes are based around the work ethic of different racial groups, the

number of children borne by women of color, parental occupations. Although previous research has examined racial stereotypes and gender stereotypes, this dissertation explores the effects of combining the two.

In order to measure softening, Bejarano (2014) used two batteries of questions from the American National Electorate Survey. The first focus is on the likelihood of voting for a minority candidate and the second is the likelihood of voting for a female candidate. The first question related to race states, "If your party nominated a Black/African American for president would you vote for him/her if he/she were qualified for the job?" Respondents were able to respond "yes/no." Respondents were then asked about their feelings toward Blacks/Latinos/Asians and allowed to answer on a scale from one to nine—from very cold to very warm.

The first question in the gender battery asks, "If your party nominated a woman for president would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?" Respondents were able to respond "yes/no." Respondents were also asked "Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men;" "Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman warning money in a business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?" and, "Tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement: Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women." Respondents responses could range from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

She argued that the individual findings would provide support for the hypothesis that Latinas would garner more support than those that run just as women or just as Latinos. Bejarano controlled for race and gender in each model, yielding support for her

hypotheses (Bejarano, 2014). She later shows support for her findings by examining the number of Latinas in California and Texas state houses. Although Bejarano's hypotheses are supported, there are limitations to this method.

As previously mentioned, the effects of social desirability can be found in survey responses. Social desirability refers to errors in self-reporting from respondents wanting to avoid embarrassment and/or present a favorable image to others (Fisher, 1993). Fisher found that indirect questioning provided a way to mitigate social desirability effects while still allowing respondents to show their beliefs and policy evaluations without answering explicit questions (Fisher, 1993). Three experiments were carried out in order to determine if subjects would choose different outcomes if they were aware that it made them look better, as compared to those who were exposed to social-neutral treatment (Fisher, 1993). The respondent knows what politically correct response is appropriate and may provide that answer. For example, Schuman et. al (1997) found that when asked about attitudes toward Black people, explicit forms of prejudice diminish and are rarely reported. This, coupled with social desirability requires implicit and symbolic measurements in order to better determine whether people hold negative attitudes toward groups. For example, a respondent may not answer truthfully if they like Black people, but they are more likely to support cutting of programs that are perceived as aimed at specific racial groups.

When dealing with candidate selection and candidates of color, social desirability effects can lead to subjects responding that they would in fact vote for a Black or female candidate. The importance of asking implicit or symbolic questions is that subjects are then allowed to respond freely without knowing the desired response. In this study, I

employ implicit and symbolic measurements to better understand how subjects feel toward minorities and women. This allows for a clear measurement and increases validity.

In addition to potential issues with social desirability, Bejarano's work follows the premise that race and gender are separated in voters' minds of voters. However, the recent work of Hardy-Fanta et. al highlights that women of color who have been elected to office note that both their race and gender affect treatment and expectations (Hardy-Fanta et. al, 2016). In their most recent work, the authors found that elected officials felt that their race was recognized. For women of color, across all ethnicities, the women noted that gender and race were barriers both as candidates and elected officials (Hardy-Fanta et. al, 2016). In addition, following Taber and Lodge's work suggest on system 1 processing and past work of scholars like Bedolla Garcia and Michelson (2012) showing how schemas effect voters' behavior, it follows that race and gender would be key factors in voters' decisions on whether to support a candidate. The research design used here accounts for both race and gender with candidate biographies that expose both gender and racial stereotypes previously highlighted by scholars of race and politics and women and politics (McIllwain and Caliendo, 2009; Kahn 1992; Terkislden,1993; Valentino, Hutchings and While, 2002).

Research Design

The experiment was created as a 3 (3 time variants) by 1 (1 group of candidates) producing three conditions. At the start of the experiment, subjects were exposed to candidate biographies aimed at stimulating stereotypes previously held by the subject about specific minority groups. The first candidate biography focused on female

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stereotypes of African American women and Latinas in regard to the number of children they have. This biography was set to trigger the stereotype of Latinas having too many children, as well as the gendered stereotype of women focusing on raising their children instead of running for office. The second biography focused on positive attributes such as playing sports and gaining a scholarship, and the candidate then chose to return to his/her home district to improve the community. The third biography discussed a candidate that turned his/her life around after being sent to juvenile hall.[2] The fourth candidate biography discussed racial stereotypes associated with Latinos, but also talks about their children. The final candidate biography is a biography of a traditional Congressional candidate. All five biographies were shown on the screen for approximately one minute to allow subjects to read the information.

Candidate A played toward the stereotype of hardworking Latinos. The ownership of a restaurant and immigrant parents also played to known stereotypes of the Latino community.

Candidate A received their law degree from the University of Michigan. Proud of their immigrant mother's background, Candidate A proudly speaks three languages and understands the value of hard work. Candidate A has four children with their spouse, a local restaurant owner. Candidate A's family has lived in District 4 for the past 15 years and previously ran for the District 4 seat two times. Candidate A is confident in his/her ability to be a new voice and represent different groups that reside in district 4.

Candidate B's biography played on known stereotypes of African Americans, specifically males. The profile discussed playing basketball and using it as a way to improve their life.

Candidate B received his/her PhD in Biology from Stanford University. Candidate B's unique life experience of growing up in an impoverished neighborhood made him want to work harder to change his/her surroundings. Candidate

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[2] This biography is taken from Lucy Flores, a former congressional candidate from Nevada. Despite having the support of prominent Nevada officials, such as Harry Reid, Flores' story did not resonate with constituents

B's has three young children with their spouse. Their two children, Janet and Lamar, attend Candidate B's alma mater. Candidate B enjoys playing the occasional game of basketball, which Candidate B has labeled a ticket to a better life. Candidate B is running to fill the District 8 seat to improve his/her home state and be an example to others that they can be successful if they work to improve their community.

Candidate C's biography focused on a candidate that spent time in juvenile hall and turned his/her life around. I added a geographic location to determine if subjects would view this as a stereotype of an African American woman and thus an easier choice for subjects.

Candidate C has lived and worked in District 5 his/her entire life. Growing up with a single mother, Candidate C saw his/her mother struggle to provide for their family, which includes five siblings. Candidate C is proud of his/her background, having been arrested and sent to a Juvenile Detention Center at the age of 14, Candidate C credits the officer who arrested the young teen for changing Candidate C's life path. Candidate C attended his/her local community college, Del Mar, and later went to Georgia Tech to earn a bachelor's degree. Candidate C believes his/her story is similar to those in the district and that he/she will be the voice that has been needed for a long time.

Candidate D's biography was written to elicit responses toward a Latino male.

Candidate D has been a teacher at Garcia elementary for the last eight years. The child of parents who worked as a gardener and a housekeeper, Candidate D helped his/her parents on the weekend to make extra money for the family. Though it took Candidate D longer to finish his/her college degree, Candidate D is the first in his/her family to obtain a bachelor's degree. Candidate D met his/her spouse while attending Florida State University. They have three children. Candidate D states that his/her most powerful tool is his/her perspective, having lived similarly to his/her constituents.

The candidate E biography consisted of stereotypes for a white male candidate. The biography focused on the generations of Georgetown University Law School graduates from the candidate's family with children who attend Ivy League universities.

Candidate E is a fourth-generation Georgetown University Law School graduate. He/she currently works at the prestigious firm, Duncan, Carnes and Jordan, and volunteers on the weekend with children at the family's church, St. John's, where they have attended since childhood. Candidate E's spouse is also an attorney at Duncan and Carnes as managing spouse. Their adult children, Amanda and Andrew, are currently enrolled in Georgetown Law School and the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. Candidate E is running for District 5 seat because he/she is confident that he/she can represent the district.

The Candidate F biography was created with stereotypes associated with Asian males. The biography discusses the candidate going to medical school at a prestigious university.

Candidate F is running for the District 2 seat because he/she feels that it is time someone fix the issues affecting the district. Candidate F has practiced medicine in the area for the past 30 years. Candidate F met his/her spouse at Johns Hopkins University and they have been together since. Upon completing their medical degrees, the couple decided to work with Doctors without Borders for the first five years of their careers. Candidate F currently works as a pediatric surgeon, while his/her spouse is an orthopedic doctor. The couple's adult child, Laura, has decided to follow in her parents' footsteps and go into the medical field. Candidate F believes his/her presence in District 2 will allow for the district to finally be taken seriously.

After subjects read the candidate biographies, two randomly selected images of political candidates appeared. Selected candidate images selected were portrait style with plain backgrounds. Although similar studies (Todorov et. al, 2005; Willis and Todorov, 2006; Ballew and Todorov, 2007; Oliva and Todorov, 2010) have converted images to gray scale, in order to maintain candidate authenticity, only full color images were used. This decision allowed subjects to react to the race of candidates. Full-color images were chosen to increase validity by allowing subjects to examine nuances and differences that may appear in candidate images. Specifically, it allowed for differences to be seen within the races.

Color images provide for the ability of subjects to see the candidate's race o. In the case of candidates of color, this is particularly important. In five different experiments, Valentin (1994) and Valentin and Endo (1992) determined through a computer analysis that subjects were able to determine cross-race (CR) faces more easily than same race (SR) and that this is identifiable by node (Valentin 1994; Valentine and Endo, 1992). Nodes are defined as the space between the similarities between faces. Faces, according to Valentin, exist on a multidimensional level. Races can be viewed as different clouds with a great amount of distance between them depending on the likeness a subject's sees to her own face (Valentin, 1994). Thus, when testing for race and gender preferences of subjects, the ability to clearly see differences in race is necessary.

Evidence of candidates attempting to take advantage of this in the political realm is

evident in Subervi-Velez, Herrera, and Begay's work on Ronald Reagan's 1984

campaign advertisements (Subervi Velez et. al, 1987). The authors found that the

campaign used "pan Latino" faces and dialects that were not specific to any specific

group within the Latino community in order to appeal to as many Latinos as possible

(Subervi-Velez et. al, 1987). [3]

More notable candidates, such as Speaker Paul Ryan or Representative Maxine

Waters, were not included as potential pictures due to their popularity. Past experiments

focusing on facial competence followed similar methods in order to improve the external

validity of the experiment (Todorov, 2005). One candidate picture was of a Latina, while

the other candidate picture varied between a White male, a White female, a Latino, a

Black male, and a Black female. Beneath the pictures, subjects were instructed to choose

the candidate on the left or the right.

Because I was attempting to measure the effect of cognitive responses, the

amount of time given to examine the effects of where the processing occurs, or what we

attempt to measure, is key. In order to determine if subjects are relying on their

subconscious processing, those placed in the first treatment group had the least amount of

time to look at the images. Subjects in the first condition were exposed to candidate

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[3] Skin color stratification can influence how subjects respond to images. Following
Hunter's (2002) work, assimilation is easier for Latinas with lighter skin tones (Hunter,
2002). By using colored images, improvement in external validity to occur. The ability to
have skin tone variation and authenticity of candidates has not occurred in past studies.
This allows subjects to subconsciously experience reactions to different skin tones and
increases external validity by allowing authentic reactions towards Latinas. Skin color
stratification is not controlled for in this study, but should be examined in future studies.

images for 100 m/s (Todorov, 2005). After the time lapsed, gray boxes appeared over the candidate images. Subjects were asked to select the candidate that fits the biography. Subjects in the second group will receive 250 m/s to decide which candidate fits the biography (Todorov, 2005).

The time difference allows for time to think about the information and begin the process of rationalizing a decision. Once subjects have more time to process the photos, they begin to move out of affective thinking or hot cognition and move into cold cognition, otherwise known as rationalization. Subjects in the third condition will have no time constraints on the images. The unlimited time is to determine if there is a difference from 250 m/s to an indefinite timetable. If correct, Hypothesis 1—that voters will rely on stereotypes of race and gender to select the candidate to match the biography—will be supported. The second condition should see some deterioration in system 1 processing, with the third condition seeing a significant deterioration in system 1 processing and a more balanced approach at response. System 1 processing is believed to occur at a faster pace than system 2; that is, the time you have to react, the more likely you are to react emotionally than rationally.

The second portion of the experiment will establish a candidate preference hierarchy between Latinas and other candidates. I will be able to determine how a racial threat, if operating, plays a role on candidate selection. After subjects choose which candidate best fits one of the biographies presented, they will move on to the next task in which images will be shown. When images appear on the screen, subjects will be asked which candidate they prefer to represent them in Congress. After selecting the candidate, another set of candidates will pop up and the process will repeat seven times. A candidate

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preference index will be established through this experiment. I expect to see White candidates ranked higher than Black or Latina candidates, regardless of gender. While the research in Chapter 2 is inconclusive in terms of whether race detrimentally affects candidates, implicit and symbolic racism testing allows for subjects to respond freely. Thus, there will be less pressure to choose a specific candidate. In regard to how gender affects candidate preference, I expect White and Black women to be ranked higher than Latinas. I argue that White and Black women will be selected over Latinas for two reasons. First, the historical data shown in Chapter One indicates that White and Black women are consistently voted into office more often than Latinas. Second, while the literature on race and candidate selection has shown mixed results, the literature on how Latinas candidates are perceived, coupled with stereotypes of women of color, indicates that they will not be as supported as White or Black women.

Independent Variable

The independent variable for the experiment is racial threat. I measure threat as the amount of time a subject is exposed to candidate images. The time provided for subjects allows for different processing levels. In the first condition, the amount of time allotted is enough time for subjects to engage in system 1 processing (implicit). Subjects engage with images of candidates and perceived stereotypes. In the second condition, time is increased, but still allows for more system 1 processing (implicit) than system 2 (explicit). The third condition allows for an infinite amount of time; thus system 1 processing is expected to not have an effect on evaluations.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is candidate selection. Candidate selection is defined separately for the two segments. In the first segment, candidate selection is the candidate chosen as the person described in the biography. Candidate selection here determines whether subjects pick up on gender and racial stereotypes. A subject's ability to correctly place a stereotype indicates that they pick up on implicit messages and acknowledge them. In the second step, candidate selection is defined as the candidate the subject chooses to represent him or her in Congress. Candidate selection in the second step provides an implicit test on racial and gender bias towards Latinas.

Control Variables

In my analysis, I control for geographic location, race, age, and party affiliation. Controlling for these demographics allows me to test for any variance based on these identifiers. For example, I will be able to determine if party identification has a positive or negative effect on racial threat. These control variables will help better determine the size of the effect that voter perception has on overall candidate electability. Given that party and issue stances for the candidates are not provided, there is no reason to believe that partisanship plays a role. However, since past research has shown that spatial proximity, how close one group is to a minority group, affects perceptions of racial threat, reason exists to believe geographic location could have an effect on implicit processing. In order to measure special proximity and maximize the sample set, I use the same measurement used by Branton et. al (2009) and measure proximity based on the presence of legislation that makes English the official state language. I do not control for educational attainment or income in this experiment.

The control variable that may serve of most interest is age. The question of whether we live in a post-racial society is currently being debated. The election of President Obama has led to arguments suggesting that we have moved past race being a factor; however, if we see less of an effect in younger cohorts, it may be true that younger generations do not harbor as much resentment towards minorities. If we see that Latinas fare better with younger cohorts, it can then be suggested that implicit racism is starting to deteriorate and candidates regardless of race and gender might be elected at the same rate as their counterparts.

Sample

I conducted the experiment on Amazon Turk. Six-hundred-and-sixty subjects were separated into 3 groups of 220. To decide the number of participants necessary for the experiment, I first looked at the number of registered voters that voted in the 2016 election, as well as the actual voting population. The total number or voters in the 2016 presidential election was 132,899,453, or a 55% voter turnout rate. The actual voting age population was 225,778,000. When conducting a power analysis [4]with a power rate at .8, a standard deviation of 1 and a .05 confidence level, the sample size would need to be 384. Using the measurements for the standard deviation and power rate, changing the confidence level to .01 the sample size necessary is 666.

Past experiments focusing on stereotypes and Latina candidate viability have relied on subject pools of 700 to 1,300 (Cargile et. al, 2016; Laveriega Monforti et al., 2016, Todorov et. al, 2005). Using 660 subjects falls in line with past experiments on Latina

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[4] A power analysis is a tool that allows for experimentalists to determine the number of subjects necessary to see an effect.

candidate viability and exceeds those that deal with emotional responses based on implicit bias due to race and gender typically using sample sizes varying between 80 and 120 subjects (Cargile et. al, 2016; Laveriega Monforti et al., 2016).

Subjects were paid $1.00 to participate in the experiment. Amazon Turk allows for variation in geographic location, age, and ethnicity. However, it does not allow for significant variation on education and income, which places a limitation on external validity. The number of respondents and potential past experience with minorities, pending on subjects' geographic location, will allow for reliable results. This method was chosen largely for the variation in sample size. Further, the homogeneity seen with samples from traditional university settings or by sampling within one state are not present.

Randomization

Subjects were assigned to either the treatment or control group based on their provided demographic information. In order to ensure that I have little variation based on randomization, each group will be set to allow no more than 250 subjects from Southern and Western regions in the both groups. Blocking for location, I improve the sample's internal validity by reducing bias based on the subjects' proximity to minority groups. By conducting an online experiment, I expand the sample population to all 50 states. This allows for variance in proximity to the Latino population. Using the presence of a bill to have English as the first language allows for variation within regions rather than labeling states based on the region they are located in. For example, California and Washington are both in the Western region, but California uses English as the state's official language while Washington does not. The minimization of variance allows for a better

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measurement of the average treatment effect as well as room for an internal treatment effect analysis. The experiment lasted an average of 7 minutes and 45 seconds.

Survey Questions

Upon completing the experiment, subjects in all three treatment groups were asked to respond to questions gauging ideology and leaders' character traits. Subjects were then asked to answer a battery of questions that focus on male and female roles and their abilities to lead. The final battery focuses on racial attitudes related to minorities and Latinas in general. The survey questions have been used in various surveys, including the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) and the American National Election Study. The list of questions can be found in Appendix A.

Gender

The first set of items is about women and their ability to lead compared to their male counterparts. There are three questions in the battery. This battery includes, "Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than most women," and "Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women." The final question asks whether women should run for office at the same rate as men. These questions, which look at emotional maturity and the ability to lead, allow for a baseline understanding of how subjects view the genders in relation to politics. Compared to the experiment, these questions are asking for specific information and allow the subjects to process information using the second system (explicit) rather than the first system (implicit). The battery enables a baseline in order to interpret the results.

Racial Threat

The racial threat battery is a symbolic racism battery that was created by Sears (1988). The first question asks, "Because of past discrimination, it is sometimes necessary to set up quotas for admission to college of minority group students." The second question asks, "The Irish, Italians, Jews and many other ethnic groups immigrated to the United States legally. Latinos and Hispanics should do the same without any special favors." The final question states, "Do you think that most Latinos who receive money from welfare programs could get along without help if they tried, or do they really need help?".

Conclusion

In this chapter I have detailed the experiment and my reasoning for choosing an experimental approach over other methods. The independent, dependent, and control variables were also discussed, as well as the batteries used at the end of the experiment. These batteries provide an overall understanding of how subjects feel about race and gender when system 2 processing (explicit) is occurring. Overall, the model introduced in the previous chapter to test perceptions of Latina candidates is operationalized. Results from the experiment are examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

LOSING THE RACE: CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS

"No matter if you win or lose the election just by having your name on the ballot as a Latina you are winning."- Gloria Montano Greene, State Director, Arizona- NALEO

Political candidate narratives provide insight into specific races during an election cycle. Although not complete, such insights illustrate a snapshot of the obstacles candidates might face. While most research focuses on the political ascension of successful candidates, candidates who lose provide a different and equally insightful perspective. More specifically, the ways these candidates viewed their election cycle, the effects of fundraising, voters, media coverage, and party involvement all help to inform and interpret my study.

When discussing the role of women in politics, specifically women of color, electoral victories and defeats are equally important because of the small number of women who have successfully run for office. In victories, we see patterns of success that can fit into the existing body of research. An electoral loss highlights issues that candidates notice about themselves, their campaigns, and the voters' responses. These issues may include financial support, perception of party or organizational support, voter perception, and district composition. I argue that these perceptions can help explain Latina congressional candidates' election results.

In this chapter I will examine two congressional races in the 2014 election cycle. The candidates who ran in these races provide unique cases that offer multiple reasons for why Latinas are not being elected to Congress. Although insightful, these cases do not provide a definitive answer on the effects of voter perception effects on candidates;

however, the cases do provide insight into how voter perceptions, racial threat, and stereotypes affect Latina candidates' chances of winning.

Doubly Disadvantaged or Doubly Blessed?

Although the discussion of whether women of color are able to create coalitions around their identity has been a research area of some attention, it has also presented, as Sierra points out, one of the greater challenges in understanding political behavior (Sierra, 2010). Historically, Latinos have faced difficulties within the U.S. that are complicated by their race. For Latinas, this threat is intensified by their gender (Garcia, 2007). The interactions of sexism, racism, and classism have been identified within the labor force (Segura, 1984), but need to be highlighted within the political realm. An investigation into Latina candidates who have lost political races allows for such an examination of these interactions.

Although race, gender, and class all affect political action, examining Latinas running for office is party identification, both among voters and candidates. While Bejarano did find gendered generational differences in Latino party identification, the effects of such differences are just starting to be seen. As younger cohorts, as well as more second- and third-generation Latino Americans begin to vote, overall patterns for the Latino voting block will change. Popular dialogue after the 2016 presidential election focused on the lack of Latino votes for then-candidate Donald J. Trump. In reality, however, more Latinos voted for Trump than for Mitt Romney or John McCain. With this in mind, changing voting patterns among Latinos could potentially negatively affect Latina political candidates.

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Latinos, much like their White counterparts, do not have a lot of variation in party identification among elected officials. More succinctly, there are more Latinas who are elected from the Democratic Party than from the Republican Party. As discussed in Chapter 1, despite variable growth in the number of White women and women of color candidates, they are vastly underrepresented compared to men.

The concept of strategic intersectionality, introduced by Ramirez et. al (2006) and advanced by Bejarano (2014), discusses how Latinas can build a coalition around their identities as women and as Latinas. Ramirez et. al argue that Latinas are able to develop a more fluid policy agenda, which voters find more palatable. This theory focuses on Latinas' comparative advantage over White women and minorities. Bejarano's work argues that race softens the gender identity for male minorities, that gender identity is stronger for women, and that race is not as important, all of which contribute to White women supporting women of color candidates. While Hellwege and Sierra (2016) argue that both a double disadvantage and strategic intersectionality can coexist, this conclusion is focused largely on institutional political factors and does not include an examination of candidate perception. However, as discussed in Chapter one, when examining congressional districts, the relative growth highlights that policy agenda may not be enough for Latinas to build a winning coalition. If strategic intersectionality were in fact at play, the two elites that were running would be able to identify coalitions of women and minorities supporting them during the campaigns.

The assumption that a double disadvantage for minority women does not exist is untrue. For Latinas, when unpacking the weight of race, class, and gender within the political context, the changing Latino electorate highlights a more nuanced situation. In

such instances, there are not three levels of oppression, but rather four. As noted, institutional concerns do exist, however, the focus of this dissertation is to examine the role of implicit reactions toward Latina candidates compared to various other candidates. The interviews of these two elite candidates offer value in terms of their impressions and political makeup in the year that they ran.

2014 election

Midterm elections historically have lower voter turnout than in presidential election years. The 2014 midterm elections continued this trend, with a voter turnout rate of 36.4%, the lowest turnout rate in 70 years. The election cycle was viewed as a historic success for the Republican party, as they gained 9 seats in the Senate and 13 in the House of Representatives. Two of the races featured Gabriella Saucedo Mercer and Roxanne Lara, both of whom were challenging incumbents.

In 2012, Saucedo Mercer ran in Arizona's 3rd District as a Republican against an embattled incumbent, Democrat Raul Grijalva. Saucedo Mercer immigrated to the United States from Mexico in 1986 and holds an Associate's Degree (projectwsj.com, 2012). The district consists of Santa Cruz County and includes parts of Pima, Maricopa, and Pinal counties. The district was considered a safe Democratic district with a Partisan Voting Index (PVI) rating of D + 13. The overall population of the district is 761,488. The ethnic breakdown consists of 16.2% White, 61.6% Hispanic, 4.5% Black, and 1.6% Asian. Traditionally, Arizona is a safe Republican state. Of the nine congressional districts within the state, Democrats hold two. The two districts surrounding District 3 are Republican strongholds. In the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, the state went to the Republican nominee. Saucedo Mercer ran against Grijalva in 2012 and lost by 32,000

votes. In the 2014 election, Saucedo Mercer challenged Grijalva again. This time Grijalva earned 58,192 votes while Saucedo Mercer received 46,185 votes. Saucedo Mercer lost by 19,993, fewer votes than the previous election cycle.

Lara ran in New Mexico's 2nd District as a Democrat against the incumbent, Republican Steve Pearce. Lara is a fourth-generation New Mexican with a law degree. The district includes the counties of Catron, Chaves, Cibola, De Baca, Dona Ana, Eddy, Grant, Guadalupe, Hidalgo, Lea, Lincoln, Luna, Otero, Sierra, and Socorro. Parts of Bernalillo, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Valencia counties also comprise part of District 2. The district is considered safely Republican with a PVI of R +6. The overall population of the district is 606,406. The ethnic breakdown consists of 68.6% White, 47.3% Hispanic, 2.6% Black, and 0.6% Asian. Lara lost the 2014 election—52,499 votes to 95,209. New Mexico has three congressional districts, with two of the districts represented by Democrats. New Mexico political history is more nuanced than Arizona's. In the last ten presidential elections, New Mexico voters have supported Republican candidates four times. Currently, the Governor or New Mexico, Susana Martinez, is a Republican. Martinez replaced Bill Richardson, a Democrat. Unlike Saucedo Mercer, this was Lara's first campaign in this district.

While the district composition in regard to both races would be enough to indicate losses for both Latina candidates, other factors suggest that the races would be closer. For Saucedo Mercer, her opponent, Grijalva, had called for an economic boycott in their

district in response to the passage of the now notorious SB1070 legislation.[5] Saucedo Mercer focused on economic issues and how the boycott affected small businesses in the district. The demographic composition for Arizona's 3rd District would suggest a favorable political climate for Saucedo Mercer to challenge Grijalva. Roxanne Lara was a member of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's (DCCC) Jumpstart program, which provides funds for top Democratic challengers. In addition to having ample funds, the district's demographics are similar to others where Latinas have run and won.

The Candidates' Views

While both candidates cited traditional issues such as funding and staff as contributing to their losses, the remainder of this chapter will focus on how each woman saw her congressional race play out. Both candidates discuss the complexity of their campaigns and attempts at coalition building. Each case uniquely highlights issues with the applicability of intersectional strategy. If, as has been suggested earlier in this dissertation and in Ramirez et al's work (2006), party is controlled for, Latina candidates should be able to build a sufficiently strong coalition to achieve election to office anywhere in the country. As will be discussed, both candidates saw resistance from women, Latinos, and both.

Arizona

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[5] SB1070 was legislation focused on reducing illegal immigration, however, critics of the bill felt it encouraged racial profiling, as people could be stopped and asked for documentation.

Gabriela Saucedo Mercer immigrated to the U.S. when she was in her early twenties. Her experiences in Mexico helped shaped her political identity. Saucedo Mercer feels that growing up without financial security and seeing others create pop-up shops to sell food or mow yards to make ends meet formed her staunch belief that Hispanic people are resilient and will do whatever it takes to get the job done. As such, she is opposed to what she termed "government handouts" (G. Saucedo Mercer, personal interview, November 22,2017). Given her views on the ability to work, and working under any circumstances, the idea of an economic boycott was enough to get Saucedo Mercer involved in politics, although not as a candidate.

Saucedo Mercer began by volunteering for another political candidate, Republican Ruth McClung, in 2010. Saucedo Mercer felt that McClung held the same values and beliefs that she did, and that McClung's belief in hard work was consistent with the values of the Hispanic people in the district. She firmly believed that McClung would defeat Grijalva in the 2010 congressional election, but began to consider her own political career. She was intrigued when campaign volunteers asked if she had ever considered running for office and specifically whether she had interest in running for an open city council seat. Saucedo- Mercer laughed off running for political office, but later began to consider the possibility. "I decided if Ruth didn't win, I would think about running against Grijalva" (G. Saucedo Mercer, personal interview, November 22, 2017).

The initial hesitation stemmed from the prospect of running for office. Saucedo Mercer was not sure if her husband would support her or if she was capable of winning. After deciding she was interested, Saucedo Mercer consulted with her family and extended family, as well as with members of her church. According to Saucedo Mercer,

she decided to run out of feeling an obligation to her supporters, but her first thought after

agreeing to run was, "me and my big mouth" (G. Saucedo Mercer, personal interview,

November 22, 2017).

Rather than starting with city council, Saucedo Mercer decided to run for

Grijalva's congressional seat. She chose this race instead of starting with a lower seat

because she felt that Grijalva was not the best person to represent the district, and that he

did not represent the Hispanic values that she learned while growing up. More

importantly, the boycott against local businesses that Grijalva advocated, in her opinion,

hurt locally owned family businesses.

"People were still mad about Grijalva calling for an economic boycott because of Senate
Bill 1070. I was not attacking him, but the things he was doing to damage the district. We
are minorities, in this case Hispanic, and he was not representing the value of Hispanics.
We are conservative, we take care of mom and dad, grandma and grandpa, and family
means a lot to us."

In discussing levels of support and voter perception, Saucedo Mercer felt that

those who were voting for her were not necessarily supporting her, but rather voting

against her opponent. At no time did she feel a coalition of voters around her, and she

often felt that unnecessary questioning of her intelligence was raised.

Saucedo Mercer was called racist, and people viewed her as unqualified because

of her lack of political experience. She recalls, "When people saw me they thought I was

more of a Mr. Smith goes to Washington type" (Saucedo Mercer, 2017). Constituents

never mentioned anything specifically, but Saucedo Mercer felt her opponent portrayed

her as naïve. Saucedo Mercer made a political gaffe in which she said Middle Easterners

should not be allowed in the country (*Phoenix Times*, 2013). Saucedo Mercer stated that

people did not understand what she meant by this statement, or her concern for national

security, and questioned her knowledge of the topic. As discussed in Chapter 1, most Latinas that have won congressional seats have advanced degrees while Saucedo Mercer has an Associate's Degree. While voters did not know this, her inability to answer questions, as well as her political stances, caused voters to doubt her.

Questions of female candidates' intelligence, or their ability to handle policies outside of education and healthcare, have been well documented (Herrnson et. al, 2003). Saucedo- Mercer ran into this issue. Related to her intelligence, voters were not shy to make requests. Oftentimes they would ask her about issues or what she reads in her spare time. "I guess some people wanted me to read *The Wall Street Journal* and get more information on issues that were important to them, and I know you have to pay attention to certain issues" (Saucedo Mercer, 2017).

While candidates may not always be aware of what role their race and gender play in voter perceptions, Saucedo Mercer was made aware that, despite knowing she needed to represent all, voters would view her as a Latina. When she first decided to run, she heard campaign strategists say that a Hispanic female would have the best chance to beat Grijalva because she could split the Hispanic vote and win the women vote. Saucedo Mercer took this comment to heart. Despite the belief that a Hispanic female had the best shot at winning in the district, some of Saucedo Mercer's female supporters offered to buy her lessons with a speech coach to correct her accent. Supporters also made comments on whether her public speaking abilities were up to par with traditional candidates, that her accent was distracting, and that she did not come off as educated. Saucedo Mercer would stumble when speaking. Saucedo Mercer's response was simply, "For Heaven's sake, I've never done this before!" (Saucedo Mercer, 2017).

Anecdotal accounts of Mexican-Spanish accents on English speakers coercing

negative responses in English speakers without accents have been corroborated with

experimental work in business management (Hosoda et. al, 2012). The authors ran single-

session experiments with 203 subjects. Subjects were told they were making hiring

decisions, and to listen to the applicant explain their work history and desire for the entry-

level job. Results showed that the Mexican-Spanish accent was more readily noticed than

the English accent. While the subjects' ethnicity did not have an effect on whether the

accent was noticeable, the subjects' sex did have such an effect. Further, the Spanish

accent made subjects question the applicant's suitability for the job and, if hired, the

likeliness to be promoted (Hosoda et. al, 2012). This work helps to explain the reaction of

voters, including supporters, had with Saucedo Mercer's accent. Although they may have

wanted to vote for her, she was not the ideal candidate due to her accent and speaking

ability.

Saucedo Mercer was ultimately questioned on her ability to lead. Both supporters

and opposition questioned what she read and her understanding of policy. Female

supporters openly asked about her speaking abilities and accent. Saucedo Mercer felt she

could create a coalition of Latino voters simply based on shared cultural experiences.

"We are a minority, in this case Hispanic, and he (Grijalva) was not representing the value of Hispanics. We are conservative, we take care of mom and dad, grandma and grandpa, and family means a lot to us. Having a home, fighting for the American Dream, is something that in Mexico is hard to achieve. We came to America to get the American Dream, and it's not materialistic. To me the American Dream is to have the freedom to speak out and not be fearful of the government and to start a business if you want to. The Hispanic community stopped and thought about it."

Saucedo Mercer's response highlights previously discussed analysis in this dissertation,

mainly those argued by Bejarano (2013) regarding the effects of generational and age

variation within the gender partisan gap. Saucedo Mercer acknowledges being conservative and holding conservative beliefs and identifying those with her supporters. Although such beliefs align with party identification, given Saucedo Mercer's perception of creating a coalition of Latino support, it further follows Bejarano's work regarding an increase of support of Latino voters in conservative states especially among older women (Bejarano, 2013).

Further, Saucedo Mercer's perspective on how Hispanic families should act has been found within both Chicana feminism literature (Zavella,1991) and in community psychology (Rodriguez et. al, 2007). Zavella discusses nuances within the Latino community and how location and gender can affect beliefs in family roles and obligations (Zavella,1991). Rodriguez et. al conducted surveys among 243 foreign-born and American-born Latinos. The authors found that being born in the U.S., having family that has been in the U.S. for multiple generations, and women who see themselves as close to Mexican and American culture are more likely to have high attachments to family. Further, those that came from higher income families also placed more importance on family and familial responsibility (Rodriguez et. al, 2007).

Saucedo Mercer's claim that she was able to build a coalition among some groups is possible, however, the size of the voting block may not have been large enough to win the race. As a candidate, Saucedo Mercer's perception may be skewed, as her campaign did not have enough money to hire pollsters.[6] She largely focused on what she was being told by her supporters or what she read in the paper, although the race had little media

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[6] Saucedo Mercer's campaign had a budget of 12,000.

coverage. How a candidate perceives the needs of a district and how they perceive things can affect candidate messaging, as well as voter perception. For instance, if a candidate views economic policy as the most important topic for the district, their message will register with those who view the economy as needing to be fixed, but will not register as well with those who view healthcare as the most important issue.

Continuing the discussion, Saucedo Mercer discussed how she used stereotypes of Latinos to attempt building a coalition.

"In Mexico you sell tacos or tamales in the street if you want, and all of a sudden when you come to the United States people were signing up for the social program(s). Hispanics would tell me they [would] get so mad that they [other Hispanics] want a free ride. My message was "hey! let's show people that we are not people that take advantage and we are not this stereotype. I don't care what I have to do to survive, we will roll our sleeves [up] and get the job done. The message resonated with people."

Recently, other Latinas have noticed Saucedo Mercer's use of pride and taking ownership of negative stereotypes, as well as her use of social media (Hernandez, 2018). Although Saucedo Mercer felt these tactics were working because of what she was hearing on the campaign trail, the results were not enough to overcome her opponent. Saucedo Mercer's support from the Republican Party was similar to what the literature on women in politics would suggest—that is, minimal (Dolan, 2010). "The Republican party has handpicked their people, I'm not one of them" (G. Saucedo Mercer, personal interview, November 22,2017).

New Mexico

Roxanne Lara's run for Congress started off differently from Saucedo Mercer's. The Democratic Party began courting her in January of 2013, but at the time she was running for the state chairman position for the Democratic Party of New Mexico. Once that race concluded, it took three months of heavy courting from the DCCC to convince

Lara to run for office. The party called a total of eight times, set up meetings, and used

some of Lara's political friends to talk to her about running for Congress. Lara was

promised funds and support from campaign surrogates. She discussed the run with her

family, preparing them for what a congressional race looked like, and making sure they

would support her decision (Montoya et. al, 2000). The final courting experience

included being flown to Washington D.C. by the DCCC to discuss the campaign process

and the experience of being an elected official with members of Congress before she

agreed.

FIGURE 10. MAP OF NEW MEXICO'S 2ND DISTRICT
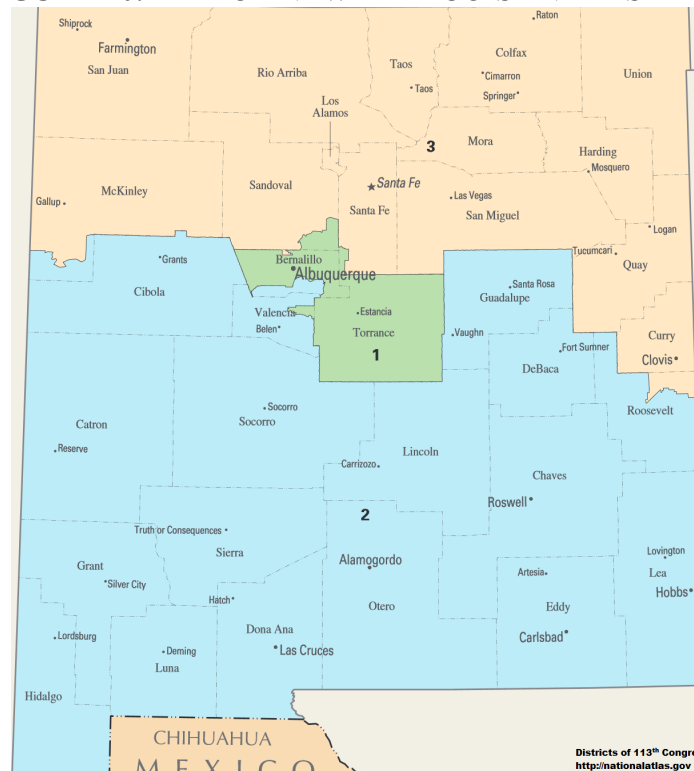
Reflecting on how voters received her, Lara discussed the size of the district she

was running in. District 2 covers 19 New Mexico counties and takes up about two-thirds

of the state. The district is the fifth-largest geographically in the nation and the largest

district that does not take up the whole state. Lara stated that her concerns with the

district was introducing herself to people who had never heard of her before and going

through the entirety of her budget getting to know constituents.[7] Lara knew coalition

building between women and Latinos would be necessary for her to win, and she also

acknowledged the difficulty of doing considering her race and gender.

"Where I live is the most conservative part and color absolutely made a difference. I was told to my face that they would not ever elect a Mexican to represent them. I saw different support in the southwestern support where there is a more dense Hispanic population, there was far more support. So, it was positive there and in the northern part. Although, to be completely honest and fair, I was being told about being a girl in the southeastern part of the state and the southwestern part of the state. The northern part of the district was more open to a Hispanic woman running. It varied depending on where I was."

Lara's discussion of coalition building also sparked comments about how Latinos and

women received her. When discussing local Latino organizations, Lara said she was

chastised for not being bilingual, although she did acknowledge support from national

Latino organizations. "From the national bend and fundraising we had great Hispanic

support, but the local ones they either loved me or hated me" (R. Lara, personal interview,

November 28,2017). Lara's experiences indicate that, for states unused to electing women

of color, and, in particular, Latinas[8], there may be national support or a desire for Latina

officials, but it will not necessarily equate to state wins.

The other portion of the strategic intersectionality argument is support for a

candidate based on gender. Again, Lara harkens to the positive financial and emotional

support from fellow women, but noted difficulties in garnering enough female supporters

within her district. Lara, an attorney, ran in a conservative district and was attacked for

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[7] Lara's campaign budget was 547,000.
[8] New Mexico has elected two other women: Michelle Lujan Grisham to Congress and
Susana Martinez as Governor.

both being a feminist and having been court-ordered to defend a man on domestic violence crimes. Lara came out against her opponent, Steve Pearce, for a paragraph in a book he authored stating that women should voluntarily submit to her husband (*The Washington Post*, 2014). She presented her opponent as a backwards thinker that did not support women. Pearce capitalized on this and claimed that Lara did not understand conservative values or hold the same values as the women in the district. Lara also noticed that although she was a Latina, the support she received from a national women's organization was minimal, unless it was convenient. The organization did not provide campaign staff or funding, but Lara was mentioned on their website. She recalls:

"A national women's organization that supports women running for office, I begged and pleaded for support. They always kept me on the second or third tier…During Hispanic Heritage month, they made the biggest hay about how I was one of their candidates and I was one of them that they supported. They blew that up over social media and out to donors."

Lara's discussion of the lack of financial support and/or endorsements from women and Latinos organizations demonstrates the difficulties of building organizational support from umbrella groups. This can lead to issues with fully staffing campaigns, having adequate campaign materials, and garnering enough media attention for the race. The inability to create a voting coalition among voters in the district highlights issues that Latinas confront when having attempted to gather support. "Certainly [some] only saw a Hispanic when they saw me, or only saw a girl, and some people saw Nancy Pelosi standing next to me. And so, people saw that and perceived that I was inexperienced or establishment" (R. Lara, personal interview, November 28,2017). Noting these issues, the role of stereotypes also added to the difficulty of creating a coalition. More specifically, Lara discussed the intersection of gender, race, and body image.

"I was overweight, and pairing that with a Latina there was perceptions that I was lazy. I work hard and work a lot. There were perceptions that I was lazy and overweight. I was told they would not elect a fat person to Congress. There was an issue with my appearance. Not only was I a brown girl, I was a fat brown girl. And people who meet me now don't believe that. I've now been told that if I was lighter I would have been a better candidate."

Based on the women and politics literature, it is known that stereotypes can affect a race, although the intensity such an affect is uncertain (Kahn, 1992; Jordan Brooks, 2013; Dolan, 2018). However, for Latina candidates, a group that has far fewer members of Congress and state-level positions, stereotypes may be more salient for voters compared with stereotypes solely based on gender.

Conclusion

The elite interviews showed two main themes. The first theme was the role of racial stereotypes. Each candidate experienced these stereotypes in different ways, with Saucedo Mercer's experience focusing on her speaking abilities and accent and Lara's focused on the color of her skin. Both candidates felt their ethnicity was brought up in negative ways. Similarly, the candidates highlighted coalition building and financial support as areas that were also affected by their ethnicity. Lara received adequate financial support, but had difficulty getting both Latinos and women to support her. In contrast, Saucedo Mercer felt that she was able to mobilize Latinos to support her campaign.

Another theme presented by both candidates was in the way they decided to run. In both races, others approached the candidates before they considering running for office. Saucedo Mercer stated that she was asked to run twice before discussing the idea of running with her family and friends. Lara was asked multiple times by party officials to run for office and did not discuss it with her family until after she was flown to Washington D.C. and met with other politicians to get a better understanding of what

campaigning would be like. Each candidate felt the need to discuss their decision not only with their immediate family, but also with their extended families.

The 2014 mid-term elections provide two unique case studies of Latinas running for Congress and losing. While both Gabriela Saucedo Mercer and Roxane Lara lost their elections, the insight that can be gained is deep. First, each woman belongs to a different party, and both have different levels of education. In terms of physical appearances, educational attainment, district makeup, and financial backing, their races could not have been more different; yet, both women were defeated. Saucedo Mercer and Lara noted differences in voter perception and stereotypes, although they discussed different types of stereotypes. The discussion of the lack of work ethic and how to respond it suggests that, at least in 2014, stereotypes associated with Latinos could have been an issue (Davila, 2008). If candidates that lost noticed these themes, were they noticeable to voters, and do such stereotypes translate to not voting for a specific group of candidates? The following chapter will examine results from an online experiment determining if known stereotypes and racial biases, as suggested by the two candidates, do effect voter decisions.

CHAPTER 5

VOTER PERCEPTION OF LATINA CANDIDATES

The experiment spanned two days. The goal of the experiment was to determine whether implicit bias plays a factor in candidate selection, specifically when dealing with Latina candidates. In other words, how does racial threat affect the electability of Latina candidates? To fully test this question, the results sections are broken down into three areas. First, I examined whether there was reason to believe there was anti-Latino sentiment within the experiment group. Next, I ran frequencies on the two tasks given to subjects to determine how subjects would vote on candidates. Lastly, I looked at various factors to determine how they affected vote choice in each race.

Latino Threat

Using the symbolic racism scale created by Kinder and Sears (1981), and adapted for purpose of studying symbolic racism toward Latinos by Espino (2014), I measured how subjects react toward three different areas. Subjects were asked the questions after[9] they completed the tasks so as to not prime them for the experiment. Responses were recorded on a scale from Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree. The variables examined were experiment group, party identification, ideology, age, gender, states with a native language bill and race. Race, gender and native language bill were binary variables. Party Identification, ideology, and age was scaled. Ideology was scaled from very liberal (1) to very conservative (7). Party Identification

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[9] For more information, see Chapter 3

was scaled from Strong Democrat (1) to Strong Republican (7). The age cohorts used were 18–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, and 65 and older. The first question asked was, "Do you think that most Latinos who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried, or do they really need the help?". An ordinal logistic regression was conducted to determine if the odds of observing each response category of Latino Welfare (LF) could be explained by the variation in experiment group, party identification, ideology, age, states with an English language bill (Native Language Bill), Gender, and Race.

The results of the model ($\chi^2(22) = 108.22$, $p < .001$) suggest that the observed effects of Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race on LF were unlikely to occur under the null hypothesis. McFadden's R-squared was calculated to examine the model's fit, in which values greater than .2 are indicative of models with excellent fit (Louviere, Hensher, & Swait, 2000). The McFadden R-squared value calculated for this model was 0.06. Since proportional odds were assumed, a single coefficient was estimated for each predictor. The model predicting support for Latino Welfare is an appropriate fit and can be used for analysis.

Ideology was shown to affect responses towards Latinos receiving welfare. The more a subject identified as conservative, the more likely they were to not support the idea that Latinos receiving government assistance did not really need the help. It is important to note that those on both sides of the ideological spectrum were likely to not support Latino Welfare, suggesting that subjects that identified as very liberal were still likely to feel that Latinos should support themselves without governmental assistance. Party identification, although it did not reach statistical significance, showed a similar pattern. This finding breaks from traditional party and ideological stance on support for social welfare programs, suggesting an aversion to this particular group using

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governmental assistance. Age, though it did not reach statistical significance, did have a negative coefficient, which indicates that those in higher age cohorts were less likely to support Latinos receiving governmental support. Despite lacking statistical significant, the coefficient is in the expected direction, thus supporting my hypothesis dealing with age. Identifying as a woman and/or as a minority led to being more supportive of Latinos receiving welfare.

Table 1. Ordinal Logistic Regression Results for Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race predicting Latino Welfare

Predictor	B	SE	χ^2	P	OR
(Intercept):1	-3.80	0.35	118.50	< .001	
(Intercept):2	-2.22	0.33	44.81	< .001	
(Intercept):3	-0.45	0.32	1.98	.159	
(Intercept):4	0.89	0.32	7.47	.006	
Strong Democrat	-0.41	0.27	2.37	.123	0.66
Democrat	0.13	0.27	0.22	.638	1.14
Moderate	-0.09	0.29	0.08	.771	0.92
Republican	0.08	0.37	0.05	.825	1.09
Strong Republican	-0.53	0.34	2.37	.123	0.59
Strong Liberal	-1.01	0.27	14.11	< .001	0.36
Weak Liberal	-1.39	0.33	18.16	< .001	0.25
Neither Liberal or Conservative	-1.86	0.31	35.02	< .001	0.16
Weak Conservative	-1.81	0.37	23.83	< .001	0.16
Strong Conservative	-1.45	0.41	12.40	< .001	0.23
18-24	-0.14	0.24	0.32	.570	0.87
25-34	-0.23	0.26	0.77	.379	0.80
35-44	-0.51	0.30	2.95	.086	0.60
45-64	-0.12	0.34	0.13	.719	0.89
65 and older	0.28	0.54	0.28	.600	1.33
Native Language Bill1	-0.10	0.15	0.43	.511	0.91
Gender1	0.22	0.15	2.36	.125	1.25
Race1	0.17	0.16	1.03	.310	1.18

N= 660 *moderate variables collapsed into one

The next question in the Latino threat model focuses on affirmative action. Respondents were asked, "Because of past discrimination, is it sometimes necessary to set up quotas for admission to college of minority group students?" An ordinal logistic regression was conducted to determine if the odds of observing each response category of Latino Affirmative Action (AF) could be explained by the variation in experiment group, party identification, ideology, age, states with an English language bill (Native Language Bill), gender, and race.

The results of the model ($\chi^2(22) = 223.82$, $p < .001$) suggest that the observed effects of Group, Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race on AF were unlikely to occur under the null hypothesis. McFadden's R-squared was calculated to examine the model's fit in which values greater than .2 are indicative of models with excellent fit (Louviere, Hensher, & Swait, 2000). The McFadden R-squared value calculated for this model was 0.11. Since proportional odds were assumed, a single coefficient was estimated for each predictor. The model predicting support for Latino Affirmative Action is an appropriate fit and can be used for analysis.

Focusing on subjects' reactions towards affirmative action, minorities and women were more likely to support the policy. Given that women and minorities are more likely be benefactors of affirmative action, their support of the policy is not surprising. As subjects identified as more conservative, they were more likely to oppose affirmative action. Closer affiliation with the Republican Party also increased the likelihood to oppose affirmative action. Those identifying as Republican-leaning were more likely to not support affirmative action policy while Democrats and those leaning Democratic-leaning were supportive. Similarly, the more conservative a subject self-identified, the more likely he or she were to oppose affirmative action policies.

Table 2. Ordinal Logistic Regression Results for Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race predicting support for Affirmative Action

Predictor	B	SE	χ^2	p	OR
(Intercept):1	-1.02	0.32	9.90	.002	
(Intercept):2	0.74	0.33	5.15	.023	
(Intercept):3	1.64	0.33	24.63	< .001	
(Intercept):4	2.77	0.34	66.57	< .001	
Strong Democrat	0.54	0.27	3.99	.046	1.71
Democrat	0.26	0.28	0.90	.343	1.30
Moderate	0.66	0.29	4.96	.026	1.93
Republican	0.80	0.37	4.67	.031	2.23
Strong Republican	0.99	0.34	8.38	.004	2.70
Strong Liberal	0.16	0.27	0.34	.558	1.17
Weak Liberal	0.66	0.32	4.18	.041	1.94
Neither Liberal or Conservative	1.35	0.31	18.78	< .001	3.86
Weak Conservative	1.87	0.37	25.38	< .001	6.49
Strong Conservative	1.97	0.42	22.38	< .001	7.15
18-24	-0.42	0.24	2.98	.084	0.66
25-34	-0.28	0.26	1.18	.277	0.75
35-44	-0.22	0.30	0.56	.453	0.80
45-64	0.18	0.34	0.27	.601	1.19
65 and older	-0.22	0.54	0.16	.687	0.80
Native Language Bill1	0.21	0.15	1.97	.161	1.23
Gender1	-0.44	0.15	8.74	.003	0.65
Race1	-0.67	0.16	16.73	< .001	0.51

N=660 *moderate variables collapsed into one

Finally, I examined subjects' reactions towards Latinos and immigration. Subjects were shown the following statement: "The Irish, Italians, Jews and many other ethnic groups immigrated to the United States legally. Latinos and Hispanics should do the same without any special favors." An ordinal logistic regression was conducted to determine if the odds of observing each response category of Latino Immigration (LI) could be explained by the variation in Group, Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race.

The results of the model ($\chi^2(22) = 238.10$, $p < .001$) suggest that the observed effects of Group, Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race on LI were unlikely to occur under the null hypothesis. McFadden's R-squared was calculated to examine the model's fit in which values greater than .2 are indicative of models with excellent fit (Louviere, Hensher, & Swait, 2000). The McFadden R-squared value calculated for this model was 0.12. Since proportional odds were assumed, a single coefficient was estimated for each predictor. The model predicting support for Latino Immigration is an appropriate fit and can be used for analysis.

Ideology was found to be statistically significant, with those identifying as moderate to extremely conservative more likely to agree with the statement that Latinos should immigrate without any special favors. Women and older cohorts were more likely to agree with the statement that Latinos should not receive any special favors when immigrating. With the exception of Independents that leaned towards identifying as Democrats, all party identification groups were more likely to agree with the statement. Finally, those living in states with a Native Language Bill were more likely to agree with the statement.

Table 3. Ordinal Logistic Regression Results for Party Identification, Ideology, Age, Native Language Bill, Gender, and Race predicting Latino Immigration

Predictor	B	SE	χ^2	p	OR
(Intercept):1	-3.50	0.35	101.42	< .001	
(Intercept):2	-1.94	0.33	33.69	< .001	
(Intercept):3	-1.02	0.33	9.73	.002	
(Intercept):4	0.10	0.32	0.09	.768	
Strong Democrat	-0.07	0.18	0.16	.689	0.93
Democrat	0.07	0.18	0.15	.703	1.07
Moderate	-0.35	0.26	1.75	.186	0.70
Republican	0.21	0.27	0.59	.443	1.23
Strong Republican	-0.49	0.29	2.78	.095	0.61
Strong Liberal	-0.50	0.37	1.83	.177	0.61
Weak Liberal	-0.85	0.34	6.04	.014	0.43

Neither Liberal or Conservative	-1.13	0.27	17.31	< .001	0.32
Weak Conservative	-1.71	0.33	27.13	< .001	0.18
Strong Conservative	-2.18	0.32	46.77	< .001	0.11
18-24	-2.68	0.38	49.77	< .001	0.07
25-34	-3.16	0.43	53.28	< .001	0.04
35-44	0.16	0.24	0.46	.499	1.18
45-64	0.26	0.26	1.02	.312	1.30
65 and older	-0.13	0.30	0.19	.662	0.88
Native Language Bill1	-0.15	0.34	0.19	.660	0.86
Gender1	0.35	0.54	0.42	.518	1.41
Race1	-0.03	0.15	0.05	.824	0.97

N=660 *moderate variables collapsed into one

The findings from the three questions focusing on Latino threat suggest that, when examining the relationship toward Whites and Latinos, threat is present, demonstrating support for H1, subjects will demonstrate perceptions of threat against Latinos. In particular it is important to note the level of significance across multiple variables. Support for H2 is also present, with younger age cohorts less likely to demonstrate perceived threat when discussing Latinos. This indicates that racial threat would be less of a factor in candidate electability in elections with higher voter turnout in younger age cohorts.

In addition, the stability of gender across the three questions raises interesting findings. The only question in which gender showed significance or a coefficient in support of Latinos was the question pertaining to affirmative action. I cannot discern what causes women to be more supportive of affirmative action; it could be their ability to benefit from the policy, which minimizes the threat level for women. There is preliminary support for H4, as we see women demonstrating varying levels of resentment toward Latinos. This analysis supports the idea that the Latino threat exists and is

measurable. The next three steps attempt to establish how subjects feel toward female candidates, whether stereotypes are perceived when discussing political candidates, and whether Latinas are disadvantaged in elections when running against candidates of various ethnicities and gender.

Gender Stereotypes

The next areas I studied were attitudes toward women holding public office. The questions examined whether men had a better temperament than women to run for office. Responses were recorded on a scale from Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree. The results of the model ($\chi^2(20) = 147.24$, $p <$ .001) suggested that the observed effects of PID, ID, Age, SLB, Gender, and Race on Men_Emotion were unlikely to occur under the null hypothesis. McFadden's R-squared was calculated to examine the model's fit in which values greater than .2 are indicative of models with excellent fit (Louviere, Hensher, & Swait, 2000). The McFadden R-squared value calculated for this model was 0.08. Since proportional odds were assumed, a single coefficient was estimated for each predictor. The model predicting support for Men_Emotion is an appropriate fit and can be used for analysis.

Subjects that identified as more conservative were more likely to believe that men were more emotionally equipped to handle political office than women. Although age did have a significant effect on beliefs of men and women holding office, it was observed only in the oldest age group—65 and older. Gender also had a significant impact, with women less likely to believe that men were better emotionally equipped to handle office. Party Identification did not have a significant effect on the model; however, subjects more closely identified with the Republican Party were more likely to agree with the

statement. Living in a state with a native language bill had no effect on beliefs about men

being more emotionally competent than women.

Table 4. Ordinal Logistic Regression Results for PID, ID, Age, SLB, Gender, and Race predicting Men_Emotion

Predictor	B	SE	χ^2	p	OR
(Intercept):1	-4.05	0.37	118.42	< .001	
(Intercept):2	-2.67	0.35	59.08	< .001	
(Intercept):3	-1.48	0.34	18.98	< .001	
(Intercept):4	-0.44	0.33	1.76	.184	
Strong Democrat	-0.05	0.28	0.03	.856	0.95
Democrat	0.32	0.29	1.18	.277	1.38
Moderate	-0.09	0.31	0.08	.771	0.91
Republican	-0.51	0.38	1.81	.178	0.60
Strong Republican	-0.86	0.35	6.10	.013	0.42
Strong Liberal	-0.97	0.31	9.97	.002	0.38
Weak Liberal	-1.30	0.36	13.05	< .001	0.27
Neither Liberal or Conservative	-1.64	0.34	22.69	< .001	0.19
Weak Conservative	-1.39	0.39	12.55	< .001	0.25
Strong Conservative	-2.33	0.44	28.62	< .001	0.10
18-24	0.03	0.25	0.02	.891	1.03
25-34	0.28	0.26	1.10	.294	1.32
35-44	0.23	0.30	0.55	.456	1.25
45-64	0.39	0.35	1.21	.271	1.47
65 and older	1.38	0.59	5.47	.019	3.99
Native Language Bill1	0.01	0.15	0.01	.932	1.01
Gender1	0.77	0.15	25.58	< .001	2.15
Race1	-0.30	0.17	3.30	.069	0.74

N=660 *moderate variables collapsed into one

Subjects next answered the question of whether women should run for political office. The results of the model ($\chi^2(20) = 101.49$, $p < .001$) suggested that the observed effects of PID, ID, Age, SLB, Gender, and Race on Women_Run were unlikely to occur under the null hypothesis. McFadden's R-squared was calculated to examine the model's fit in which values greater than .2 are indicative of models with excellent fit (Louviere, Hensher, & Swait, 2000). The McFadden R-squared value calculated for this model was 0.08. Since proportional odds were assumed, a single coefficient was estimated for each predictor. The model predicting support for Women_Run is an appropriate fit and can be used for analysis.

The results of this question yielded neutral responses, with only those identifying as extremely conservative more likely to say they disagree with the statement. An increase in age, gender, and living in a state with a native language bill were more likely to believe that women should run for political office. The responses to this question suggest a softening of beliefs on women running for office and that, by and large, respondents are more comfortable with women running for political office.

The final question posed to subjects focused on whether they believed men were better leaders than women. Ideology and gender had significant effects on the model. The more conservative a subject identified, the more likely the subject agreed that men were better leaders than women. In contrast, women were more likely to disagree with the statement. Although not statistically significant, those that identified as a minority were more likely to agree that men were better leaders than women. Additionally, living in a state with a native language bill also made it more likely for subjects to believe that women were not as strong of leaders as men.

Table 5. Ordinal Logistic Regression Results for PID, ID, Age, SLB, Gender, and Race predicting Men_Leaders

Predictor	B	SE	χ^2	P	OR
(Intercept):1	-4.33	0.41	113.06	< .001	
(Intercept):2	-3.12	0.38	67.14	< .001	
(Intercept):3	-1.82	0.37	24.33	< .001	
(Intercept):4	-0.89	0.36	5.94	.015	
Strong Democrat	-0.00	0.30	0.00	.999	1.00
Democrat	0.71	0.33	4.61	.032	2.04
Moderate	-0.12	0.32	0.13	.722	0.89
Republican	-0.13	0.39	0.12	.731	0.87
Strong Republican	-0.61	0.36	2.87	.090	0.54
Strong Liberal	-0.70	0.34	4.17	.041	0.50
Weak Liberal	-1.31	0.39	10.97	< .001	0.27
Neither Liberal or Conservative	-1.74	0.37	21.43	< .001	0.18
Weak Conservative	-1.54	0.42	13.49	< .001	0.21
Strong Conservative	-2.56	0.46	31.04	< .001	0.08
18-24	-0.21	0.26	0.64	.425	0.81
25-34	0.28	0.28	1.00	.317	1.33
35-44	0.22	0.32	0.45	.502	1.24
45-64	0.55	0.38	2.09	.149	1.73
65 and older	0.27	0.57	0.22	.635	1.31
Native Language Bill1	-0.06	0.16	0.17	.684	0.94
Gender1	0.85	0.16	28.31	< .001	2.33
Race1	-0.20	0.18	1.29	.257	0.82

N=660 *moderate variables collapsed into one

Assessing subjects' opinions on women as leaders we see clear indicators that ideology, age, partisan identification, and gender play roles in how female candidates are evaluated. A key takeaway is that, while gender effects are improving, they still exist.

Secondly, regarding the third question in the battery, perhaps the most significant indicators that need to be explored more closely are race and the presence of a native language bill. Both of these variables were found to have a negative effect on beliefs of whether men were better leaders than women. These findings prompt two observations. First, if Latinas are running in a state with a native language bill, a chance exists that they will face an increase in racial and gender stereotypes. If subjects that preside in states with a native language bill are more likely to view men as better leaders than women, the likelihood for supporting a female candidate in a district where a male is running decreases. With race also having a negative effect on the strength of female leaders, the ability for women of color to create strong coalitions within minority-majority districts increases, as males and minorities may not support a Latina candidate. In essence, this battery highlights how Latinas, and by extension women of color, can create enough support among minorities and women to carry a district.

The findings in this section highlight key issues brought up by both women interviewed in the previous chapter. Saucedo Mercer and Lara highlighted issues with their race and gender. Saucedo Mercer's knowledge and speaking abilities were questioned because of her accent. Lara's inability to garner support from both Latinos and women within the district caused her concern. Race and gender are both identifications linked to stereotypes and threat assessments that make it difficult to build district or statewide coalitions. This section also lends support and further justification to Casella's (2011) findings on Latinas having difficulty winning minority majority districts. Lastly, when looking at party recruitment, these findings on threat assessment suggest that issues may exist in regard to candidate selection. If party officials are not

convinced of a particular candidate's ability to win, or there are concerns about

qualifications or how a candidate fits in with the party's beliefs, the chances of a Latina,

or woman of color, being recruited become diminished.

After establishing threat assessment for Latinos and women, a discussion of the

tasks subjects completed sheds further light on issues facing Latinas. In the next section, I

discuss the results of applying general racial and gender stereotypes to candidate

biographies. As discussed in the Methods chapter, the stereotypes presented were strong

enough to resonate with subjects, but also believable cues that follow patterns of

candidate biographies.

Candidate Stereotypes

After establishing that racial and gender bias exists within this subject pool, I then

examined how these biases affect beliefs on political candidates. The first task within the

experiment involved subjects reading a short candidate biography and then shown two

different candidate photos. The race and gender of the candidate varied with each

biography. Biographies were created based on stereotypes that have been identified and

used in both the gender and politics (Kahn, 1992; Terksilden, 1993) and race and politics

(McIllwain and Caliendo, 2011; Hancock, 2004; Davila, 2008) literatures. These

stereotypes focus on candidate traits, as well as jobs and personal characteristics

associated with women and minority communities. By using both stereotypes, I tested

whether subjects were able to identify the interactive effect of race and gender. After

subjects read the biography, they were then shown two candidate images and had to

choose the candidate described in the biography.

At the macro level, subjects correctly assigned the candidate by race and gender to the stereotype four out of six times. The fifth time, the candidate's gender was picked up on as the important stereotype. This initial finding confirms that voters are able to apply racial stereotypes to candidates despite not knowing party identification, gender of the candidate in the biography, issue stances, or any of the candidates. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss how subjects' party identification, ideology, age, gender, race and whether they live in a state with a native language bill affected the likelihood of correctly assigning a candidate to the biography.

The Candidate A biography contained stereotypes of Latina candidates, focusing on languages spoken and immigration status of the candidate's mother. Images that were shown included a White male and a Latina. For the correct candidate, the most frequently observed category in party identification were subjects who labeled themselves as somewhat conservative ($n = 95$, 14%), while for the incorrect candidate, the most frequently observed categories were subjects who labeled themselves extremely liberal ($n = 46$, 7%). Those in the 25 to 34 age cohorts ($n = 193$, 29%) were more likely to identify the correct candidate. Subjects from a state with an English as the official language bill identified the correct candidate more frequently ($n = 290$, 44%) than subjects that lived in a state without an English as the official language bill. For the correct candidate, there was no difference regarding gender, each with an observed frequency of 232 (35%); however, women were more likely to choose the incorrect candidate ($n = 103$, 16%).

Table 6. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate A biography

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification		
Strong Democrat	89 (14%)	46 (7%)
Weak Democrat	80 (12%)	31 (5%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	65 (10%)	30 (5%)

Variable		
Moderate Leaning Republican	85 (13%)	33 (5%)
Weak Republican	44 (7%)	12 (2%)
Strong Republican	95 (14%)	39 (6%)
Age		
18-24	49 (7%)	25 (4%)
25-34	193 (29%)	73 (11%)
35-44	124 (19%)	42 (6%)
45-54	54 (8%)	33 (5%)
55-64	36 (5%)	16 (2%)
65 and older	8 (1%)	6 (1%)
Native Language Bill		
Present	290 (44%)	113 (17%)
Not Present	174 (26%)	82 (12%)
Gender		
Male	232 (35%)	92 (14%)
Female	232 (35%)	103 (16%)

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

Candidate B's biography focused on stereotypes of a Black male. The biography discussed how basketball was his/her ticket to an improved life after living in extreme poverty. Subjects were shown images of a white female candidate and a Black male candidate. Subjects identifying themselves as strong Democrats and weak Republicans correctly assigned the biography to the Black male candidate (17%), while Independents incorrectly assigned the stereotype ($n = 22$, 3%). Subjects within the age cohort of 25 to 34 correctly chose the candidate the most frequently ($n = 220$, 33%). With this stereotype, women assigned the correct candidate more frequently ($n = 288$, 44%), while men assigned the incorrect candidate at a higher rate ($n = 60$, 9%). For the correct candidate, the most frequently observed category of Race was White ($n = 379$, 58%).

Table 7. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate B biography

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification		
Strong Democrat	115 (17%)	20 (3%)
Weak Democrat	98 (15%)	13 (2%)

Moderate leaning Democrat	77 (12%)	18 (3%)
Moderate Leaning Republican	96 (15%)	22 (3%)
Weak Republican	42 (6%)	14 (2%)
Strong Republican	115 (17%)	19 (3%)
Age	9 (1%)	1 (0%)
18-24		
25-34	64 (10%)	10 (2%)
35-44	220 (33%)	46 (7%)
45-54	137 (21%)	29 (4%)
55-64	75 (11%)	12 (2%)
65 and older	46 (7%)	6 (1%)
Native Language Bill	10 (2%)	4 (1%)
Present		
Not Present	333 (51%)	70 (11%)
Gender	219 (33%)	37 (6%)
Male		
Female	264 (40%)	60 (9%)
Party Identification	288 (44%)	47 (7%)
Strong Democrat		
Weak Democrat	379 (58%)	79 (12%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	167 (26%)	28 (4%)

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

The Candidate C biography used stereotypes typically associated with Black women. Subjects were shown a Black woman and a Latina. The focus of the biography was a candidate whose mother struggled to provide for the candidate and his/her five siblings. The candidate had a juvenile arrest record and went to community college. Those who identified as a Strong Democrat were the most frequently observed category ($n = 82$, 12%) for the correct candidate, while Strong Republicans were the most frequently observed category ($n = 59$, 9%) that selected incorrectly. Subjects from states with English as the official language were the most frequently observed category of Native Language Bill ($n = 235$, 36%) that correctly chose the Black female candidate. Women were also the most frequently observed category of gender ($n = 191$, 29) to select the Black female candidate.

Table 8. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate C biography

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification		
Strong Democrat	115 (17%)	20 (3%)
Weak Democrat	98 (15%)	13 (2%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	77 (12%)	18 (3%)
Moderate Leaning Republican	96 (15%)	22 (3%)
Weak Republican	42 (6%)	14 (2%)
Strong Republican	115 (17%)	19 (3%)
Age	9 (1%)	1 (0%)
18-24		
25-34	64 (10%)	10 (2%)
35-44	220 (33%)	46 (7%)
45-54	137 (21%)	29 (4%)
55-64	75 (11%)	12 (2%)
65 and older	46 (7%)	6 (1%)
Native Language Bill	10 (2%)	4 (1%)
Present		
Not Present	333 (51%)	70 (11%)
Gender	219 (33%)	37 (6%)
Male		
Female	264 (40%)	60 (9%)
Party Identification	288 (44%)	47 (7%)
Strong Democrat		
Weak Democrat	379 (58%)	79 (12%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	167 (26%)	28 (4%)

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

The Candidate D biography highlighted stereotypes for a Latino male. The biography discussed parents that worked as a gardener and housekeeper and the candidate was the first in the family to obtain a college degree. Strong Republicans chose the correct candidate 6 ($n = 64$, 10%), while Strong Democrats were more likely to choose the incorrect candidate ($n = 73$, 11%). Men most frequently observed category of Gender was 0 ($n = 149$, 23%). For 1, the most frequently observed category of Gender was 1 ($n =$

194, 29%). For 0, the most frequently observed category of Race was 0 ($n = 213$, 33%).

For 1, the most frequently observed category of Race was 0 ($n = 245$, 38%).

Table 9. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate C

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification		
Strong Democrat	82 (12%)	53 (8%)
Weak Democrat	67 (10%)	44 (7%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	55 (8%)	40 (6%)
Moderate Leaning Republican	67 (10%)	51 (8%)
Weak Republican	30 (5%)	26 (4%)
Strong Republican	75 (11%)	59 (9%)
Age		
18-24	5 (1%)	5 (1%)
25-34	35 (5%)	39 (6%)
35-44	157 (24%)	109 (17%)
45-54	106 (16%)	60 (9%)
55-64	48 (7%)	39 (6%)
65 and older	23 (3%)	29 (4%)
Native Language Bill	12 (2%)	2 (0%)
Present		
Not Present	235 (36%)	168 (25%)
Gender	146 (22%)	110 (17%)
Male		
Female	190 (29%)	134 (20%)
Party Identification	191 (29%)	144 (22%)
Strong Democrat		
Weak Democrat	260 (40%)	198 (30%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	119 (18%)	76 (12%)

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

The Candidate E biography consisted of stereotypes for a White male candidate. The biography focused on generations of Georgetown law graduates from the candidate's family with children who attend Ivy League universities. Strong Democrats ($n = 73$, 11%) assigned the correct candidate to the biography correctly while Strong Republicans chose the incorrect candidate ($n = 64$, 10). Women were more likely to assign the correct

candidate compared to males (n=175, 27%). Those that were not White were also more likely to assign the correct candidate ($n = 245$, 38%). Table 10 presents frequencies and percentages.

Table 10. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate D

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification	73 (11%)	62 (9%)
Strong Democrat	68 (10%)	43 (7%)
Weak Democrat	49 (7%)	46 (7%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	72 (11%)	46 (7%)
Moderate Leaning Republican	33 (5%)	23 (3%)
Weak Republican	70 (11%)	64 (10%)
Strong Republican	4 (1%)	6 (1%)
Age		
18-24	46 (7%)	28 (4%)
25-34	155 (24%)	111 (17%)
35-44	85 (13%)	81 (12%)
45-54	44 (7%)	43 (7%)
55-64	29 (4%)	23 (3%)
65 and older	10 (2%)	4 (1%)
Native Language Bill		
Present	224 (34%)	179 (27%)
Not Present	145 (22%)	111 (17%)
Gender		
Male	175 (27%)	149 (23%)
Female	194 (29%)	141 (21%)
Race		
Male	245 (38%)	213 (33%)
Female	120 (18%)	75 (11%)

The Candidate F biography was created with stereotypes associated with Asian males. The biography discussed the candidate going to medical school at a prestigious university. This is the biography that was not assigned correctly by the majority of subjects. Strong Republicans ($n = 51$, 8%). selected the incorrect candidate more often than Strong Democrats ($n = 91$, 14%) who chose the correct candidate more often. Men

($n = 125$, 19%) chose the incorrect candidate more often than women. Frequencies and

percentages are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate E

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification		
Strong Democrat	73 (11%)	62 (9%)
Weak Democrat	68 (10%)	43 (7%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	49 (7%)	46 (7%)
Moderate Leaning Republican	72 (11%)	46 (7%)
Weak Republican	33 (5%)	23 (3%)
Strong Republican	70 (11%)	64 (10%)
Age		
18-24	4 (1%)	6 (1%)
25-34	46 (7%)	28 (4%)
35-44	155 (24%)	111 (17%)
45-54	85 (13%)	81 (12%)
55-64	44 (7%)	43 (7%)
65 and older	29 (4%)	23 (3%)
Native Language Bill		
Present	10 (2%)	4 (1%)
Not Present	224 (34%)	179 (27%)
Gender		
Male	145 (22%)	111 (17%)
Female	175 (27%)	149 (23%)
Race		
White	213 (33%)	141 (21%)
Other	245 (38%)	194 (29%)

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

The frequencies demonstrate that the majority of the sample was able to correctly assign

the biography based on stereotypes. This is consistent with the literature on race and

campaigns. In particular, the findings are consistent with the 2002 study by Valentino and

Hutchings (2002) that highlights White respondents' ability to pick up on racial cues in

campaign advertisements, as well as with McIllwain and Caliendo's (2011) work that

highlights respondents' abilities to pick up racial cues in newspaper coverage. Support

for H4 is also present. Women were able to correctly assign the candidate stereotypes

more often than their male counterparts. This brings into question women's softening of

race proposed by Bejarano (2014), as it appears that they are more cognizant of it than

their male counterparts.

Table 12. Frequency Table for Nominal and Ordinal Variables for Candidate F

Variable	Correct Candidate	Incorrect Candidate
Party Identification		
Strong Democrat	91 (14%)	44 (7%)
Weak Democrat	76 (12%)	35 (5%)
Moderate leaning Democrat	61 (9%)	34 (5%)
Moderate Leaning Republican	68 (10%)	50 (8%)
Weak Republican	35 (5%)	21 (3%)
Strong Republican	83 (13%)	51 (8%)
Age		
18-24	45 (7%)	29 (4%)
25-34	173 (26%)	93 (14%)
35-44	111 (17%)	55 (8%)
45-54	51 (8%)	36 (5%)
55-64	33 (5%)	19 (3%)
65 and older	33 (5%)	19 (3%)
Native Language Bill		
Present	91 (14%)	147 (22%)
Not Present	76 (12%)	91 (14%)
Gender		
Male	68 (10%)	125 (19%)

Female	35 (5%)	113 (17%)
Race		
White	83 (13%)	7 (1%)
Other	168 (26%)	67 (10%)

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

Candidate Selection

The next task that subjects were asked to complete focused on candidate selection. Each subject was shown pictures of a Latina candidate paired with a candidate varying their race and gender. Subjects were assigned to groups that saw the images for either .5 seconds, .75 seconds, or the control group that had unlimited time. Time intervals were selected in order to capture system 1 processing (hot cognition). The longer a subject was exposed to images the increased likelihood that they had moved from system 1 to system II processing, meaning their reactions were more deliberate and less likely to show implicit bias. Figure 11 shows the results of candidate selection. Of the seven races, Latinas were chosen against Black female candidates and white women. They were, however, not selected when paired with white men, or Asian men and women. Latinas were selected against Black male and Latino candidates; however, it is important to note that the selections were extremely close, each race only separated by 10 selections. This suggests that racial threat is nullified and another identifier would be needed to determine candidate choice.

FIGURE 11. CANDIDATE SELECTION RESULTS
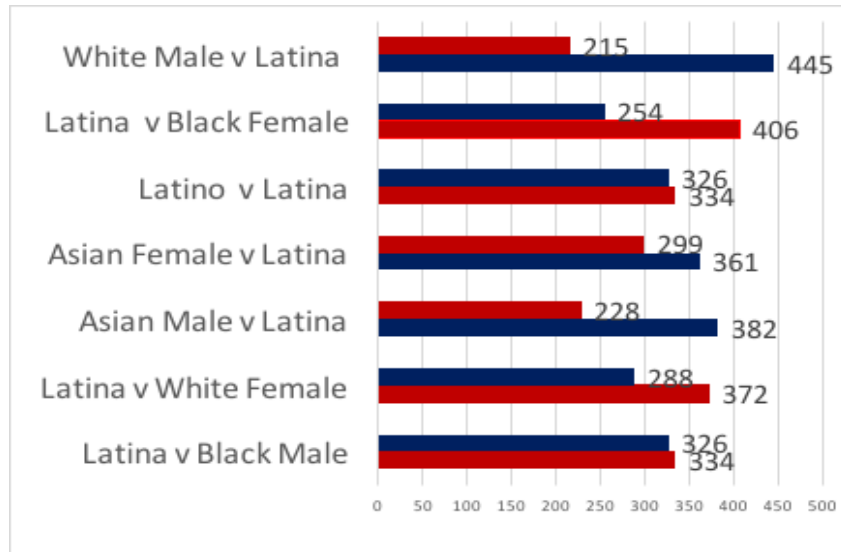
In order to test how any demographic variables effected respondent choice, A four-step hierarchical linear regression was conducted with all candidate pairings as the dependent variable. A hierarchical model allows for each variable to be measured as a nested variable and then as a predictor in the overall model. For Step 1, Group was entered as a predictor variable into the model. After significance was established for Group, Ideology was added as a predictor variable into the model at Step 2. Step 3 incorporated Native Language Bill as a variable along with group and ideology. Age, Gender, and Race were added as predictor variables into the model at Step 4 along with Native Language Bill, ideology and group. This model allowed for an understanding of how each individual variable affected candidate selection within each candidate pairing, allowing for comparisons within models as well as across ethnic and gender groups. The results below discuss the effects of each variable within the model.

Prior to conducting the analysis, the assumptions of normality of residuals, homoscedasticity (equal variance) of residuals, absence of multicollinearity, and the lack

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of outliers were examined. For each step in the hierarchical regression, a Q-Q scatterplot was used to assess normality, homoscedasticity was assessed with a residuals scatterplot, Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) were calculated to check for multicollinearity, and outliers were evaluated using a studentized residuals plot. All tests were ran on each pairing presented below and model fit was appropriate.

Group

The first step in all of the models was to examine whether or not being exposed to more time would affect candidate selection. The one race where "Group" had a statistically significant effect on candidate choice was LATINA VS ASIAN WOMAN. Table 13 shows subjects in groups 2(.10) and 3 (.06) were more likely to select the Latina candidate rather than the Asian woman candidate. This suggests that when presented with the option of these two minority females, the longer a subject had to process the choices, rationalizing of candidate choice took place and the Latina candidate was selected more often. While this was the only instance in which there was statistical significance was achieved, the pattern is held throughout all models. The more time that subjects had to examine candidates, the more likely they were to change votes. Ultimately, what this suggests for Latinas that run against Latinos and Black men is that their ability to win in these races are limited, and would suggest that midterm elections, where voter lower turnout is likely, would be beneficial. This finding also provides, in part, insight as to why Gabriela Saucedo Mercer was able to close the vote gap to 12,000 versus Raul Grijalva after the district had been redrawn to lean towards Democrats.

Table 13 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting
LATINA VS ASIAN WOMAN

Variable	B	SE	β	T	P

Step 1

(Intercept)	0.39	0.03		11.58	< .001
Group2	0.10	0.05	0.09	2.05	.040
Group3	0.06	0.05	0.06	1.25	.211

Step 2

(Intercept)	0.38	0.06		6.25	< .001
Group2	0.10	0.05	0.09	2.06	.040
Group3	0.06	0.05	0.06	1.23	.220
ID2	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.12	.904
ID3	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.43	.666
ID4	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.33	.740
ID5	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	-0.13	.900
ID7	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.11	.912

Step 3

(Intercept)	0.40	0.06		6.59	< .001
Group2	0.11	0.05	0.11	2.30	.022
Group3	0.08	0.05	0.07	1.56	.120
ID2	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.11	.910
ID3	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.39	.698
ID4	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.34	.738
ID5	-0.00	0.07	-0.00	-0.04	.968
ID7	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.14	.885
Native Language Bill1	-0.09	0.04	-0.09	-2.32	.021

Step 4

(Intercept)	0.34	0.09		3.93	< .001
Group2	0.11	0.05	0.11	2.34	.019
Group3	0.07	0.05	0.06	1.38	.170
ID2	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.29	.771
ID3	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.57	.567
ID4	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.60	.547
ID5	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.04	.971
ID7	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.14	.885
Age2	0.07	0.07	0.07	1.05	.294
Age3	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.95	.344
Age4	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.50	.617
Age5	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.01	.991
Age6	-0.02	0.15	-0.00	-0.10	.917
Native Language Bill1	-0.10	0.04	-0.10	-2.41	.016
Gender1	0.07	0.04	0.07	1.85	.065

Race1	-0.10	0.04	-0.09	-2.19	.029

Races where Latinas win

In two models, Latina candidates were selected more often than White and Black women. Tables 14 and 15 show these results. When ran against white women, Ideology (-.13), the presences of a Native Language Bill (-.04), and Gender (-.03) effected the likelihood of voting for the Latina candidate. Age and Race did not have a negative effect on selecting Latina candidates. As time, increased subjects were more likely to select the White woman candidate. This suggests that females and more conservative voters were more likely to select the white female candidate. In addition, the White female candidate being likely to win in states where a bill to have English as the official language suggests that winning in these states will be increasingly difficult for Latina candidates.

Table 14 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting
LATINA VS WHITE WOMAN

Variable	B	SE	β	t	P
Step 1					
(Intercept)	0.55	0.03		16.31	< .001
Group2	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.56	.575
Group3	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.38	.701
Step 2					
(Intercept)	0.62	0.06		10.32	< .001
Group2	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.60	.551
Group3	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.38	.707
ID2	-0.11	0.07	-0.09	-1.54	.123
ID3	-0.10	0.08	-0.07	-1.33	.185
ID4	-0.05	0.07	-0.05	-0.78	.434
ID5	-0.07	0.07	-0.06	-1.00	.317
ID7	-0.13	0.09	-0.08	-1.56	.119
Step 3					
(Intercept)	0.63	0.06		10.30	< .001
Group2	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.69	.492

Group3	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.50	.618
ID2	-0.11	0.07	-0.09	-1.55	.123
ID3	-0.10	0.08	-0.07	-1.34	.180
ID4	-0.05	0.07	-0.05	-0.78	.435
ID5	-0.07	0.07	-0.05	-0.97	.334
ID7	-0.13	0.09	-0.08	-1.55	.122
ID99	-0.03	0.23	-0.01	-0.15	.884
Native Language Bill1	-0.04	0.04	-0.03	-0.87	.386
Step 4					
(Intercept)	0.62	0.09		7.15	< .001
Group2	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.87	.385
Group3	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.55	.580
ID2	-0.12	0.07	-0.10	-1.69	.092
ID3	-0.11	0.08	-0.07	-1.36	.174
ID4	-0.06	0.07	-0.05	-0.87	.383
ID5	-0.08	0.07	-0.06	-1.11	.267
ID7	-0.13	0.09	-0.07	-1.50	.133
ID99	-0.06	0.23	-0.01	-0.24	.811
Age2	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.44	.657
Age3	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.61	.540
Age4	-0.01	0.08	-0.01	-0.14	.888
Age5	0.11	0.09	0.06	1.22	.221
Age6	0.13	0.15	0.04	0.91	.366
Native Language Bill1	-0.04	0.04	-0.04	-0.88	.378
Gender1	-0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.82	.413
Race1	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.03	.977

In the model where a Latina was facing a Black woman, Group (-.06, -.08) Native

Language Bill (-.01), Age (-.03) and Race (-.04) were negatively associated with voting

for the Latina candidate. Gender (.04), and Ideology (.01) did not negatively affect

Latinas. Acknowledging the small sample size in Race leading to the category becoming

a binary category, the findings that race negatively affected the Latina candidate need to be assessed further. The presence of a native language bill negatively effecting Latinas could be a response of perceived greater threat from a Latina woman than a Black woman. When looking at the Group variable, we see that being exposed to the images longer resulted in an increase in the likelihood of the Black woman being selected over the Latina. This finding suggests that without Party Identification or issue information, Black women would be chosen over Latinas. This finding partially explains the differences in the number of Black women and Latinas serving in Congress. Voters may be more comfortable with the idea of a Black woman in Congress.

Table 15 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting
LATINA VS BLACK WOMAN

Variable	B	SE	B	t	P
Step 1					
(Intercept)	0.41	0.03		12.53	< .001
Group2	-0.06	0.05	-0.06	-1.31	.190
Group3	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	-1.69	.091
Step 2					
(Intercept)	0.41	0.06		7.06	< .001
Group2	-0.06	0.05	-0.06	-1.31	.190
Group3	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	-1.71	.088
ID2	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.58	.564
ID3	-0.05	0.07	-0.04	-0.71	.477
ID4	-0.03	0.06	-0.03	-0.44	.659
ID5	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.14	.889
ID7	0.02	0.08	0.01	0.26	.795
Step 3					
(Intercept)	0.41	0.06		6.98	< .001
Group2	-0.06	0.05	-0.06	-1.27	.204
Group3	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	-1.65	.100
ID2	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.58	.565
ID3	-0.05	0.07	-0.04	-0.72	.474
ID4	-0.03	0.06	-0.03	-0.44	.659
ID5	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.15	.881
ID7	0.02	0.08	0.01	0.26	.792

Native Language Bill1	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	-0.28	.782
Step 4					
(Intercept)	0.43	0.08		5.20	< .001
Group2	-0.07	0.05	-0.06	-1.40	.161
Group3	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	-1.68	.094
ID2	0.05	0.07	0.05	0.80	.423
ID3	-0.05	0.07	-0.04	-0.69	.489
ID4	-0.02	0.07	-0.02	-0.30	.764
ID5	0.02	0.07	0.01	0.27	.790
ID7	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.16	.875
ID99	-0.16	0.22	-0.03	-0.72	.475
Age2	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	-0.26	.796
Age3	-0.07	0.07	-0.06	-1.04	.300
Age4	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.50	.615
Age5	-0.13	0.09	-0.07	-1.49	.136
Age6	-0.03	0.14	-0.01	-0.22	.827
Native Language Bill1	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	-0.34	.735
Gender1	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.97	.334
Race1	-0.04	0.04	-0.03	-0.83	.409

Races where Latinas narrowly win

Latina candidates won in races against Latinos and Black men. To qualify as a narrow win, these races were decided by ten subjects. Interestingly, the count was the exact same for each race. This suggests almost an indecisiveness of where threat is greatly perceived. The findings below perfectly highlight potential issues with the role of race and gender. In these two pairings, I am able to capture the perceptions of gender and race when looking at minority candidates. Below I will discuss the results for each pairing and discuss indirect inferences that are provided.

Against the Black male candidate Ideology (-.09), Group (-.06), Native Language Bill (-.03) and Gender (-.03) all negatively affected votes for the Latina candidate. An increase in conservatism suggests a likelihood to select the Black male candidate. Longer exposure to images also increased the likelihood to support the Black male candidate. Age and race did not negatively affect Latina candidates. With gender negatively affecting Latina candidates against both Black males and White females, and race negatively affecting Latinas when running against White men and Black women, a racial threat/gender threat is at play when Latinas run against these two groups. If that is the case the ability to win districts where the opponents are Black or white suggest unlikely victories if voter turnout is high. In addition, there comes into question how Latinas are expected to build a voting coalition in these scenarios.

Table 16 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting BLACK MALE V LATINA

Variable	B	SE	β	t	P
Step 1					
(Intercept)	0.52	0.03		15.26	< .001
Group2	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.43	.668
Group3	-0.06	0.05	-0.06	-1.34	.182
Step 2					
(Intercept)	0.56	0.06		9.24	< .001
Group2	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.45	.654
Group3	-0.07	0.05	-0.06	-1.38	.167
ID2	-0.04	0.07	-0.04	-0.64	.521
ID3	-0.10	0.08	-0.07	-1.32	.187
ID4	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	-0.21	.834
ID5	-0.04	0.07	-0.03	-0.61	.545
ID7	-0.09	0.09	-0.05	-1.03	.304
ID99	-0.13	0.23	-0.02	-0.58	.564
Step 3					
(Intercept)	0.57	0.06		9.20	< .001
Group2	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.38	.707
Group3	-0.06	0.05	-0.06	-1.27	.203

ID2	-0.04	0.07	-0.04	-0.64	.520
ID3	-0.10	0.08	-0.07	-1.33	.183
ID4	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	-0.21	.835
ID5	-0.04	0.07	-0.03	-0.58	.562
ID7	-0.09	0.09	-0.05	-1.02	.309
Native Language Bill1	-0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.65	.519
Step 4					
(Intercept)	0.50	0.09		5.82	< .001
Group2	-0.02	0.05	-0.01	-0.31	.758
Group3	-0.06	0.05	-0.05	-1.15	.250
ID2	-0.05	0.07	-0.04	-0.71	.478
ID3	-0.12	0.08	-0.08	-1.52	.129
ID4	-0.03	0.07	-0.03	-0.43	.668
ID5	-0.05	0.07	-0.04	-0.74	.458
ID7	-0.11	0.09	-0.06	-1.26	.208
Age2	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.96	.339
Age3	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.48	.630
Age4	0.14	0.08	0.09	1.66	.097
Age5	0.14	0.09	0.07	1.48	.140
Age6	0.17	0.15	0.05	1.14	.256
Native Language Bill1	-0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.77	.444
Gender1	-0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.76	.447
Race1	0.07	0.04	0.07	1.67	.095

Table 16 shows the results for a race between Latinos and Latinas. Gender (-.03) did not factor in voting against a Latina, suggesting that women would choose the female candidate. However, Race (.07) did play a factor in voting against the Latina candidate. This finding suggests that the softening of gender is capable, however a coalition supported by race and gender is proven to be a potential issue. The Age (.17) of a subject also negatively affected the likelihood to support the Latina candidate in a negative way.

As subjects got older they were more likely to support the Latino candidate. This finding

suggests that gender may be softened, however when adding age into the model, gender

is not softened for older age cohorts. In addition, the longer subjects were exposed to the

images the more likely they were to select the Latino candidate. Ideology (-.11) and

presence of a Native Language Bill (-.03) did not negatively affect voting for the Latina

candidate.

Table 17 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting
LATINA VS LATINO

Variable	B	SE	β	t	P
Step 1					
(Intercept)	0.50	0.03		14.84	< .001
Group2	-0.03	0.05	-0.03	-0.73	.468
Group3	-0.01	0.05	-0.01	-0.19	.849
Step 2					
(Intercept)	0.40	0.06		6.58	< .001
Group2	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	-0.76	.446
Group3	-0.00	0.05	-0.00	-0.00	.998
ID2	0.05	0.07	0.04	0.78	.433
ID3	0.10	0.08	0.07	1.35	.178
ID4	0.14	0.07	0.12	2.04	.042
ID5	0.16	0.07	0.12	2.21	.028
ID7	0.17	0.09	0.09	1.92	.055
Step 3					
(Intercept)	0.39	0.06		6.41	< .001
Group2	-0.04	0.05	-0.04	-0.79	.430
Group3	-0.00	0.05	-0.00	-0.05	.964
ID2	0.05	0.07	0.04	0.79	.433
ID3	0.10	0.08	0.07	1.35	.177
ID4	0.14	0.07	0.12	2.04	.042
ID5	0.16	0.07	0.12	2.20	.028
ID7	0.17	0.09	0.09	1.92	.056
Native Language Bill1	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.29	.769
Step 4					
(Intercept)	0.46	0.09		5.27	< .001

Group2	-0.05	0.05	-0.05	-1.03	.305
Group3	-0.00	0.05	-0.00	-0.04	.968
ID2	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.99	.323
ID3	0.11	0.08	0.08	1.47	.141
ID4	0.15	0.07	0.13	2.17	.030
ID5	0.17	0.07	0.13	2.32	.021
ID7	0.18	0.09	0.10	2.06	.040
Age2	-0.05	0.07	-0.05	-0.71	.476
Age3	-0.08	0.07	-0.07	-1.08	.281
Age4	-0.05	0.08	-0.03	-0.56	.573
Age5	-0.12	0.09	-0.06	-1.26	.207
Age6	-0.36	0.15	-0.10	-2.42	.016
Native Language Bill1	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.38	.703
Gender1	-0.00	0.04	-0.00	-0.11	.911
Race1	-0.02	0.04	-0.02	-0.42	.673

Races where Latinas lose

Latinas lost to both Asian males and females, suggesting that when running

against this racial group, winning districts will be difficult. Table 17 shows the presence

of a Native Language Bill (-.04)l and Race (-.03) negatively affected the likelihood of

voting for the Latina candidate. Ideology, age and gender did not negatively affect Latina

candidates. As subjects were exposed to images longer they were more likely to select the

Asian male and female candidates. The reaction towards Latinas compared to male and

female Asian opponents is an interesting finding and should be further explored. It

follows that threat is not as highly perceived threat from Asian males and females as it is

from Latinos, or that it has been softened by stereotypes that face the Asian community

compared to stereotypes that are placed on Latinos.

Table 18 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting ASIAN MALE VS LATINA

Variable	B	SE	β	t	P
Step 1					
(Intercept)	0.59	0.03		17.58	< .001
Group2	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.40	.691
Group3	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	-0.77	.441
Step 2					
(Intercept)	0.55	0.06		9.12	< .001
Group2	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.42	.675
Group3	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	-0.74	.461
ID2	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.90	.370
ID3	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.86	.388
ID4	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.18	.857
ID5	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.60	.547
ID7	0.11	0.09	0.06	1.29	.198
Step 3					
(Intercept)	0.56	0.06		9.16	< .001
Group2	-0.01	0.05	-0.01	-0.31	.759
Group3	-0.03	0.05	-0.03	-0.58	.563
ID2	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.89	.372
ID3	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.84	.399
ID4	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.18	.856
ID5	0.05	0.07	0.04	0.64	.522
ID7	0.11	0.09	0.06	1.30	.192
Native Language Bill1	-0.04	0.04	-0.04	-1.03	.305
Step 4					
(Intercept)	0.51	0.09		5.95	< .001
Group2	-0.01	0.05	-0.01	-0.29	.769
Group3	-0.03	0.05	-0.03	-0.61	.540
ID2	0.07	0.07	0.06	1.01	.312
ID3	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.86	.391
ID4	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.26	.794
ID5	0.05	0.07	0.04	0.65	.519
ID7	0.10	0.09	0.06	1.19	.236
Age2	0.05	0.07	0.05	0.78	.438
Age3	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.19	.848
Age4	0.07	0.08	0.05	0.90	.371
Age5	0.02	0.09	0.01	0.22	.826

Age6	0.04	0.15	0.01	0.27	.783
Native Language Bill1	-0.05	0.04	-0.05	-1.14	.256
Gender1	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.86	.390
Race1	-0.03	0.04	-0.02	-0.57	.567

Table 19 shows the results of a race of a Latina versus a White male. Ideology (-.02) and Gender (-.06) had a negative effect on voting for the Latina candidate. This is the only race that the presence of a Native Language Bill did not have a negative effect on the race. I am assuming that the category did not have a negative coefficient because of the phenotype of the Latina that was shown in the image. The neutrality of race in this political contest allowed for subjects to focus on gender, in which case ideology and gender played a negative role in electing the Latina candidate. The explanation for this falls on the assumption that was presented in hypothesis 3 and bore out in the candidate stereotype potion of the experiment, and that is that women, in specific circumstances, can pick up on racial cues easier than their male counterparts.

Table 19 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables predicting
LATINA VS WHITE MALE

Variable	B	SE	β	t	P
Step 1					
(Intercept)	0.64	0.03		20.40	< .001
Group2	0.07	0.04	0.07	1.48	.139
Group3	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.92	.357
Step 2					
(Intercept)	0.67	0.06		11.86	< .001
Group2	0.07	0.05	0.08	1.66	.098
Group3	0.05	0.04	0.05	1.06	.291
ID2	-0.08	0.06	-0.07	-1.26	.209
ID3	-0.09	0.07	-0.07	-1.29	.199
ID4	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.09	.926
ID5	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	-0.17	.863

ID7	-0.02	0.08	-0.01	-0.29	.768
Step 3					
(Intercept)	0.67	0.06		11.60	< .001
Group2	0.07	0.05	0.07	1.62	.106
Group3	0.05	0.05	0.05	1.00	.316
ID2	-0.08	0.06	-0.07	-1.26	.210
ID3	-0.09	0.07	-0.07	-1.28	.201
ID4	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.09	.926
ID5	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	-0.18	.856
ID7	-0.02	0.08	-0.01	-0.30	.765
Native Language Bill1	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.28	.781
Step 4					
(Intercept)	0.65	0.08		8.10	< .001
Group2	0.08	0.05	0.08	1.70	.089
Group3	0.05	0.05	0.05	1.14	.254
ID2	-0.09	0.06	-0.08	-1.42	.156
ID3	-0.10	0.07	-0.07	-1.37	.170
ID4	-0.01	0.06	-0.01	-0.12	.905
ID5	-0.02	0.07	-0.02	-0.32	.749
ID7	-0.03	0.08	-0.02	-0.38	.706
Age2	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.39	.697
Age3	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.66	.507
Age4	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.36	.716
Age5	0.06	0.09	0.03	0.70	.486
Age6	0.06	0.14	0.02	0.45	.650
Native Language Bill1	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.34	.737
Gender1	-0.06	0.04	-0.06	-1.57	.116
Race1	0.05	0.04	0.05	1.22	.224

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter I examined three tasks subjects completed in order to

determine if implicit bias against Latinas existed. The first section established

whether the subjects demonstrated levels of Latino and gender resentment. The results

indicated biases toward both groups based on ideology, gender, race, age, and a native language bill. The second task looked at whether subjects could correctly identify racial and gender stereotypes within a biography and assign the candidate that best fit those stereotypes. Finally, subjects were asked to look at two images of political candidates and choose who they would rather represent them in Congress. For the tasks using images, subjects were exposed to images for varying lengths of time in order to determine if system I processing was affecting choice.

Hypothesis 1 was simply establishing whether racial resentment existed towards Latinos. By using the symbolic racism scale, this hypothesis was supported. Noted effects were the changes in level of support by women for Latinos shown in the three questions within the battery. As reviewed in previous chapters, changes in support based on ideology and party fell within the scope of past literature (Meyer and Woodward, 2017). Further, the support for H1 was extended when looking at the models that discussed how Latinas performed compared to other candidates. When placed against another minority group, regardless of gender, race had a negative effect for Latina candidates. However, the extent of the negative effect that race has on candidate selection needs further examination, as the size of the sample was not large enough to break down race into multiple categories.

Hypothesis 2 examined whether age plays a role in racial resentment against female candidates. When looking at the candidate selection model, age was not found to have a negative effect on candidate selection. Further, when looking at candidate biography assignments, the age cohort that was most likely to correctly assign candidates was the 35–44 group. This suggests that younger groups, although still able to correctly

assign candidate biographies, are not as likely to do so. Older age groups were more likely to show both gender and racial resentment. Ultimately, the effect of age cohorts demonstrates a positive demographic shift and change in attitudes towards Latinos and women as candidates.

The third hypothesis stated that voters would follow race and gender stereotypes in their preferences for candidates. This hypothesis received partial support as subjects were able to accurately assign the correct candidate by race and gender five out of six times, demonstrating that they are capable of noticing and assigning stereotypes. Candidate selection saw mixed results. For Latina candidates, race played an effect when they competing against Black women and men, as well as Asian women and men. To better discern the effects of race, a larger and more diverse subject pool is necessary.

The final tested hypothesis focused on how female subjects used race and gender stereotypes. Support for this hypothesis was found in the racial resentment battery, as well as in the candidate biography assignment. This hypothesis demonstrates that women are more likely to acknowledge racial stereotypes. This is not to say that women are more racist than their male counterparts, but rather demonstrates that women are capable of identifying differences between themselves and other minorities. This further demonstrates that women are not likely to act against stereotypes with whom they can identify having been or potentially being categorized as such.

The chapter presents findings that are interesting and predictable through the hypotheses. I found support for all four hypotheses. However, what does this mean for Latina candidates? The findings suggest an uphill battle for Latina candidates when running for congressional office. Ideology, gender, race, and the presence of a native

language bill were all shown to negatively affect Latina candidates, leaving areas in which they can run and have limited success. There is also reason to believe that running during for midterm elections could be beneficial for Latina candidates as voter turnout generally decreases, and other factors could help that were not associated with the candidates, mainly party identification. There is also reason to believe that the findings need to be tested in more concentrated areas to determine how they would translate within individual states. While party members focus on party identification, these findings that suggest a more nuanced look would better serve congressional members as new maps are drawn.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation provides a new perspective through which to consider when discussing the viability of Latina candidates. Starting with a discussion of the state of the literature in women in politics and Latino politics, I proposed applying Taber and Lodge's implicit bias model. The portion I focused on was how voters processed information. To better explain the lack of Latinas in Congress, I proposed incorporating racial threat and stereotype literature to explain, in part, why Latinas are not elected at the same rate as other women of color.

I argued that looking at voter perceptions of Latina candidates is important because it begins to explain the accessibility of higher office for such candidates before examining outside factors. More simply, if voters have gender and racial biases that may cause them to discount Latinas, then Latina candidates have an uphill battle regardless of finances, party identification, and issue stance.

This dissertation makes important contributions to the fields of women and politics and race and politics and advances the discussion of whether gender plays a role in candidate electability by adding race to the study. By examining the intersection of gender and race, I look at potential issues that Latina candidates, and by extension women of color, face in terms of implicit biases. These findings and implications provide a new area for study as well as practical implications that need to be addressed.

By using racial threat theory, I explore how voters react to Latina candidates by isolating racial motives as an underlying cause for minority electability via two methods. Using data showing the responses to symbolic racism questions, and the likelihood to

vote for a Latino candidate, we see a direct measure of racial attitudes and electability.

Finally, this dissertation looks at a key relationship between minority candidates and the

voting population before adding party identification and ideology to determine the

context in which a Latina can or should be able to win an election.

Implications

Events that occurred after the 2016 presidential election spurred more women's

interest in running for political office. My argument is that, with more women running for

political office, the likely outcome is that more women should win elections. While there

is some truth to an increase of candidates leading to an increase in the number of seats

won, there are limitations. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the number of Latinas who

have run in primaries for congressional seats but do not advance to the general election is

high. Further, the number of new candidates that run in the general election and are

seated in Congress is minimal.

There are a myriad of reasons why women of color, and Latinas in particular, are

not being elected to Congress. The research and findings presented here, however, focus

on psychological factors and voters. The importance of knowing whether implicit biases

affect these candidates raises the question of where and when they might successfully

run. The two interviews highlighted the varying amount of support for female candidates

of both parties. While Roxane Lara received financial support from her party, Gabriela

Saucedo Mercer did not. Both candidates ran in districts are difficult to flip, but as both

proved, could see some movement towards the party not in power. Political parties and

organizations working to help Latina candidates get elected to Congress may need to

address potential implicit bias. While some districts may not be predisposed to running

Latina candidates, providing substantial party support in the form of money, training, and adequate surrogates is necessary, as well as developing strategies to diminish the implicit biases held by voters to allow Latinas a fair chance at winning seats.

While there is no way to change implicit biases, providing candidates with resources can help mediate the situation. Moreover, it is necessary to run candidates that are used to being in similar situations and creating boundaries for such candidates to succeed. Parties and organizations focused on candidate selection should look at instituting candidate prep programs in universities, specifically at Latinas in graduate school or high-performing undergraduate juniors and seniors. Although institutes like CAWP have programs that encourage women to run, these programs are geared more toward women who are not currently enrolled. I am suggesting using student government elections to teach young Latinas what to expect on campaign trails, how to participate in debates and speak publicly, and how to deal with university media. This would also offer the opportunity for Latinas to gain policy information and training on how to behave in meetings with influential people. A conservative group known as TurningPoint is using a similar model to begin training young conservatives.

Lastly, when campaigning, as discussed by Garcia and Michelson (2012), utilizing block walkers with shared voter experiences in the area could provide help. Consultants and campaign strategists need to adapt campaign strategies in a way that highlights positive candidate traits, such as education and district ties. Highlighting positive candidate traits can create a connection to voters and allow for focus on that trait rather than differences. For example, one candidate biography discussed playing basketball, allowing for connections around the idea of sports.

A multi-method approach for large geographic districts to garner support from different groups to build coalitions will be necessary. To do this, field directors would need to deploy several methods. First, they should evaluate where candidates are making appearances and request people to volunteer for the campaign. By taking a more targeted approach at appearances rather than doing obvious appeals (attending church, meet and greets) Latina candidates can blend into the community and appear like a natural fit rather than a forced one. Instead of looking for "diversity" in images, it is necessary for a more concentrated effort in placing block walkers in precincts in which they can blend in and make connections with voters.

In addition, any strategies employed toward groups would need to be authentic and not geared towards a general message. Latina candidates need to be able to appeal not only to multiple generations of Latinos, but also need to the next-largest group within their district. To do this effectively, finding an identifier that can unite within a district rather than looking like a candidate that is a complete change from the usual district candidate in both representative and symbolic form. The use of symbols should focus on an identity connected with the district or the state rather than from a culture that may not be understood or appreciated by the constituents.

Limitations of the Study

My analysis does, of course, have limitations. First, in regard to the elite interviews, they are only two accounts of one election cycle. Although I maintain that each account has significant importance and supports some of the findings in the experiment, the interviews only tell one side of a candidate's perception, and that is from the view of a losing candidate. This study does not have accounts of winning candidates

that may have felt the same way or had completely different experiences. Further, losing candidates may remember events in a negative manner and provide information that is not entirely accurate. Another issue in regard to the elite interviews is the partisan index for each district. Although both candidates were running in safe incumbent districts, the margins for Saucedo Mercer's race suggest that financial support would have helped her campaign. In addition, Lara's district was considered "flippable," meaning that potential campaign reorganization could have made the difference for this candidate. Ultimately, the largest issue is the time that has passed between the candidates' race and the time the interviews were conducted. Gaps in information could cause for interviewees to omit or embellish important information and no means of corroboration exists.

In regard to the experiment, the online model has some drawbacks. Although the sample is more generalizable to the general population, this internet sample is not completely representative of the general population in terms of education, as well urban vs. rural living. Another issue I discussed in Chapter 5 was the lack of racial diversity within the sample. This lack of diversity does not mimic the U.S. voting population and, as such, does not provide an accurate depiction of what the broader electorate might do. However, the sample does have excellent state and age variation, allowing for a better understanding of voter perception across regions and age cohorts. Amazon Mechanical Turk does provide the option for targeting workers to increase the variation within a sample; however, financial limitations did not make that option feasible. I maintain that the results' overall applicability remains valid. In addition, I do not have control of the environment in which participants completed the experiment. While all precautions were

taken to ensure subjects paid full attention when participating in the experiment, there are no guarantees.

Lastly, while this experiment was only concerned with immediate reactions to candidates' gender and race, I cannot control for interpretation of phenotype. Phenotype may lead to voters to assume a Latina candidate is White, Black, Asian or mixed. Candidate images were carefully selected but interpretation of those images can vary based on the regions where subjects reside and exposure to different ethnicities. If subjects have never seen a specific race there may have been a stronger aversion than what would be expected for someone who has more familiar with members of that race.

Future Research

The research completed for this project shed light into how implicit bias revolving around racial threat theory and stereotypes affects the candidacies of Latinas. There are, however, interesting avenues that I would like to further explore. The first area is a more in-depth look at the interaction of party, race, and gender. While the interviews were from both Democratic and Republican Party candidates, each brought up revelations regarding party recruitment and stereotypes. The experiment did not account for candidates with accents or different dialects. Saucedo Mercer brought her accent up as a concern, and business literature supports her claim that it likely affected her. Testing the effects of a candidate's accent would allow for a better understanding of triggering implicit bias. This study could be expanded outside of the race category and examine geographic dialects as well as male vs. female pitch.

A promising vein of exploration could be implicit bias amongst party elites. Understanding this phenomenon could provide insight into how such elites choose

political candidates, and if any visible differences exist in the selection process between winners and losers. More importantly, studying implicit bias at the county level could help explain gatekeeping and issues that minority and female candidates face during invisible primaries.

While a portion of the introduction was spent discussing different rates of growth for women of color in Congress with a focus on Latinas, both African American and Asian American women are also underrepresented. Additional studies focusing on both groups and the intersection of gender could be useful. Ultimately, a comprehensive study of these groups should be conducted to note similarities and differences in voters' perceptions and candidate performance.

Throughout the writing process, interesting questions arose that I could not address within the scope of this project but that would be beneficial to analyze. For example, the question of whether there is a different political ladder for women of color could be discussed more thoroughly. If we see that women are more successful in running for municipal office or the state legislature before running for Congress, efforts then need to be exerted in learning how those decisions were made, and whether women who skip traditional rungs on the ladder are more likely to be successful when running for Congress.

Another area that was hinted at in the interviews but not fully developed is the role of family in campaigns. As few Latinas have successfully ran for Congress or the Senate, the role of family and the adaptations family members must make provide insight into how the candidates themselves view the races. Further, the influence of cultural

dynamics to Latinas running for office may help explain whether a Latina will agree to run for political office when asked.

While I employed a mixed-method approach to this study, more elite interviews of Latinas who have won and lost congressional or Senate elections would provide a stronger understanding of candidates' perceptions of elections. Further, conducting interviews with candidates during a presidential election could also allow for a better understanding of funding and competiveness when voter turnout is significantly higher. Continuing with improved methodological choices, a field experiment focusing on the Latina candidates' advertisement buys and voter reactions to them could help explain how candidates and their campaigns are shaping their images and how voters in different parts of their districts receive such message.

Finally, this dissertation has focused on voters' political behavior and candidates' perceptions. In order to gain a fuller understanding of the complexity of Latina congressional candidacies, a psychological study on the decision-making process of when and where political parties support Latinas to run for office would offer much potential. In addition, we know little about the process by which Latinas decide to run for office. Is the process the same for all women or are there particular differences? An explanation into how candidates and political elites make these decisions could provide more insight into the success rate of Latinas running for political office. From an institutional perspective, understanding different fundraising techniques employed by Latina candidates would also be insightful. The research area surrounding Latina political candidates is vast and important and needs to be examined as it provides a look into what the electorate could look like if implicit biases are overcome.

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