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Identity Politics in Context: How Context Shapes Our Group Attachments and Our  
Politics

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree  
Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

by

Bryan Wilcox

2019

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Identity Politics in Context: How Context Shapes Our Group Attachments and Our  
Politics

by

Bryan Wilcox

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Matthew Alejandro Barreto, Chair

Social identities are fascinating psychological phenomena that explain a host of behaviors and attitudes. Scholars from multiple disciplines have examined how group-based attachments impact a variety of social, political, and economic outcomes. In this dissertation, I show where group-based attachments come from and why they matter for politics for Latinos and Asian Americans living in the U.S. I find that pan-ethnic and national origin attachments vary considerably given one's social and environmental context. I show that an individual's context is an essential factor in understanding the variation in attachment towards specific groups and the strength of that attachment. I develop a theory of context that connects group-based identities to one's local environmental and social contexts – arguing that context provides a set of cues and stimuli which structure the self-categorization and self-stereotyping process, the psychological process where individuals shed “individual-ness” and opt for a “group-ness” in their self-concept.

I then show the conditions under which group-based attachments are consequential for engagement in the U.S. political system. I introduce and test the identity portfolio theory, a framework that shows how group-based identities that drive political outcomes are dependent on three politicization mechanisms: 1) the strength of attachment to a social identity category; 2) the strength of attachment to other social identity categories, and 3) the degree of permeability between the social identity categories held in one's identity portfolio.

While recognizing that people are attached to multiple social identity categories, I show the conditions under which some of these identities are important for politics, but only at certain times or under certain conditions.

I conclude by discussing the implications of this work and outlining the contributions it makes to our understanding of American politics broadly defined.

The dissertation of Bryan Wilcox is approved.

Gary M. Segura

David O. Sears

Lorrie Frasure-Yokley

Matthew Alejandro Barreto, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

*To my abuela, who always pushed me to excel in school and provided unwavering support.*

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# CHAPTER 1

## Identity Politics in Context: Introduction

Social identities are fascinating psychological phenomena that can explain a host of behaviors and attitudes. Many of these attitudes and behaviors, which can vary given the degree of attachment to one's social groups, often seem outside one's direct material interest and thus do not fit more 'rational' explanations for attitude development and behaviors (Achen and Bartels 2016; Akerlof and Kranton 2000). These group-based attachments, however, provide a powerful way of understanding social, economic, and political behaviors and attitudes.

Scholars from multiple disciplines have examined how group-based attachments impact a variety of social, political, and economic outcomes. Other scholars have explored the processes associated with group identity formation. Despite what we know where group attachments come from and why they matter for some of the social, political, and economic behaviors, there exists a relative dearth of work that seeks to understand the formation of group-based attachments and the political consequences of those attachments for Latinos and Asian Americans living in the U.S.

I tackle two central research questions in this project. First, given the extensive internal diversity among Latinos and Asian Americans living in the U.S., how do members of these groups develop ethnic attachments to pan-ethnic and national origin identities? Foreshadowing the results, I find that pan-ethnic and national origin attachments vary considerably given one's social and environmental context. Because of the incredible variation in group-based attachments among these two groups, I ask in what ways and under what conditions are group-based identities consequential for engagement in the U.S. political system. Answering these questions, I pay special attention to the panoply of identities that individuals are attached to, some of which are salient for political engagement but only under certain

conditions or at certain times.

To answer the first question, I show that an individual's context is an essential factor in understanding the variation in attachment towards specific groups and the strength of that attachment. I develop a theory of context that connects group-based identities to one's local environmental and social contexts – arguing that context provides a set of cues and stimuli which structure the self-categorization and self-stereotyping process, they psychological process where individuals shed “individual-ness” and opt for a “group-ness” in their self-concept. Social and environmental context shapes how individuals develop in-group attachments, attachments that not only provide a positive self-image but also structures many of the political decisions made.

To answer the second question, I introduce and test the identity portfolio theory, a framework that shows how political outcomes driven by group-based identities are dependent on three politicization mechanisms: 1) the strength of attachment to an identity; 2) the strength of attachment to other social identity categories, and 3) the degree of permeability between the social identity categories held in one's identity portfolio. While recognizing that people are attached to multiple social identity categories, I show the conditions under which some of these identities are important for politics, but only at certain times or under certain conditions.

In this dissertation, I focus on Latinos and Asian Americans living in the United States.<sup>1</sup> These groups are ideal for this study because of the extensive variation in the two groups on several important dimensions which allows me to develop and test my theory. These groups are also changing the demographic landscape of the U.S., and in many electoral jurisdictions, Latinos and Asian Americans make up a majority of the population. The rapid growth of Latinos and Asian Americans has generated volumes of research focusing

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<sup>1</sup>I use Latino to represent a broad demographic group of individuals living in the U.S. who trace their origins to Spain as well as other Latin American countries. I am careful to note if I am talking about a specific group of Latinos, such as Mexican heritage Latinos, that is, those who trace their origin to Mexico. I also use the term Hispanic and Latino interchangeably. I use the terms Asian American and AAPI interchangeably as well. This label refers to any individual in the U.S. who identifies as Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander or traces their ancestry to any of the countries associated with those labels. If I am discussing a particular group, I make sure to be as transparent as possible.

on the political consequences of the rapid demographic change (Newman and Velez 2014; Newman 2013; Hopkins 2010; Abrajano and Hajnal Abrajano and Hajnal; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2012; Enos 2014). The focus of this research has been how residents, most often whites, respond to the increasing Latino and Asian American populations. While this work is undoubtedly important, in this dissertation, I focus on how Latinos and Asian Americans currently living in the U.S. develop group attachments and interacting with the U.S. political system.

Not only is the rapid growth of these communities upending existing demographic and social structures, these two groups are ideal because they share many similarities and exhibit many differences, making them ideal groups to understand how social and environmental context is linked to group based attachments and ultimately to interaction with the political system. For example, Latino and Asian American migration to the U.S. has been going on for over 100 years, yet both groups saw considerable migration after the 1965 immigration reforms. Another similarity has been the contested status of groups. While both groups have had such a long history of living and migrating into the U.S., Latinos and Asian Americans have also suffered from systemic and systematic exclusion in the U.S., much of it institutionalized and legalized through various federal and state agencies, bureaucracies, and courts. According to some, these continued experiences of exclusion have had profound effects in terms of unity.

At the same time, Latinos and Asian American could not be more distinct. While many Latinos share Spanish as a common language regardless of national origin, most national origin groups under the Asian American umbrella do not share a common language. There are as many languages that Asian Americans speak as there are countries which they trace their origin back to. Despite many similarities at the macro level, like a long history of immigration, the timing and details of arrival, exclusion, and settlement patterns and places are quite different between the two groups. The similarities *and* differences allow me to better test and understand how context is related to identity attachments and how these identity attachments connect to politics.

The goal of this dissertation is twofold. First, I aim to show that social and environ-

mental context links to perceptions of group attachment for Latinos and Asian Americans in the U.S. Second, I aim to help clarify the identity to politics link and show that feelings of group attachment are essential for politics, but only under certain conditions.

To do this, I marshal a wealth of quantitative evidence. Most of this comes in the form of survey data. Since I rely on six unique public opinion surveys, most of which were original data collection efforts, I explain each of these as in subsequent chapters. In Chapter 4, where I develop a novel measure of ethnic visibility, I rely on over 50,000 streetview images of neighborhoods and businesses. I also supplement the quantitative data with qualitative data gathered from interviews, participant observation, and some preliminary fieldwork. The findings in the data consistently support my claims that social and environmental context links to group based attachments for Asian Americans and Latinos and that these attachments are important in understanding how members of these two groups interact with the U.S. political system.

I begin by outlining a theory of context and demonstrating how social and environmental contexts links to group attachments. I rely on a large body of work in psychology, sociology, political science, and anthropology to outline a theoretical framework that explains the links between identity attachment and context. I then pivot and begin clarifying the conditions under which group attachments connect to political attitudes and behaviors. Here I clarify the identity portfolio theory, which provides testable implications of when, where, and how identity attachments impact political attitudes and behaviors. Concluding the chapter, I provide an outline of the chapters remaining in the dissertation.

## **1.1 Identifying and Theorizing Context**

I define context as the immediate environmental and social space where people exist. This definition is messy as is the study of understanding humans when we look past individual attributes in isolation. While there is a great deal of scholarship across the social sciences that associates individual-level factors to a variety of outcomes, in this dissertation, I focus on how attitudes and behaviors are informed by a host of environmental and social fac-

tors that exist with spatial and temporal variation across the U.S. landscape. As Robert Huckfeldt points out, “Political activity seldom occurs in individual isolation” (1979, 579). Even with all the messiness associated with the context, we know from both quantitative and qualitative evidence that these contexts matter. Because of this, my goal is to think critically about the theory connecting one’s context to group based attachments and then think about measurement strategies that can help us test this relationship in ways that offer considerable leverage over existing work.

In 2018, I interviewed Tomas, an 18-year-old Latino who grew up in in the Eastern part of Koreatown, Los Angeles, CA. Despite being in *Koreatown*, most of his neighbors were Latino and many of the environmental cues, the stores, signs, and characteristics of the built environment were “Latino”.<sup>2</sup> Living in this environment impacted Tomas in many ways. It influenced the friends he had and the activities he engaged in. It also impacted him less in less cognizant ways – in ways that are observable in data, but unlikely to register in his consciousness. I show examples of businesses within Tomas’s environmental context in Figure 1.1. The image I show here was purposefully selected to reflect the rich ethnic stimuli that Tomas saw during his upbringing. s

Figure 1.1: Streetview Image From Tomas’s Neighborhood



This project tells a story about how Tomas’s neighborhood, one filled with rich ethnic stimuli, ultimately impacts the decisions he makes when he enters the voting booth. In this

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<sup>2</sup>This part of Koreatown is mostly Latino and the past two decades have seen a rapid increase in the Latino population. Because of the population increase, the Eastern part of Koreatown, which is close to downtown has seen a proliferation of Latino businesses.

dissertation, I show how Tomas's ultimate political choice is impacted by his neighborhood context, the friends he associates with, and his relationship with his mom and older brother, the two people that were mostly responsible for raising him. These factors have contributed to Tomas's identification as a Latino and a sense that being Latino is an integral part of who he is. When I asked Tomas why being Latino is vital to him, he said, "I mostly think about it when it's like when it affects like more people than just me kind of like. I think a good example would be voting, like making sure that like I vote with people that are not only in line with my beliefs but the belief of my community as well. Like, let's say if there's like a candidate that's like, 'let's deport all undocumented people' that for sure wouldn't be a candidate that I would support."

The context that Tomas grew up in and now lives fundamentally shapes his connections to the U.S. political system. In this project, I show that social and environmental context directly impacted this connection through the identity attachments which Tomas holds.<sup>3</sup> I show that variation in identity attachments that is the degree to which individuals see themselves as part of a larger group is key to understanding the conditions under which individuals connect to the political system. At the root of this connection is one's social and environmental context. In the remainder of this chapter, I define and elaborate on the immediate *environmental* and *social* space where people exist, what I refer to as context. To build these connections, I rely on the social identity framework, a set of theories from social psychology that provide a robust and compelling framework which maps the variation in the immediate environmental and social context to identity attachments.

Context, broadly defined, provides a rich bevy of cues and stimuli which impact the identities people have and the groups that they are apart of. As we know from research in psychology, groups and group-based identities have powerful psychological benefits and

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<sup>3</sup>In this dissertation, I use many words to represent the same underlying concept of attachment to a social category. I call this identity attachment, group identity, group strength, group attachment, etc. I do this because I would be bored writing the same thing over and over again. However, all of these phrases are interchangeable. I will, however, change the location of attachment and I try to be as transparent as possible when I do that. Group attachment can be towards any group. Thus Tomas has an attachment to the Latino group and an attachment to his national origin group. Unless otherwise specified, these terms refer to one's large pan-ethnic (Latino) or pan-racial (AAPI) group.

behaviors associated with them. People want to feel good about the group(s) that they belong to because individuals derive a positive self-image from being apart of a group. Groups provide a simplified way to understand the world – other group members are on the same team as me – they share similar goals, and they are the good guys. Out-groups are the bad guys – they do not do much for me. This process of grouping and categorizing is understood to be “fundamental and ubiquitous mental process” (Brubaker et al. 2004, 37). Continuing, Brubaker et al. (2004) note, “Categories are utterly central to seeing and thinking” (38). Cognitive linguist George Lakoff notes, “Without the ability to categorize, we could not function at all, either in the physical world or in our social and intellectual lives” (Lakoff 1990, 5). All of this highlights the importance of groups and categorization in the daily psychological, social, and physical processes. Not only do groups provide help in all facets of one’s life, but they also provide the perceptual screen to understand the U.S. political system (Campbell et al. 1960).

Politics, which David Easton understood as “the authoritative allocation of values for the society” is thus structured around a shared sense of who gets what (a value) and under what conditions. Group-based attachments provide the prism that individuals view and understand the political system. Through this prism, you can see your team winning – getting their fair share in society. In contrast, you can also see your team losing – getting less than their fair share.

My argument is that people interpret and understand the political system through this prism of group-based identities. If politics is about people and groups getting values and resources, the allocation of those resources and values must be interpreted through a variety of lenses. Of the possible lenses identified in the literature, the vast majority are organized around groups. Berelson (1954) highlighted the role of social groups and social intuitions in the political process. These included labor, class, religious, and ethnic groups. A few years later, Campbell et al. (1960) argued that the psychological attachment of partisan identity was crucial for understanding the political behavior and political attitudes of individuals. Partisanship, while seen for many years as a psychological attachment has been understood more recently as a group based social identity (Green et al. 2004; Mason 2015; Achen and



Bartels 2016).

While these canonical groups remain essential in political science, in particular, American politics, the changing demographics of the country and the rapid growth of the Latino and Asian American communities force us to confront not just the ultimate political impact of these groups in terms of share of the electorate or political choice, but to understand the full nature of their political engagement in the U.S. system. In other words, the growth of the Latinos and Asian Americans provides new opportunities to think about how groups matter for politics, ways that existing explanations, such as partisanship (Ocampo et al. 2019), or class (Padilla 1985) may not be as helpful.

Natalie Masuoka and Jane Junn present a related idea – a racialized group identity prism with which to understand the public opinion of immigration (Masuoka and Junn 2013). Their central idea is structured on the strength and weight of the racial hierarchy that connects how members of various racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. view immigration politics. Their argument is parsimonious and straightforward – and a starting foundation for my project. They contend that individual immigration attitudes are explicitly structured by the racial hierarchy and formed given the variation in the attachment to one’s racial group. I take this idea one step further and show that overall engagement with the political system is delineated through complicated and complex identity structures that people bring to bear when voting for a candidate or developing a public opinion. These identities are not only inspired and informed to some extent by the larger racial hierarchy but the interactions and experiences one has in their day-to-day lives, which is structured by environmental and social context.

I find that the racial hierarchy is essential for structuring the overall contour of radicalized group identity for people living in the U.S., but does not provide the robust explanation needed to fully understand the complex identity structures that exist across the polity. There is too much heterogeneity in group-based attachments to convincingly show that the racial hierarchy is mainly responsible for group-based attachments in the U.S. Even among African Americans, a group that overwhelmingly supports Democratic candidates at rates of 90+% and is understood to demonstrate strong group attachments (Dawson 1994; Tate

1994), group attachments are primarily a function of socialization practices and continued experiences with discrimination (McClerking 2001). While these processes likely transmit the racial hierarchy, the racial hierarchy must be matched with on the ground and regularized experiences to forge important identity attachments capable of producing systematic political attitudes and behaviors.

Using Masuoka and Junn (2013) as a foundation, I clarify a theory of context that explains the acquisition and expression of group-based identities based on one's social and environmental context, since this is source for the cues and stimuli needed to develop these attachments. Not only do these cues provide the necessary information for the psychological process of categorization, which I explain shortly, these cues and stimuli also provide exposure to the racial hierarchy, which in turn helps us understand the development of group attachments and ultimately political attitudes and behaviors.

A crucial contribution of this project is a theory of context that links one's environmental and social context with identity attachments and political outcomes. Context, I argue, provides a source of cues and stimuli associated with various social identity categories. These cues and stimuli contain small pieces of information associated with social categories, and this information provides organized patterns which highlight the prototypical characteristics of various categories (Turner et al. 1987). I expect that variation in the type and degree of these identity-affirming cues and stimuli explains variation in group attachment. My argument centers around the idea that the cues and stimuli varied by one social and environmental context alter the *accessibility* and the *fit* of identity-affirming cues and stimuli associated with a particular social identity category is positively related to identifying with that social identity category. The concept of fit is the idea of how well the social category "fits" or "explains" the many things that happen in one's day-to-day life. Accessibility refers to the availability of a specific social category to be easily retrieved. These relationships are not entirely linear and monotonic, and there are other important factors (e.g., other social identity categories) that I explore, but the central idea is just that. In instances where specific social identity category cues are more accessible and better fitting, I expect to see a higher likelihood in an attachment to that identity category. Context – both in terms of

physical stimuli in the environmental setting and stimuli transmitted in social contexts (e.g., socialization practices) are the key sources of the identity-affirming material that facilitate the entire categorization process and help explain variation in group-based attachments.

The theory of context that I discuss is quite broad and reflects the larger role of context to shape and inform group attachments. Identity-affirming cues and stimuli alter the accessibility and fit of certain social categories, which impacts the process of categorization. I have talked generally about identity-affirming cues and stimuli as more abstract concepts. While I have introduced that the focus of this dissertation is on Latinos and Asian Americans, much of the theoretical development, at least in thinking through the link between context and group attachments has been rather abstract. Moving forward, I begin to focus on a certain type of identity-affirming cues and stimuli. *Ethnic affirming cues and stimuli* refer to sets of cues and stimuli that explicitly contains *ethnic* information (Mora 2014; Mora and Okamoto 2019). These ethnic affirming cues contain valuable pieces of information that vary the fit and accessibility of ethnic categories across one's social and environmental context.

Take Tomas as an example of the links between social and environmental context and perceptions of group-based identity. Tomas was born in East Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA but his family quickly moved to Koreatown, Los Angeles, CA in search of better, more affordable housing. Tomas's parents separated when he was 10, and he no longer speaks to his father. His mother, an immigrant from Mexico, and his older brother, also born in the U.S. Tomas's mother and older brother, as well as some extended family, were primarily responsible for raising him. Additionally, his school and active church life growing up helped build deep connections to the community. Tomas noted that he was surrounded by other people who looked like him and engaged in many of the same cultural practices. He shared a lot in common with his peer network. While he grew up in Koreatown, Los Angeles, CA, an area with a long history of Korean immigrants and Korean restaurants and businesses, the area of Koreatown he lived in is heavily comprised of other Latinos.<sup>4</sup> Because Tomas

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<sup>4</sup>While Koreatown was once a Korean immigrant destination, the affordable housing and central location in Los Angeles has seen a rapid demographic change as Latino families have moved in and Korean families have moved to other, more desirable areas of town. However, much of the built environment (businesses, restaurants, etc.), except for certain areas on the Eastern side (closer to Downtown, Los Angeles) have

surrounded himself near Latinos and grew up in the Eastern part of Koreatown, there were many ethnic affirming cues and stimuli provided through the environmental context. Despite a large portion of the cues being Korean, Tomas still had opportunities to speak in Spanish and go to neighborhood activities that were distinctly Latino. In the walking distance was a local *panaderia*, where he and his friends would walk and get *pan de huevo* and *orejas* for snacks.

I asked Tomas about the time he spent with his friends and the time he spent with others as I wanted to see how different social contexts might have changed when his environmental contexts also changed. At this point, we were talking about his move from a local high school to his first year attending UCLA. Speaking about his behaviors around different groups, Tomas said, “I wouldn’t say I purposely act differently, but in the way I do act differently is that my language which tends to be very mixed with Spanish and English. So in my high school, I would mix my Spanish with English, like, Spanglish. And then in college, a majority of people don’t know Spanish so I can’t speak Spanish as much as I want to.” Going to college changed Tomas’s environmental context and his social context, but his upbringing, those times he hung out with his friends at the *panaderia* had a lasting impression on his identity structures, even after the more recent change in context. At the beginning of the interview, I first asked him to describe himself, and one of the first things he brought up was being “Latino”.<sup>5</sup> As current research shows, asking this broad question is one of the better ways to understand someone’s spontaneous self concept. While this is not identical to identity attachments, the two concepts are analogous. In the handful of interviews I conducted, I always asked this question first and in an unprompted way to get a sense of one’s spontaneous self-concept.

Now compare Tomas’s experiences with Jason. Jason is a 32 Latino male who lives in West LA, Los Angeles, CA. Like Tomas, both of Jason’s parents came from Mexico in 

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remained distinctly Korean.

<sup>5</sup>This was based on the strategy from McGuire and Padawer-Singer (1976); McGuire et al. (1978) to obtain one’s spontaneous self-concept.

search of a better life for his family. When they arrived in the U.S. Jason, they settled in the Whittier, Los Angeles, CA area. Jason recalled this time of his life and remembered when his family arrived here. They lived in a one-room apartment. Jason's father worked three jobs, and the family saved what little money they had. His family instilled in him the role of working hard and that success in this world comes from putting your head down and working. As a family, they did not spend much time outside the home and had a few family traditions. Jason's dad worked, and the mother took care of him and his younger sister. Eventually, they were able to move into a bigger place. A few years later, they purchased a house. Although Jason grew up and went to school with many other people who looked like him, his parents stressed hard work and not standing out. Ultimately, this meant that Jason's connection to being Latino was never cultivated by his parents, especially when compared to someone like Tomas. When I asked him about this, he told me that his parents stressed that he "just needed to work hard and fit in." Growing up in a social context that did not promote a strong group based attachment meant that Jason never mentioned "being Latino" during our interview when I asked him to tell me about himself.<sup>6</sup> Along with currently living in West LA and a lack of ethnic socialization practices, Jason told me that while he is "Latino," that identity does not matter too much to him.

Tomas and Jason provide valuable insight into *both* dimensions of context. Tomas experienced a social context during his upbringing that facilitated and encouraged an attachment to the group. Despite going to college, which changed his context and removed opportunities to participate in various identity maintenance practices, such as speaking Spanish, cemented Tomas's strong group attachment. Jason, on the other hand, grew up in an environment that focused on hard work and making a better life for one's family. His experiences did not stress the importance of ethnic culture, despite being born to two immigrant parents and being an immigrant himself. Instead of cultivating an identity around his ethnic group, Jason's experiences sought to minimize differences and follow a more assimilation based model.

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<sup>6</sup>As I did with all interview respondents, the first question I asked all respondents was, "Tell me about yourself" with no follow-up information based on work regarding the spontaneous self-concept (McGuire and Padawer-Singer 1976; McGuire et al. 1978).

Tomas's and Jason's experiences are helpful as examples of how context connects to identity.

To better understand this relationship, I develop a theory to help us unpack how context is connected to identity and ultimately, how identity matters for politics. To do this, I spend considerable time building the links between one's social and environmental context and perceptions of group identity. While this subject has often fascinated psychologists and sociologists, political scientists have had less to say, which should be concerning. So much of contemporary American politics centers on identity, yet, we have such little understanding of where salient social identities come from, especially given their out-sized importance in understanding the contemporary American political landscape. I rely heavily on work from sociology and psychology. In particular, I focus on the work from Social Identity Theory (SIT), which offers the formal language to theorize about the links between context, identity, and politics.

Before showing how social and environmental context associates with the degree of attachment to various social identity categories, I discuss a framework that describes a psychological process of identity attachment where variation in context is a crucial explanatory variable. I contend that context broadly defined is a supplier of the social identity categories that individuals categorize under by varying the accessibility and fit of the information needed for identity attachment. Meaningful social identity categories must come from somewhere and have some relevance in one's life. Self-categorization and identity development can only happen for a set of social categories that are present in the day to day lives of individuals. Ethnic and religious groups in Australia, while relevant and vital social identity categories for those living in Australia, do not make much sense in the context of the U.S. The probability of an Asian American or Latino living in the U.S. identifying with one of these Australia-specific social identity categories is almost zero. I make the case that context provides ethnic affirming cues and stimuli for the set of relevant and meaningful social identity categories and Social Identity Theory provides the language and insight that connects social and environmental context to identity attachments.

## 1.2 A Psychological Model of Identity Attachment

Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self Categorization Theory (SCT) provide the theoretical backbone that links social and environmental context to group based attachments. SIT asserts that people want to achieve and maintain a positive self-image; that is, people generally want to feel good about themselves (Tajfel and Turner 1979). One of the ways people achieve positive self-image is by joining groups. Groups provide positive psychological benefits to individuals and help people understand the cognitively complex world around them. SIT was not the first to understand the importance of groups, but SIT's critical insight was the fact that group-based identities could be developed and maintained from socially constructed groups.

Prior theories suggested that individuals formed group based ties in situations where real material resources were up for grabs (Sherif 1966). This set of studies argues that group conflict and group-based attachments developed when scarce resources were at stake. While the advancement of SIT did not entirely dismiss the premises from the realized group conflict scholars, the SIT researchers broadened the conditions necessary to see empirical group conflicts and attachments by showing that random and arbitrary groupings elicited the same psychological responses noticed by Sherif (1966) and others.

SIT, through the minimal group paradigm, showed that the psychological benefits of groups happen when groups formed outside of any realized material threat or competition for scarce resources. It also demonstrated that the anticipated behaviors of group members were present in these arbitrary groupings. In other words, the seemingly arbitrary and random construction of a group was capable of producing the psychological and behavioral outcomes seen in the realistic group threat studies. I highlight this important foundation of SIT because it ultimately allows me to map a theory of context to social identities and then link those identities to politicized identities and political outcomes. I rely heavily on the fact that social identity categories are socially created and thus possess dynamic properties across time and place. There is a situational nature to these attachments and that they are often responsive to local level characteristics.

For Latinos and Asian Americans, I leverage the fact that these categories have a distinct local flare. For example, in an interview with Angela and 18 year old Latina, while she saw herself as a Chicana, much of her identity was attached to the borderland region as she lived in Mexico for many years but went to school in the U.S. In the interview when asked about how she sees herself, she replied, “when I think of myself, I see myself more as a border person, like a trans-border person. I obviously spent a lot of time in Mexico because I lived there, but I also spent a lot of time here in the U.S. because I went to school here.” It was the exposure to cues and stimuli in both contexts (U.S. and Mexico) and the regular crossing of the U.S.-Mexico border that provides the salient identity category of a *border person*. Her peer group, 90% who lived in Mexico and went to school in the U.S., thus having many of the same experiences as her and exposure to many of the same cues and stimuli reinforced her social identity attachments. When I asked her more about this, she explained that there was a duality - even people who lived in the U.S. would host parties and celebrations on the Mexico side. If they did not do that, Angela explained, no one would come. The borderland identity is certainly salient for Angela. In interviews with others who lived outside the borderlands area, this identity category was non-existent in one’s repertoire of identity categories.

In the Social Identity tradition, categorization governs psychological group formation, or the “degree that two or more people come to perceive and define themselves in term of some shared ingroup-outgroup categorization” (Turner et al. 1987, 51). Through the realization of similarities with other individuals vis-a-vis the differences coming from outgroup(s) and their members, group identities form. As Turner et al. (1987) points out in the meta-contrast principle, people are more likely to construct a psychological group with others who are more similar to them than with those who are more different. People look for similarities shared between them and use these similarities to help self categorize into a group or set of groups that will provide the positive benefits obtained from group attachment.

The categorization process helps us better understand how individuals begin to see themselves as part of a group, a sense of attachment, rather than membership, which is an ascribed label, that may have little or no bearing on the individual. While most believe that



membership is often a precursor to and strongly predictive categorization along a particular dimension, the relationship is not deterministic. Thus group membership does not mean group attachment (McClain et al. 2009; Leach et al. 2008; Valenzuela and Michelson 2016).

In the U.S. context, racial and ethnic cleavages are essential and useful dimensions for categorization for several reasons. First, many of those who identify with a racial or ethnic group are members of that group. While membership does not directly translate to categorization and identity attachment (McClain et al. 2009), it does act as a precursor because it provides an existing framework for an individual to see themselves as part of a group. Because membership and attachment are not equivalent, I am less concerned with membership but rather focus *on the extent that an individual is attached to a group*. The minimal group paradigm showed that arbitrary assignment to groups is capable of producing a host of psychological outcomes. Instead, it means that the focus of my inquiry is somewhat agnostic to membership and rather than focusing on differences between members and non-members, my focus is on the strength of attachment, which has been continuously documented to be the most important consideration for understanding how and why groups matter for attitudes and behaviors (Ellemers et al. 1999; 1997; 2002; Branscombe et al. 1999; Pérez 2015b; Dawson 1994). What this means is that many of the comparisons I make are made within the group rather than between groups. It also accommodates the rich and vibrant internal heterogeneity within the Latino and AAPI communities since I am focused on how members of those communities think about themselves rather than whether they check a box for a Census measured category, which may not at all reflect how they think about themselves, but rather an artifact of their birth.

Categorization often occurs on these dimensions because many economic, social, political, and educational processes follow these dimensions. This is where membership matters, but as I will argue, does not have an ultimate say in how individuals think of themselves in relation to the larger group. Dawson (1994) makes clear that the intertwined history connecting economic and life chances of being Black is visible to this day. As such, individual Blacks can recognize the shared fate across the group and ultimately use their racial status as a self-benefiting heuristic when making political and economic decisions instead of using

one's economic status when making those decisions. For members of the African American community, one's membership in the category provides a host of experiences and practices, which Dawson (1994) states are connected to how an individual thinks about themselves in relation to the group. Remember, Dawson's linked fate measure still showed variation, even in the context of the 1988 election during Jesse Jackson's bid for the presidency. One of the implicit goals of Dawson's project was to understand heterogeneity among African Americans and while he largely situated his work against William Julius Wilson, who argued about heterogeneity in attitudes and behaviors across SES, Dawson's focus on the importance of race was not based on membership, but rather the strength of attachment. The strength of attachment for Blacks is strong and resilient, Dawson argues because of the history of Blacks in the U.S. and the racial links forged between an individual's well being and the group's well being.

In other words, membership is an active contributor to identity, especially in a place like the U.S. where the racial hierarchy is strong and racial boundaries are rigid and impermeable. The link between an individual's well being and the group's well being is likely not as strong among Latinos and APPI as it is for Blacks given the variation in immigration and group histories in the U.S. context (Jimenez 2010; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Junn and Masuoka 2008). Yet, Latinos and Asian Americans have been racialized in the U.S., and often they are treated and understood to be more homogeneous by individuals, governments, and organizations that the actual internal diversity demonstrates. Regardless of their background, one does not need to look far for examples where Latinos and AAPI have been racialized and treated as a racialized group. Racialization thus has profound political, social, and economic ramifications as well as consequences for identity attachment.

In addition to contributing to a sense of attachment and aiding in the categorization process, the racialization of Latinos and Asian Americans provides a set of meaningful, ready-made, and salient social categories (Masuoka and Junn 2013). Given the importance of these categories for explaining a host of social, political, and economic outcomes, these categories contain a few of the critical features needed for the categorization process.

During the categorization process, the connection to the group is overseen by self-

stereotyping, the process “whereby people come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities as defined by their individual differences” (Turner et al. 1987, 50). The degree that Latinos and Asian Americans see themselves as exemplars of their respective category or *closer to the exemplars*, the more likely they are to perceive a stronger attachment to that category. This idea of prototypes or exemplars is helpful since it is what people look for during the categorization process as they begin to perceive themselves as more or less similar to the group exemplar.

We know that individuals want to be apart of groups since groups offer a host of positive benefits for individuals and help individuals sort the complex world before them. One of the critical features of group attachment is the ability for optimal distinctiveness, the idea that people seek group attachments that offer a balance to achieve the optimal group benefits (Brewer 1991). The group must be large enough that it offers the positive group perks that come from having others who are like you also attached to the group, but also distinct enough that not everyone is in there and the differences within the group become so large that it no longer offers those positive group benefits. In other words, there has to be a sense of selectivity or exclusivity. Prototypes or exemplars come in as they provide the example of the average group member – what the typical member *can* and *should* look like. Given exposure to group prototypes, during the categorization process, individuals shed a portion of their uniqueness and see themselves as part of a larger fabric along these categorical dimensions. This is because the closer they move to the exemplar and prototypical group member, the higher the positive group benefits, including a sense of positive self-worth. As Angela X. Ocampo points out, individuals want to feel like they belong to the group and if an individual is too different from the group, they will lack the sense of belonging that all the psychological benefits require. Remaining on the fringes, on the other hand, fails to offer the bevy of benefits from the group. The individual attachments to the groups thus, “reflect elaborated group identity schemata in proportion to the strength and recency of activation” (DiMaggio 1997, 275). This means that these cues and stimuli, which vary across environmental and social space, are vital links to activate group based attachments among individuals. All of this, I argue, is context dependent.

My central argument rests on the idea that group members “see” this connection or realize this connection through the transmission of identity-affirming cues and stimuli in social and environmental contexts. In other words, the social and environmental context exposes individuals to the salient identity-affirming cues that facilitate the process of categorization. The cues and stimuli from one’s social and environmental context provide “culturally available schemata - knowledge structures that represent objects or events and provide default assumptions about their characteristics, relationships, and entailments” (DiMaggio 1997, 269). According to work in cognitive and developmental psychology, much of this process takes place outside a state of active cognition or self-selection. Individuals do not actively go out and think about how they fit in relation to a group and whether that group provides a positive self-image. These connections are not necessarily consciously realized by individuals, but instead, these processes have a substantial impact on the development of one’s self-concept. Phinney et al. (2001), for example, found a positive association between ethnic identity and contact with co-ethnic peers. More recently, Santos et al. (2017) show the peer influence on ethnic/racial identity is independent of selection. Peer networks and processes associated with those networks independently impact ethnic/racial identification, even when accounting for one’s self-selection into peer networks on dimensions related to ethnic and racial identity. DiMaggio (1997) explains that these “schemata are also the mechanism that simplify cogitation” (269).

Identity affirming cues delivered through social and environmental contexts facilitate the categorization by varying the *fit* and *accessibility* of social categories. The self-stereotyping process is conditional on the spatial relation to exemplars and prototypes, which is a function of fit and accessibility (Turner et al. 1987). The concept of fit is the idea of how well the social category “fits” or “explains” all of the things that happen. In other words, does the social category “make sense” for one’s day-to-day experiences in life. Like attachment, the fit should be considered on a continuum from poorly fitting to better fitting social categories. What identity-affirming cues provide is more exposure and material to help understand the variation in fit, small corrections that amplify well fitting categories and reduce poorly fitting ones.

In a concrete example, the concept of linked fate from Dawson is strongly related to fit. Attachment (linked fate) among Blacks is how much individual Blacks see their individual life is connected to other Blacks. In terms of fit: Does this social category explain one's day-to-day experiences? Does the social category *Black* fit? Dawson strongly argues that one's economic and social experiences are primarily tied to the group. It is this durable set of ties that makes linked fate such a powerful concept. Through a shared historical experience inculcated during extensive socialization practices as well as day-to-day experiences with discrimination develop perceptions of fit (McClerking 2001; Dawson 1994). These experiences with discrimination, McClerking (2001) argues, continue to "feed" the binding links between individual members of the Black community and their connection with the larger racial group. The lived realities of individual African Americans in the U.S., both in terms of the socialization practices that occur during childhood and the continued experiences with discrimination and exclusion from other individuals, society as a whole, and institutions within the U.S. reveals such a highly fitting social category that is congruent with most if not all of one's individual, day-to-day life experiences.

The idea of accessibility refers to the availability of a specific social category to be easily retrieved in the categorization process. Existing work in memory demonstrates that concepts that are more readily accessible have an outsized influence on cognition and recall (Kahneman 2011). The concept of availability is similar. The social category must be accessible and available, and that level accessibility (analogous to the ease of memory recall) exists on a continuum where categorization is more likely when a group is more accessible. I argue that exposure to identity-affirming cues is positively related to accessibility.

In cases where an individual is exposed to more or stronger identity-affirming stimuli, the accessibility of the group associated with those cues is higher than in cases where the cues are sparse or highlight other social categories. Again, returning to Dawson's and McClerking's work helps to understand this concept in a working example. Implicit in both McClerking (2001); Dawson (1994) is the idea that the social category of "Black or African American" is easily accessible. There is little doubt that in the U.S. that the category of Black or African American is not accessible, *especially* for members of that community. In

many ways, we take it as a given that this social category exists and is readily available. Both McClerking (2001); Dawson (1994) discuss the institutions, such as the Black church and other socialization processes, that also raise the accessibility of the category.

While I showed that work from McClerking (2001); Dawson (1994) about African Americans helps us better understand fit and accessibility and its relationship to group attachment, Waters (1999) shows that the social category of “African American” is not a salient social category for Black immigrants in the U.S., which serves as a placebo-type test to better understand the process of categorization. Waters (1999) shows that newly arrived Black immigrants in New York City from the Caribbean often distance themselves from African Americans. This group does see themselves as members of the U.S. African American community. They have little understanding of the U.S. racial system upon arrival. In their home countries, social stratification was much more class-based than race-based. Blacks in many of these Caribbean countries were not a racialized minority as Blacks in the U.S. are.

Instead, they saw themselves as Black immigrants, wholly distinct from African Americans, whom they learned upon arrival were a racialized minority group associated with adverse social, political, and economic outcomes. Black immigrants sought to maintain their identity as Black immigrants, in part by rejecting any ties to African Americans and the African American community. However, as Waters (1999) shows, the second generation Black immigrants began to categorize themselves and see themselves as more similar to “African Americans” rather than Black immigrants. Waters suggests that the racialization of Black immigrants and being treated as an African American day in and day out pushed them to attach to that group as it is both accessible and fitting.

Waters (1999) shows that first-generation immigrants were not aware of the term “African American” upon arrival. It made little sense to them and was not accessible. When other Black immigrants surrounded them, they identified with their home country and/or Black immigrant identity, since it was accessible. It also fit. As they learned about the racial hierarchy in the United States and the position of African Americans in the U.S., they did not see themselves fitting into that category, ripe with stereotypes and other adverse

outcomes. Instead, their goal in life and thus their identity was that of many immigrants, to work hard and make a better life for their family, and in doing so, they would be work to remain distinct from African Americans, despite similar phenotypic characteristics. That is, they wanted to maintain a sense of positive distinctiveness from African Americans.

However, as Waters (1999) points out, this sense of distinctiveness waned by the second generation. Among the second generation, those born in the U.S. to immigrant parents, the identification as “African American” increased as this cohort of individuals saw themselves as part of the larger *racial* group. One reason for this, Waters suggests, was that the second generation Black immigrants *grew up as Black youth in the United States*. Going to school and participating in other peer networks exposed the second generation Black immigrants to many of the racialized practices in the U.S. Society and institutions treated this cohort as if they were African American. Day in and day out exposure to these cues and stimuli offered a salient social category that this cohort of young Black second-generation immigrants could belong to and feel a sense of attachment towards. The social category was more accessible, something that was not the case for their parents, who retained an attachment to their immigrant status.

Furthermore, the social category became better fitting. Waters (1999) notes that living as a young Black second-generation immigrant did not fit. None of what happened in their life regularly outside the home was connected to the immigration experience and being an immigrant. As a result, categorization as an African American offered a way to attain positive self-image and be part of a larger group which provided many of the psychological benefits associated with group attachment.

What is essential from this discussion is the role of accessibility and fit and how various domains transmit fit and accessibility. The first generation of immigrants worked hard to remain attached to their Black immigrant identity. The Black immigrant group is the group that allowed them to maintain a positive self-image. These categories, however, did not make sense for their children. It was not that the parents’ socialization practices did not work to instill this identity, but the combination of peer networks outside the home and the pervasive nature of race in the U.S. provided a set of cues and stimuli that were too powerful

for social context and the social practices to overcome. We should think of these concepts on a continuum, rather than a discrete structure. As a social category is more accessible and better fitting, the process of self-categorization and attaching one's identity to that group is more likely. This conceptualization allows for flexibility in these social processes, rather than thinking of identity and the overall process as deterministic.

My goal is to show that variation in the ethnic affirming cues, a unique type of identity-affirming cues and stimuli, both in terms of type and in terms of degree made available in environmental and social contexts are directly related to the strength of one's ethnic attachment. Both the environmental context and the social context transmit key pieces of ethnic information that structure the processes of categorization by altering the fit and the accessibility of ethnic-based social categories and thus impacting the contours of self-stereotyping. My argument suggests that as social identity categories vary in terms of accessibility and fit individual attachment to these identity categories will vary. In situations where social identity categories are high in terms of fit and accessibility, I expect to see greater attachment to those social identity categories, in part, because they are searching to maintain a positive self-image, which is offered by identifying with the group (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Simon and Brown 1987; Ellemers et al. 2002).

For members of the Latino and Asian American communities, racial, ethnic, and/or national origin categories are often the salient social social categories by which many members of these communities identify with because they are easily accessible, fit with one's day-to-day experiences, help them obtain the psychological benefits of group attachment which helps maintain a positive status over other less homogeneous possible categorizations (Brewer et al. 1993; Simon and Brown 1987; Doosje et al. 1995; Ellemers et al. 1997). This is not to say that members automatically identify with these social identity categories, but my argument suggests that both the variation in the ethnic affirming content and the degree of this content is related to the adoption and strength of attachment with the social identity category. In short, my argument helps clarify why we see such vast heterogeneity in attachments among Latinos and Asian Americans. This heterogeneity would likely be much less if social identity attachments were almost entirely a function of more regular features such as the racial



hierarchy Masuoka and Junn (2013).

### 1.2.1 Social Categories – Cues, Stimuli, and Attributes

What is needed for categorization and identity development is a rich source of information about the salient social identity categories that are accessible in one’s day to day life and fit the lived experiences of an individual? For the most part, psychology and sociology have dominated this discussion - especially outside the context of political identities, where political science has had more to say. My focus at this point is on the cues, stimuli, and attributes that contain and transmit the information needed for self-categorization and identity attachment. Each cue, stimulus, or attribute contains a kernel of information about a social identity category or categories.<sup>7</sup> In other words, these cues and stimuli contain identity-affirming information.

These identity-affirming cues and stimuli have long been recognized in sociology and anthropology as important links in establishing and maintain identity. In many of these cases, the identity-affirming cues and stimuli are not abstract but refer to specific ethnic categories. *Ethnic affirming cues and stimuli* refer to sets of cues and stimuli that explicitly contains *ethnic* information (Mora 2014; Mora and Okamoto 2019; Jimenez 2010). In an example, Jimenez (2010) argues that *ethnic raw materials* are responsible for entrapping and transmitting the building blocks of an instrumental and salient ethnic identity. For Jimenez (2010), “ethnic raw materials that immigrants provide are not merely trappings of a symbolic ethnicity but powerful building blocks that are key to the construction of more salient ethnic identities” (133). These raw materials, which are analogous to the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli I discuss above, are responsible for meaningful ethnic attachments.

For Mexican Americans (the U.S. born), Jimenez (2010) suggests that the continued emigration of Mexican immigrants is mainly responsible for the more salient ethnic attachments of the broader, U.S. born Mexican American community. He argues that the Mexican

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<sup>7</sup>For analytic clarity, I focus on the singular at this point. However, as I will show later, these cues contain much relevant information about robustly related and sometimes distinct and overlapping identity.

Americans in his study demonstrate meaningful ethnic attachments, arguing against the largely symbolic attachments that white immigrants from the 20th century showed after a few generations of living in the U.S. Instead, he shows that the salient attachment to being Mexican American, which goes beyond mere symbolic attachments, is structured in large part by a set of cues and stimuli brought by Mexican immigrants, which directly connects Mexican Americans to their ethnic identity. In other words, the semi-tangible act of Mexican immigrants *bringing* the ethnic raw materials to members of host society varies the accessibility and fit of this social category. In areas with more Mexican emigration, Jimenez (2010) expects secure ethnic attachments among the Mexican American, since the amount of co-ethnic raw materials is directly proportional to the size of the Mexican immigrant population.

To provide a more concrete example, I discuss an interview with Jennifer. Jennifer is an 18-year-old Latina from La Puente, CA. In the interview, I asked Jennifer where she learned about identifying as Mexican, one of the attachments that came up during the initial question. While she first mentioned her parents and the fact that both of her parents were born in Mexico, she identified other vital factors. She said, “just always being around only Spanish speaking people at home and then the food we eat, the tradition, the parties.” For Jennifer, much of identifying as Mexican came through ethnic experiences that she engages in day in and day out, building on the concepts presented in (Jimenez 2010). In addition to the cues and stimuli from her family experiences, Jennifer also discussed the part of town she lived, which also correlates with her strong Mexican identity.

On her side of town contained the “mom and pop places,” she explained. These were where she and her friends could walk to. These places include a favorite taco shop and a *panaderia*. However, when I asked more about the area, she juxtaposed it to the “other side” of town, which is separated by a major interstate highway. Here is how she described it: “If you pass towards where the freeways at...that’s where you’ll have the mall, and then you’ll see Krispy Kreme, Chic-fil-A, Starbucks, the more corporate places.” I asked her if her friends were from this area. She said that most of her friends lived by her and the people who lived near the mall went to a different school. She knew very few people from that area, despite

graduating at the top of her high school class and being an active participant in school and regional activities. This means that Jennifer frequently passed the more corporate places, as that was the way to get to other areas nearby, so she was exposed to these places regularly as she traveled around the area. While they were not in her immediate vicinity, they were less than a few miles away, which is not a relatively far distance for someone living in La Puente. Despite being close, Jennifer's immediate local environmental context was much more important. Much of this has to do with proximity but also has to do with how her peer networks developed. This interview foreshadows the localized nature of an individual's experiences and how those experiences are connected to identity attachments. Of course, the nature of these attitudes is partly informed by a more extensive, societal based understanding of groups and positions through the racial hierarchy.

In this dissertation, I focus on environmental and social contexts as critical sources for ethnic affirming cues and stimuli. First, I show how social context which contains familial socialization practices and factors accosted with peer networks, many of which take place during one's formative years, is a source of these ethnic affirming cues that link individuals to ethnic social categories. Second, I show that environmental context, which refers to the physical attributes associated with where one lives, is a vital source of the ethnic stimuli capable of impacting the development, acquisition, and expression of ethnic attachments. These two sources of ethnic cues and stimuli intersect, overlap, and are related in measurable and unmeasurable ways, but I try to tease them apart from the best I can in the dissertation.

Next, I focus more on the key dimensions of context. I show how social context is linked to identity attachment. Here I focus on two principal sources of variability in the social context, familial socialization practices, and peer networks. I show how the heterogeneity across these sources associates with contemporary manifestations of group attachment. I then discuss how environmental context and variation in ethnic affirming cues across the built environment is associated with group-based attachment.

### **1.3 Family and Friends Matter: The Imprint of Identity Through Social Context and Socialization**

Social context and socialization practices have long been understood to impact important social and political attitudes (Jennings and Niemi 1975; 1981; Jennings et al. 2009; Sears and Valentino 1997; McDevitt and Chaffee 2002). While much of the early literature focused on a top-down transmission of political attitudes characterized by a parent to child, though more recent work has adopted alternative forms that correspond with the lived realities of residents in the U.S. (McDevitt and Chaffee 2002). The focus of this section is to think about how socialization practices more broadly introduce variation in the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli during one's formative years. We know from existing work that socialization practices instill partisan attachments (Campbell et al. 1960; Jennings et al. 2009; Jennings and Niemi 1975), religious preferences (Putnam et al. 2010), and racial attitudes (Sears 1993). Although group identities are thought to be less crystallized, this means that they require constant attention and reinforcement for their maintenance (Ethier and Deaux 1994; 1990; McClerking 2001). Thus, socialization practices are not limited to family transmission, but also incorporate the role of other socialization agents such as one's church, civic groups/clubs, major social/political events, neighbors, etc. (Dawson 1994; McDevitt and Chaffee 2002; Sears and Valentino 1997).

Ethnic affirming cues within one's social context include the importance of identity preservation from parents, family, and friends, family histories, and learning about one's position vis-a-vis other groups through processes that occur during one's transition and upbringing from child to adult (Ethier and Deaux 1994). Social context and socialization practices are not limited to family structures but include friends, schools, and church groups (Berelson 1954). We know from existing work that these practices are one of the primary social phenomena that instill a collective unity and fate among members of the African American community (McClerking 2001; Dawson 1994). McClerking (2001) points out that common fate is instilled or "set" during African American's adolescence period. Institutions in the Black community and family practices all encourage the adoption of a robust com-

mon fate as these experiences provide accessible and fitting cues and stimuli that allow for categories along the African American boundaries.

While my theory broadly considers the role of family practices in addition to friendship networks and practices, I showed preliminary evidence that Latinos and AAPI who had many co-ethnic friends during high school were much more likely to think their ethnic identity is essential during their first year of university and four years later during their senior year. Co-ethnic high school friends acted as sources of ethnic identity capital or ethnic raw materials (Ruiz 2017; Jimenez 2010). That is, these networks provided the cues and resources for individuals to think of themselves in terms of their racial and ethnic group and ultimately perceive that their ethnic identity is more critical conditional on the exposure to the ethnic cues and stimuli from their socialization context.

#### **1.4 Local Origins: Ethnic Cues & Stimuli in the Built Environment**

Above we saw that we could exploit the rich internal heterogeneity within the Latino and Asian American communities to understand how ethnic identity is transmitted across generations through friendship networks and socialization practices. In addition to these critical practices within one's social context, a central portion of my argument about where ethnic identities come from relies on the availability of rich ethnic affirming cues and stimuli in one's environmental context. My prediction is that observed measurements of group identity at any given time are a function of the availability of ethnic affirming cues within one's current environmental and social context, the nature and content of socialization practices that took place during one's formative years, and other individual-level factors. How then does one's environmental context provide the materials for identity attachment and strength?

The ethnic affirming cues and stimuli in one's environmental context take a more material form compared to those from one's social context. As I discussed above, I rely on an extensive body of work from sociology and to some extent anthropology to help clarify how variation in ethnic affirming cues and stimuli in one's environmental context is related

to identity attachments (Jimenez 2010; Alba 1992; Negrón 2011).

Sociologist Tomás Jiménez shows that the continued immigration of Mexicans (non-U.S. born) into communities is responsible for strong ethnic identity of the local Mexican American (U.S. born). A key element of ethnic replenishment, the process whereby continued immigration continues to maintain a strong ethnic attachment of the local community, comes in the form of what he calls ethnic raw materials, which he argues are transported by immigrants to the new society. Immigrants bring with them the ethnic elements that replenish the ethnic attachments of the host community members. Building off earlier work from Alba (1992) and other sociologists, Jiménez connects the strength of ethnic identity attachments to variation in the “ethnically linked symbols and practices” made available in one’s environment (Jimenez 2010, 102).

These ethnic raw materials are analogous to the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli I argue are linked to ethnic identity attachments. Jimenez (2010) suggests that relatively simple day to day experiences, such as being able to speak Spanish, are responsible for maintaining stronger ethnic commitments. He notes that ethnic foods, especially those available in mainstream grocery stores, as well as ethnic festivals and celebrations, are all maintained because of the immigrant community.

In this dissertation, I show that the concept of co-ethnic raw materials is just one instance of ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that exist within one’s environmental context. As I show, one of the significant limitations of Jimenez (2010) is the fact that the study takes place in two small communities, making the results hard to generalize and scale. Since most of his data come in the form of interviews, it is hard to know the extent and degree that co-ethnic raw materials vary systematically across time. While I am confident that this concept varies spatially, a new research design better situated to capture this variation is needed systematically.

I also argue that ethnic affirming cues and stimuli are not only brought to the host communities by immigrants, but it also includes many of the attributes which already exist in the community and are produced by the community. These cues and stimuli are pro-

duced by the community *for* the community and likely have an important link with identity attachment. Doing this work provides a much broader concept of identity-affirming cues and stimuli and one that is likely reinforced and maintained by the continued immigration, but also as a way of maintaining the positive distinctiveness which helps promote a positive self-image.

What then makes up the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli? As I showed much earlier and the primary example that I use throughout this dissertation comes from streetview images that are associated with one's neighborhood. This means that the environmental context I focus on is related to one's residential, neighborhood area (Agnew 1996; King 1996; Flint 1996).

Ethnic affirming cues and stimuli include community-based civic activities such as festivals, parades, and public celebrations, especially those where ethnically visible materials manifest as a community-wide symbolic expression of identity. Alba (1992) examines the "ethnic experiences" of white ethnics and finds that many of these activities seem rather mundane and banal. While these experiences are somewhat commonplace, Alba writes, "These are precisely the kind of quotidian experiences that can establish regular ethnic patterns in people's lives" (80). Despite the normalcy and everydayness, Alba (1992) finds that ethnic experiences are positively linked to the salience of ethnic identity among white ethnic respondents. Jimenez (2010) replicates this finding among Latinos where he shows that ethnic-based festivals, such as a church event celebrating the *Virgin of Guadalupe*, is linked to a stronger ethnic identity among the Mexican Americans in his study.

Ethnic affirming cues and stimuli also include established spaces ethnic-based social groups and civic clubs by and often for members of an ethnic community. In her study of Black ideology in the U.S., Harris-Lacewell (2010) finds that formalized institutions such as churches as well as informal institutions such as barber shops and beauty salons offer public spaces for the manifestation of a black counter-public. These physical spaces allow, "African Americans to come together in these arenas *because* of their blackness in a way that can, but does not necessarily, happen in other counter-public areas." (*emphasis in original*) (Harris-Lacewell 2010, 8).

In his study of white ethnics, Alba (1992) points out, “organizations can also be seen as a potential haven for ethnicity” (239), signaling that these were and remain essential spaces for the development of ethnic identity. Ethnic institutions vary across a spectrum in terms of formalization. At the most institutionalized end, there are ethnic churches, which are particularly important for community building institutions for immigrant-based groups (Alba 1992). While participation in voluntary clubs and organization is quite low in U.S. (Putnam 2000), there is still reason to believe that these institutions, especially religious intuitions which transmit ethnic content remain essential for Latinos and Asian Americans. Putnam et al. (2010) reveal that churches have historically served as institutions where immigrant populations go to reinforce their ethnicity. For Latinos in particular, the Catholic church has served as an institutional home for the development and persistence of ethnic identity. Matovina (2011) suggests that the segregated development of Catholic services for Latinos and whites has allowed Latino Catholics to participate in culturally specific worship practices, usually in Spanish.

However, I go one step beyond and focus on the ground structure of one’s environmental context. Here I am especially interested in all of visible ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that are associated with one’s environmental context. This, I argue, is captured by *looking directly at the environmental context*, which I show can be done used streetview images and done so in a way is systematic, scalable, and automated.

The visible ethnic affirming cues and stimuli, which I call *ethnic visibility* is capable of shaping one’s group based attachments by altering the fit and accessibility of the ethnic categories, which varies the process of categorization. Examining a handful of images shows what *ethnic visibility* looks like on the ground. While the focus of these images is mostly based on business listings and gathering the streetview images associated with each of those businesses, the concept of ethnic visibility is much broader. It refers to any visible ethnic cues and stimuli in one’s environmental context.

For Latinos and Asian Americans, much of this is language based, meaning that much of what I capture in ethnic visibility is based on the presence of lack of Spanish or Asian languages. However, to reduce ethnic visibility to language would miss so much of the critical



ethnic affirming information embedded in one's environmental context. Included in ethnic visibility are street signs, murals, door coverings, window dressings, shrines, altars, etc. Included in this is a host of visual expressions of ethnic content, providing more considerable information and building the associative links for fit and accessibility.

Environmental context, in addition to social context, is so important because these seemingly innocuous cues allow for constant exposure, which takes place day after day after day. These days turn into weeks which turn into years which can turn into decades. Unlike a single treatment, residents are exposed to these ethnic affirming cues and stimuli continuously, and I argue that these small yet consistent doses have an outsized impact on the development of group attachments.

Environmental contexts also vary and change over time. Sometimes these changes are brought on by one relocating to a new residential context for work, school, or better home in a different neighborhood. With these changes comes a new environmental context and with it the opportunities for a new group based categorization

## **1.5 How and Why Identities Matter for Politics**

Ethnic-based social attachments are the result of a dynamic process that connects contemporary social and environmental contextual features with a set of beliefs and attitudes about oneself. In other words, early adolescent experiences and family practices imprint a set of social identities into one's repertoire or portfolio of identity. The salience of these identities as well as their presence within one's portfolio change over time and across contexts. Current identity manifestations are the summation of early levels plus/minus current considerations. In this section, I connect these ethnic social identities to politics by showing how variation in identity attachment is vital for a host of political outcomes. I begin by developing a framework which allows us to think of the multiple social identities that individuals possess and how to understand these sometimes related identity categories together and separate.

### 1.5.1 Identity Portfolio Theory

I use the term identity portfolio to reflect the collection of operative social identity categories that an individual can call upon when making a decision. As social identity complexity teaches us, individuals hold many social identities, and those identities change over time and across contexts (Roccas and Brewer 2002). Self-categorization is not limited to one or two categories but instead happens around salient social identity categories confronted throughout one's life. Because of the vast possible identity configurations, many of which are distinct, yet can be robustly related; we need a tractable and structured framework to understand the political consequences of these identities and identity configurations (Chandra 2012).

The identity portfolio framework provides a straightforward way to theorize about the identity based political responses for individuals who identify as a member of more than one social category. Latinos and Asian Americans, whom both can possess and call on distinct yet robustly related social identity categories to make political decisions, are an ideal group to test this framework given the extensive variation of identity attachments within each of these groups. For Latinos and Asian Americans, the degree of identification to national origin and pan-ethnic categories vary extensively as does the political importance of these categories in the political decision-making processes. In some cases, it could be one's national origin group and their identity attachment with that group that informs the response to a group based slight. Other times, it could be a shared pan-ethnic identity, that informs whom they vote for when they cast a ballot. While the configurations are nearly indefinite, since other social categories such as gender, sexuality, profession, religious, partisan, etc. can be salient social categories by which individuals make important decisions, the identity portfolio framework can be applied to understand the condition under which identities matter for political outcomes. I focus on ethnic and racial identities in this dissertation, but this framework can be applied to include other areas. Achen and Bartels (2016), for example, focus on how partisanship is a social identity, building off the work of (Green et al. 2004).

An identity portfolio is very similar to a financial portfolio and thinking through a toy

example of a financial portfolio helps to understand this concept. First, a portfolio belongs to the individual. Social identity categories are similar to the common stock of a publicly traded company. The salience of an identity category is proportional to its weight held in the portfolio, just like we would see in a financial portfolio. Let us say individual A has a financial portfolio which only contains 10,000 shares of stock XYZ, and each share is valued at \$1.00. Individual B has a portfolio with 50 different companies and owns 200 shares of each company (which are also all valued at \$1.00 each for simplicity). Of those 50 companies, one is XYZ. So we have two individuals: Person A has \$10,000.00 in XYZ and Person B has \$200.00 in XYZ. For some reason, XYZ loses 4% of its value in a day. With all of their investments in XYZ, Person A loses \$400.00, 4% of their total assets under investment.

On the other hand, Person B, who only had \$200.00 in XZY, loses \$3.00. If we assume for simplicity that all other 49 stocks remain the same, Person B's overall value of their portfolio has been reduced from \$10,000.00 to \$9,994.00 as opposed to Person A whose \$10,000.00 portfolio is now at \$9,600.00. Person B's portfolio only decreased 0.06%, hardly noticeable overall despite an identical shock to company XYZ.

My contention is that person A is going to be a lot more aware of the shock to the overall value of the portfolio compared to person B. If we replaced companies with an identity category, we can quickly see how person A's self-worth is much more connected to their sole identity category and thus would be more reactive to the shock than person B, whose identity was much less connected to XYZ. Assuming both person A and person B are Latino and the shock is not a loss in value to stock, but a comment from a political elite, the devaluing of the group, it is easy to see how person A would be much more likely to follow the political response predicted by social psychology and work to better the group since that group is valuable to their self-image (Ellemers et al. 1999; Pérez 2015b). As an almost non-identifier, person B's response would be to disassociate from the group, or perhaps close the XYZ position and expand positions in other holdings since they derive relatively little self-worth from the identity. It is not to say that the shock does not impact both individuals, but rather to think about the response from the individual conditional on the shock and the attachment to the underlying group.

The identity portfolio framework is adapted from the social identity complexity work in social psychology (Roccas and Brewer 2002) as well as work in comparative politics that have examined identity repertoires (Posner 2004; 2005; Chandra 2012). The work in social identity complexity maps out the possible identity configurations and demonstrates that individuals possess multiple social identities. In practical application, especially with Latinos and Asian Americans, we know this is the case. For Latinos and Asian Americans, national origin, American, and pan-ethnic identities have always been part of the American social and political landscape, and they are increasingly common and relevant in a multicultural America. Political science, however, has yet to fully map out the identity-to-politics link for such complex identity structures, which continuously vary across time and contexts. Most of the existing work tends to focus on a single identity within one's portfolio at a time. I suggest that the identity portfolio framework can help link group based attachments to politics systematically and predictably.

## **1.6 Residential Self Selection & Identity Attachment**

To causally identify the effect of “context” on perceptions of group identity, I would need to rule out all possibilities of a selection mechanism. More simply put, to be sure that the environmental context has a causal effect on perceptions of group identity, group identity cannot be connected to why someone lives in or moved to a specific area. The explosion of causal inference in political science has forced researchers to search for exogenous variation and randomization to identify causal effects and rule out this selection bias.

The most pressing problem from the causal inference perspective for the current project is a question of reverse causality, which leads to selection bias. It could be, for example, that attachments impact where people choose to live instead of the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli of an environmental context impacting perceptions of group identity. The most straightforward and explicit way to test this would be to randomly assign respondents to different residential contexts and then measure attitudes and behaviors afterward. For almost countless reasons, this type of design is beyond feasible. However, thinking through an “ideal

experiment” can provide some insight into sources of exogenous variation that we can indeed exploit to make causal claims.

Some outstanding work in political science has been conducted and published that identifies some causal effects associated with context, reassuring us that the variation in behaviors and attitudes is not driven by selection (Enos and Gidron 2016; Enos 2014; 2015; Sands 2017; Hopkins 2012). Enos (2015) finds a decrease in turnout following the destruction of public housing projects in Chicago, supporting claims that proximity to racial out-groups associate with increased participation. Enos’s study also confirms that residents are very aware of contextual changes that take place near their residence. These current studies then make it clear that context and variation in contextual factors *can* have a casual impact on important behavioral and attitudinal outcomes. This is not to say that context *always* has an identifiable causal link, but rather that under certain conditions and for specific outcomes, researchers have ruled out selection and identified credible causal pathways from context to behavioral or attitudinal outcomes.

I want to spend some time discussing the theoretical implications of residential selection, which sociologists have spent decades examining. Until the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968, discriminatory housing practices were codified in federal law and legally permitted in local ordinances and covenants. The passage of the Fair Housing Act stopped the institutionalized practice of ensuring segregation through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) guaranteed loans. Despite this, many neighborhoods and locales continued to exhibit discriminatory practices, ensuring that housing choices fell along racial lines. Take Seattle’s Greenwood neighborhood, which had the following discriminatory language in the housing covenant, “That neither the said premises or any house building or improvement thereon erected shall at any time be occupied by persons of the Ethiopian race or by Japanese or Chinese or any other Malay or Asiatic race save and except as domestic servants in the employ of person not coming within that restriction.”<sup>8</sup> While the Fair Housing Act outlawed these, many areas continued to discriminate in less formal ways.

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<sup>8</sup><https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/covenants.htm>

Krysan and Crowder (2017) show that segregation levels remain high in the twenty-first century despite the work to integrate neighborhoods across the U.S. They show that the existing theoretical debates regarding the reasons for continued segregation are centered on three perspectives: 1) the group difference in residential selection; 2) the socio-economic difference between group; and 3) continued discrimination in the housing market through subtle forms such as zoning, discriminatory lending, and spatial patterning. While all of these forms are undoubtedly true, Krysan and Crowder (2017) argue that overlooked social processes structure the continued segregation seen in the U.S. They write, “members of different racial and ethnic groups are, in many ways, operating in drastically different residential worlds” (13). Krysan and Crowder (2017) highlight the importance of the underlying social structure of housing, acknowledging deep and embedded histories and systems that put into motion social forces that constrain and circumscribe residential decisions along racial and ethnic lines.

While research does show that racial and ethnic group members tend to prefer areas with some diversity, the work summarized by Krysan and Crowder (2017) shows that *residential selection is constrained by large-scale social forces*, arguing against any possibility that individuals, especially racial and ethnic minority group members, have complete autonomy over residential selection.

### **1.6.1 A Conjoint Experiment to Understand Residential Selection**

Despite the historical record showing that minority group members have had little free agency in where they live, some skeptics continue to believe as such. While it is undoubtedly the case that minority group members, in particular members of the Black community, prefer to live in areas with other co-ethnic and co-racial members, the real threat to many inferences in this dissertation is whether secure group attachment causes Latinos and Asian Americans to select neighborhoods rich in the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that I am suggesting promote group attachment.

To test this, I developed a conjoint analysis where respondents selected between two

neighborhoods. Conjoint designs are well suited to understand this multi-dimensional research question (Hainmueller et al. 2014a; Green and Rao 1971). In the design, respondents view five pairs of randomly generated neighborhood profiles. Each respondent is presented with  $K = 5$  paired choices and asked to select their preferred neighborhood from  $J = 2$  alternatives. Each neighborhood is composed of  $L = 6$  traits.<sup>9</sup> Respondents were asked to select which of the neighborhoods they would prefer. They were then asked to rate the neighborhood in terms of desirability where (1) = not very desirable and (7) = very desirable.

I tested the conjoint experiment on a sample from Amazon’s MTurk. Recent work has shown that MTurk respondents provide reliable population inferences (Coppock 2017; Coppock et al. 2018). I obtained larger than normal samples of Blacks, Latinos, and AAPI.<sup>10</sup> In all, I collected 3,153 respondents with the following racial composition: Latino = 204 and AAPI = 263. Consistent with other work using MTurk, the sample was generally older, more liberal, and had more education than the U.S. population.

Figure 1.2 shows the marginal means for residential selection preference by strength of group attachment. By design, the marginal mean of any given level of an attribute for a selection question is 0.5, so values above 0.5 correspond to greater preference and values lower than 0.5 suggest less preference for that attribute. The results suggest there is a positive trend for more ethnic neighborhoods for both Latinos (row 1) and Asian Americans (row 2). However, the patterns are largely similar between those with strong group attachment and those with weak group attachment. When the results do not conform, there are large confidence intervals, showing the variability in responses.

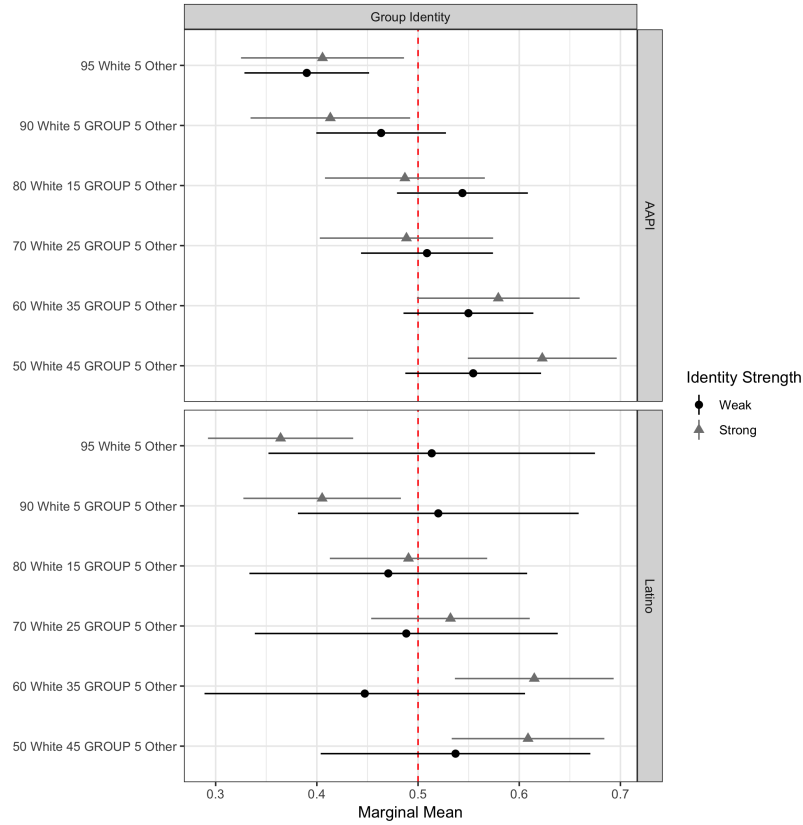
In addition to plotting the marginal means, I conduct a formal  $\chi$ -square test. I show

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<sup>9</sup>Housing cost based on levels of monthly income: 25%, 30%, 40%, and 50%. Crime rate: “No violent crime last year,” “One assault last year,” and “Neighbor’s car stolen last year.” School quality was assessed as the percentage of students who went on to college: 25%, 50%, or 85%. Racial composition varied between White and non-White. White = “95% White, 5% other,” “80% White, 20% other,” “70% White, 30% other,” “60% White, 40% other,” “50% White, 50% other.” Non-White = “95% White, 5% other” “90% White, 5% in-group, 5% other,” “80% White, 15% in-group, 5% other,” “70% White, 25% in-group, 5% other,” “60% White, 35% in-group, 5% other,” “50% White, 45% in-group, 5% other.” Neighborhood quality was assessed with the proportion of neighbors with a college degree: 10%, 30%, 50%, or 75%. Convenience was based on minutes of commute time: “10,” “20,” “30,” “45,” or “60.”

<sup>10</sup>Respondent eligibility was determined with a series of screening questions.

Figure 1.2: The Effect of Group Attachment on Residential Selection



Notes: This figure shows the marginal means (MM) for residential selection given variation in group attachment. I examine the Neighborhood Composition trait to test whether highly identified respondents are more likely to seek out more co-ethnic in the neighborhood. 95% confidence intervals shown.

the results in Table 1.1. These results show that there is no statistical difference between the two groups. This finding suggests there is no statistical difference in how those with strong group attachment select residential characteristics based on racial composition compared to those with weak group attachment.

Table 1.1: Chi-Square Test of Significance For Co-Ethnic Composition by Identity Strength

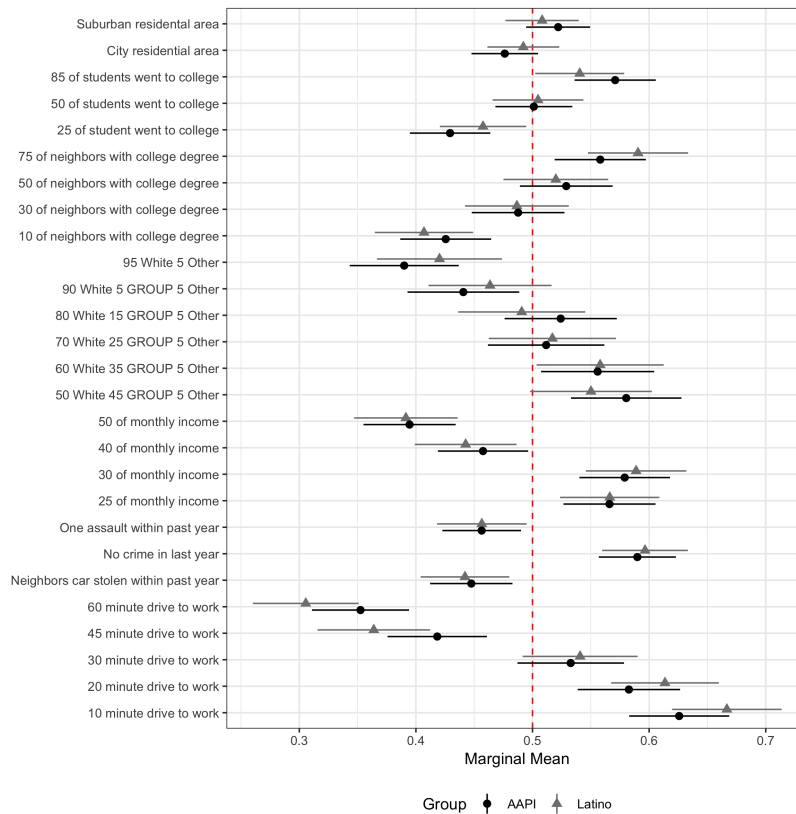
Group	Outcome	Df	F	Pr(>F)
Latino	Group Identity	6.00	1.57	0.15
AAPI	Group Identity	6.00	0.74	0.62

The results from this conjoint experiment add to the more historical discussion above. These findings suggest that environmental context can impact selection into neighborhoods,



but more importantly, selection into neighborhoods does not vary by strength of ethnic attachment. In thinking about how much the racial and ethnic characteristics of a neighborhood matter, I return to the full conjoint, which asked about six different neighborhood traits.

Figure 1.3: The Effect of Group Attachment on Residential Selection



Notes: This figure shows the marginal means (MM) for the residential selection question which asks respondents to select which neighborhood they prefer between two alternative neighborhoods. All attributes are fully randomized. 95% confidence intervals shown.

Figure 1.3 shows the results from the full conjoint assessing neighborhood selection, separated between Latinos and AAPI. The x-axis shows the marginal means (values greater than 0.5 are indicative of preference and values less than 0.5 show aversion) and the y-axis is each level within each neighborhood trait. Examining the racial and ethnic composition levels the figure shows general support for the claim that Latinos and Asian Americans are more likely to select neighborhoods with some in-group members compared to those with no in-group members. Minority group members tend to want diversity in their home

environments. However, looking at the size of the estimates for the other traits, many of the other neighborhood characteristics are as large if not larger than those for racial and ethnic composition. Cost and convenience (commute time) stand out as the most important selection factors, meaning that these factors are the primary considerations made when selecting between two profiles. Aspects like crime and % of neighbors with a college degree are similar in terms of magnitude to racial and ethnic composition.

These findings reveal that selection is a central feature of contextual research. I attempt to guard against selection throughout this dissertation when possible. I bring in evidence from different sources and leverage tools like conjoint analyses, survey experiments, and panel designs to protect against selection. Along with an understanding of the history of housing in the U.S., which has removed considerable agency in residential selection from minority communities, the findings obtained from these tools allows me to understand better how social and environmental context shapes our groups and our politics in a convincing manner.

## 1.7 Outline of Dissertation: Identity Politics in Context

The goal of this dissertation is to provide answers to two research questions. 1) What explains variation in group attachment and identity structures among AAPI and Latinos? and 2) How does variation in these attachments matter for politics? The simple answers. For the first question, I show that social and environmental context structures variation in group-based attachments among these two groups. To answer the second, I show that the identity portfolio theory helps provides a precise language and a framework for understanding the politicization of identities, the conditions under which identities matter for politics, and how variation in different constellations of identity matter for politics.

I make these points across four empirical chapters. Each chapter provides additional theoretical development and empirical testing of the implications I derive. Chapter 2 shows the link between social context, specifically peer groups and familial practices, and variation in group attachment. Here I rely on two key data sources, the *Mexican American Study Project* (MASP) and the *UCLA Studies in Intergroup Conflict: A University Con-*

*text* (UCLA-SIC). These are both panel studies that interviewed respondents across various points in time, allowing me to understand better how aspects of one's social context in previous periods are linked to identity attachments years later. In this chapter, I show that certain family practices and beliefs, as well as their peer networks, link group based attachments among Latinos and AAPI. These social contexts are reliable sources of ethnic affirming cues and stimuli and provide these materials during one's formative years.

In Chapter 3, I show how one's environmental context is linked to their group based identities. Here I use both observational data as well as an original survey experiment to show how living in contexts rich in ethnic affirming cues and stimuli explains variation in group attachment. This chapter provides the critical causal link between context and group attachment for Latinos and Asian Americans. The results I show in this chapter are essential since detecting a causal link between context and various outcomes are quite challenging given concerns over selection that are so prevalent in contextual research.

Chapter 4 shows how identity politics in context matters for politics in the real world. In this chapter, I develop a new measure of ethnic context, which I call *ethnic visibility*, that, based on the work in Chapter 3, provides a better way to measure the ethnic identity of an area systematically. Using this measure of ethnic visibility derived from streetview images of a precinct, I use this measure to predict ethnic voting behaviors in two U.S. Congressional districts. My new measure is a strong predictor of ethnic voting for AAPI and Latino candidates and significantly improves on the standard population-based measures that the ethnic voting literature has relied on for so long. More importantly, however, my measure of ethnic visibility helps us better understand the mechanisms of ethnic voting that scholars have hypothesized but never tested in a real-world context.

In Chapter 5, I continue to show the conditions under which group-based identities matter for politics. Here I develop the *identity portfolio theory*, which provides a simple framework for understanding a well known, but elusive issue for researchers. We know that individuals have multiple social identities, many of which are distinct, yet robustly related. Asian Americans and Latinos, for example, often vacillate between attachment to the pan-ethnic/pan-racial group and their national origin group. Unfortunately, we do not have a

parsimonious framework for understanding when, why, and how some identities matter for politics and others do not. I test this framework using observational data collected following the 2016 election and the data from an original survey experiment developed to test some of the critical implications from the identity portfolio theory.

Finally, in the Conclusion, I consider next steps and future work. I also discuss the importance of identity politics and context in the 21st century. While my focus in the dissertation is on Latino and Asian Americans living in the U.S., many of these concepts are transportable to other contexts. I also discuss the importance of these concepts in the American political system.

## CHAPTER 2

### Family and Friends Matter: The Imprint of Identity From Social Contexts

Outside of the environmental context, one's social context in an area ripe for the presence of ethnic affirming cues, those cues and stimuli that aid in the process of categorization. During my interview with Jennifer, an 18-year-old Latina living in California, who discussed her Mexican background extensively, I asked her about her upbringing and her family. She told me that her parents, both born in Mexico, made it a point to tell her that she was Mexican. She told me, "I do identify as Mexican, I've always identified as Mexican, but that's something that my parents because they are from Mexico, they're all, 'you're Mexican'".

This experience was part of the two other essential facets of social context: 1) a robust family network that engages in ethnic family practices during her childhood and 2) an extensive network of peers that reinforce identity through continued social interactions and engagement. Jennifer's experience was quite different from Jason's, who like Jennifer also had two parents born in Mexico, but was raised in a family that promoted hard work and assimilation over the celebration of ethnic heritage. Because of these different experiences, the group attachments that Jennifer and Jason demonstrated years later varied considerably.

In this chapter, I focus on two critical components of social context: family practices and peer networks. I explore the role of peer networks and how co-ethnic peer networks are responsible for transmitting the ethnic affirming cues that facilitate identity attachment through categorization. I also explore the role of family practices and how these socialization practices are linked with identity attachment. Across both of these dimensions: social context

acts as a conduit for the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that facilitate the process of categorization. Variation in these cues and stimuli comes from the differences in ethnic commitments of one's family and through the differences in one's peer networks.

I focus the adolescent years, those formative years during childhood and into adulthood. These years serve as the locus where I expect social context to be the most important and influential (Sears and Valentino 1997). My argument is that variation in ethnic affirming cues delivered during these formative years has a lasting impact on group attachments throughout life, echoing the work from Harwood McClerking, who points out the great importance of family practices and social networks during Black adolescent's upbringing. He argues that the experiences in these years "set" the base rate or baseline level of group attachment for the remainder of one's life. While there is dispersion around this, based on all the experiences over one's life, these years during adolescence are especially crucial for the construction, development, and formation of group attachments.

To explore the links between social context and group attachment, I take advantage of two unique panel surveys. I point them out here in the introduction because these two surveys offer a vital contribution to the study of attitude transmission and stability over time. Many studies rely on cross-sectional designs, which provide a snapshot of a population at a single point in time. Using these designs, researchers find associations between variables to test various theories and answer research questions. Often, however, researchers are interested in relationships that occur over long periods or relationships that are likely endogenous. As I will show, the two panel surveys that I use help guard against many of these issues. The results from this design provide more rigorous tests as they are less likely to be plagued by certain types of bias that are often present in observational research. Because of this, I am much more confident in the findings that rely on these two surveys.

In the remainder of this chapter, I explore theoretical links between social context and identity attachment. I focus this discussion on two distinct, but closely related sources: peer networks and family practices. For the former, I rely heavily on literature from developmental psychology where research has extensively examined the links between peer networks and group attachment. I also focus on the links between family practices and identity at-

tachment, which relies on extensive literature from political science but also includes social, developmental, and cognitive psychology. The point of this discussion is to clarify how “social context” facilitates the process of categorization by varying exposure to ethnic affirming cues and stimuli. In other words, social context is a pathway that connects ethnic affirming cues and group-based attachments and the goal of this chapter is to show how these connections play out among Latinos and Asian Americans.

## **2.1 How Social Context Impacts Group Identity**

Social contexts have long been understood to impact important social, psychological, and political attitudes (Jennings and Niemi 1975; 1981; Jennings et al. 2009; Sears and Valentino 1997; McDevitt and Chaffee 2002; Santos et al. 2017; Erikson 1968; Phinney 2000; 1991; Sellers et al. 1998; Sellers and Shelton 2003; Sellers et al. 1997). Much of this work has focused on the links between the social contexts during one’s formative years and attitudes and behaviors later in life (Erikson 1968; Phinney 1989; Phinney and Chavira 1995; Phinney et al. 2001; Santos et al. 2017; Umaña-Taylor and Fine 2001). This vast literature, mostly in developmental and cognitive psychology, highlights the role of one’s adolescent years in understanding these developmental processes. In political science, important attitudes such as partisanship and racial attitudes are “crystallized” during these formative years (Sears 1993; Sears et al. 1997; Jennings and Niemi 1981; Jennings et al. 2009; Green et al. 2004; Campbell et al. 1960). Because of this ‘crystallization’, these attitudes and beliefs remain relatively strong throughout one’s life.

Social context can cover a wide range of social activities, experiences, and practices that vary the exposure to ethnic affirming cues and stimuli. In this chapter, I focus on two specific sources of this information: family socialization practices and peer networks. Socialization practices refer to the social context laid down by the family and in close familial networks. While some choices are actively made by parents through their transmission of attitudes, beliefs, and values to their children, many of these are picked up by children throughout childhood merely living in an environment. Peer networks, the second source of these cues

and stimuli, refer to the vast array of experiences and friend groups that an individual possesses.

### 2.1.1 Peer Networks and Attitude Development

Existing work documents the connections between social contexts and group-based attachments, especially for racial and ethnic minority youth (Umaña-Taylor 2004; Santos et al. 2017; Phinney and Alipuria 1990; Phinney and Chavira 1995; Phinney et al. 2001; Phinney 1991). The work in this tradition, mostly from developmental psychology, shows that social context is related to ethnic identity attachments. However, the actual substance of the findings is often mixed. Some scholars find a negative link between more ethnic social context and ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor 2004), while others show a positive relationship (Phinney et al. 2001; Santos et al. 2017). The disparate findings, to my understanding, seem to be from how social context is conceptualized and different measurements strategies. Umaña-Taylor (2004), for example, shows that across three different schools, with varying levels of Latino composition, the schools with the highest level of Latino composition are associated with the lowest level of ethnic attachment. This is an important point since it reflects a common, but an arguably misguided response to the theoretically predicted positive links between ethnic affirming context and ethnic attachment.

Umaña-Taylor (2004) concludes that when students are in the minority, their ethnic attachment is stronger since it is easier to recognize the differences between their individual self and the larger majority group. Despite the *negative relationship between ethnic affirming cues and ethnic attachment* demonstrated, I argue that this finding is confounded by two significant concerns. First, as Sellers et al. (1998) points out, identity salience is fleeting and situational, and is heavily dependent on the context, which is what is likely happening among the Mexican youth in (Umaña-Taylor 2004) when students are taking a survey in the specific context. Second, related but more important, much of this work fails to recognize the temporal ordering of identity categorization. Simply put, where, when, and under what conditions did the categorization process take place. This critical feature is not recognized



in the Umaña-Taylor (2004) study. I contend that the Mexican youth in these schools with fewer Latinos likely exhibit stronger group attachment for several reasons. For one, these Mexican youth may have had much more dense peer networks, responsible for establishing and maintain a stronger group attachment (Umaña-Taylor 2004). Alternatively, it could also be the case that there are vast differences in the socialization practices at home, which were not fully accounted for in the model.

Santos et al. (2017) offers a more detailed examination of how peer networks influence ethnic attachment and account for selection into those networks. They find a strong positive relationship between peer influence and ethnic attachment as measured by identity centrality (a Southwestern U.S. school) and a strong link between peer influence and public regard (Midwest school). They conclude that peer networks are vital for understanding the development of ethnic attachments, but do vary across contexts (Southwest vs. Midwest).

Building off this work, I expect to see a link between peer networks and group attachments among Asian Americans and Latinos, as I argue that ethnic affirming cues are often transmitted through these networks. Peer networks, while important, are but one aspect of the broader social context. I next turn to outline the links between family practices and group attachment.

### **2.1.2 Family Practices**

The second aspect of social context that I focus on is related to familial practices, sites that also expose individuals to ethnic affirming cues during their adolescent years. The transmission of important attitudes, beliefs, and values have been well established by examining variation in family-based socialization practices (Sears and Valentino 1997; Jennings and Niemi 1981; Jennings et al. 2009). Political science has long understood the importance of social context in explaining several political attitudes and behaviors. Campbell et al. (1960) pointed out that partisan attachments were almost entirely a function of one's parents' political commitments. This finding has been reinforced in later work (Jennings and Niemi 1981; Jennings et al. 2009; Jennings and Niemi 1975). Others have found that the role of the

family to be important for religious preferences (Putnam et al. 2010) and racial attitudes (Sears 1993).

Despite the strong links between socialization practices and attitudes, beliefs, and values, political science has had less interest in the link between these familial practices and identity-based outcomes, especially for Latinos and Asians Americans. Existing work has considered familial practices for Black group identity (Dawson 1994; McClerking 2001). These studies show that socialization practices are closely linked to group attachments. Black family practices, many of which are intimately connected with other social activities such as church and friend groups, provide the necessary cues and stimuli for the process of categorization. In fact, as Dawson (1994) points out, the socialization practices in the Black community are primarily responsible for such strong perceptions of linked fate among the Black community. These feelings of linked fate are powerful enough to show relatively homogeneous support of the Democratic party, despite the heterogeneity in other socio-economic indicators.

Socialization practices, while on their face do not seem to be as important for explaining variation in group attachment, but as we think about these practices more, it becomes easier to see the importance of socialization practices that create opportunities for self-categorization. For many later generation Latino and Asian American individuals and families, especially those who have stratified in terms of social class and may live outside or far away from areas rich in ethnic flavor, I expect socialization to be a principal agent for the process of categorization. In a comprehensive study of second- and third-generation Mexican Americans, Ruiz (2017) highlights the interplay between ethnic identity, social class, and generation. He finds strong support that connects perceptions of Latino consciousness, which he suggests is inherently pan-ethnic, to socialization practices as these practices inform current engagement and display of “Latino identity capital.” In a sample of Latino college students, psychologists Kathleen Ethier and Kay Deaux find that identity strength prior to college is supported by family background, high school friends, and neighborhood context (1994, 50), again suggesting the influence of family practices along with peer networks, the key argument I hope to make in this chapter. Mora and Okamoto (2019) highlight the role

of ethnic newspapers in building broad ethnic coalitions. While children are unlikely reading these texts, the parents are likely exposed to this information and transmitted to children.

So yes, while environmental contexts and the respective ethnic cues are essential in understanding variation in identity attachment (Chapter 3), strong group attachments should be visible in those individuals whose parents, family, and friends imprinted strong connections by facilitating the process categorization by supplying the key ethnic affirming ingredients. In these family practices, the transmission of ethnic affirming cues and stimuli come in many different manifestations. In many cases, direct measurement is likely impossible, but I suggest that we should observe some empirical implications by focusing on indirect proxies that are measured in survey data.

Next, I clarify the links between social context and group attachment by turning back to some of my interview respondents. When I spoke with Jennifer, I asked her a lot about her upbringing, who raised her, what they talked about in the house, and the vital family practices and traditions that took place during her childhood. I also asked Jason these same questions, whom I will discuss shortly, but Jennifer's responses help elucidate how social contexts, in particular, one's family environment, are linked to identity attachment. Responding to a question about her upbringing, Jennifer told me, "I do identify as Mexican, I've always identified as Mexican, but that's something that my parents, because they are from Mexico, they're all, 'you're Mexican' and the culture, my upbringing, again, just always being around only Spanish speaking people at home and then the food we eat, the tradition, the parties, we have *Quinceaneras*, Christmas, all of that." It was this environment that promoted a sense of attachment to being Mexican. In fact, for Jennifer, her primary group attachment was with the Mexican community. She later explained how she understood being Hispanic but did not identify with that group. While the Hispanic identity may have been an identity that came up sometimes, her strongest attachment, partly informed by growing up in a Mexican household that stressed these connections through direct discussion (i.e., being told she is Mexican by her parents) as well as other, less direct forms of influence, such as speaking Spanish, eating ethnic foods, and participating in ethnic cultural events, was Mexican.

Contrast this with Jason's experiences growing up in a "similar" situation. Both Jason's parents emigrated from Mexico, much like Jennifer's, but he had a very different experience. As I have mentioned before, Jason's parents *did not* engage in the same type of behaviors. Instead, his parents focused on working hard, laying under the radar, and fitting in. They did not have discussions about being Mexican or their cultural ancestry. Since most of their family still lived in Mexico and the family had few friends, they remained relatively isolated. While the family spoke Spanish, his parents pushed him to learn English and do well in school, thinking that path would enable Jason and his sister on a path to a better life. The family did not practice or engage in any cultural traditions. Christmas and other holidays were there, but there was nothing "ethnic" about how they were practiced. Jason's Latino identity was made salient through his friend groups and during his time at UCLA when he took classes and learned about the history of Mexican immigration and the Chicano movement, and he recognized this. When I asked him about his friends during his adolescent years, he noted that the vast majority were also Latino and a handful came from strongly identified families, likely the type of family environment that Jennifer grew up in. Accordingly, these experiences helped establish some connection being Latino and while Jason did not come out strongly attached to being Latino when I probed this question later in the interview, he instantly made these connections, explaining that his connection to the Latino community was established outside the home. He sometimes asked his parents about being Latino, Chicano, etc., and their response could be summarized as "none of that matter, put your head down, work, and don't stand out".

As we can see, Jason and Jennifer illustrate two distinct paths of household and familial socialization practices and I argue that these practices are linked to the adoption identity attachments. For Jennifer, the Mexican category was always around. Her parents directly reinforced it as did many of the practices she engaged in. As such, when I interviewed her, this attachment came up immediately and truly seemed to define her life and how she looked at and interpreted the world. Jason's environment did not promote those same strong connections, and yes, while his friends were important, these attachments were not reinforced in the home setting.

While we learn so much from interviews, we can never be sure if Jennifer and Jason are unique, or their experiences represent a larger social phenomenon. The interviews I conducted as well as the existing literature make clear that social context, specifically socialization practices and peer networks, strongly impact the various identity attachments, and these relationships, like much of the developmental psychology suggests, seem to be most strongly impacted during the formative years of one's life.<sup>1</sup> To test the importance of social context, which I split into family practices and peer networks, I develop a research design that leverages two unique panel surveys.

Panel surveys interview respondents at two different times and are ideal to answer these types of questions since, in a cross-sectional design, these questions are likely endogenous. In other words, asking someone about how the ethnic dimensions of their childhood are impacted by their current ethnic attachment is problematic. We could easily imagine someone who is strongly identified to a particular group to focus on the ethnic practices that their parents engaged in, even if it was a fraction of their actual experiences. This would lead to artificially strong relationships between social contexts and group attachment.

The first panel, the *Mexican American Study Project* (MASP), began in 1965 interviewing a set of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles, CA and San Antonio, Texas. Respondents were reinterviewed in 2000 and the children of original respondents were also interviewed in 2000, many of whom were young children during the 1965 wave. Unfortunately, this is only a survey of Mexican Americans, making it impossible to test the relationship between social context and group attachments among Asian Americans. I use the MASP to explore the conditions under which parental factors are linked to children's identity attachment.

I also use the *Studies in Intergroup Conflict: A University Context* (UCLA-SIC), a four-wave panel that began with UCLA freshman in 1996 and was completed in 2001 when the cohort had graduated. This survey, which measures a host of important question across four waves (freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior), was designed have larger samples of Asian

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Daniel Hopkins and Seth Goldman find that racial attitudes are largely a function of the racial composition of the county where an individual lived during high school.

American and Latino respondents, utilizing UCLA's diverse student body to understand many relationships across racial and ethnic groups. Using this survey, I unpack how peer networks are related to group based attachments.

Because these two surveys are both panel designs, they offer considerable leverage over the questions I am interested in. However, neither study was designed directly for this study. Because of this, I have to use what is available on the survey and this often results in using questions and measures that are robustly related but may not be the best way to capture a concept of interest. This is particularly the case with the MASP data, which was collected by a group of sociologists, who did not conceptualize group based attachments in the same way as I do or as social psychologists later did. Despite some limitations, these surveys offer the best evidence possible, especially for Latinos and Asian Americans, groups that have traditionally not been well represented in large scale social surveys.

## 2.2 Family Matters: The Mexican American Study Project

In the early 1960s three professors at UCLA conducted an extensive study of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles, CA and San Antonio, TX, called the Mexican American Study Project (MASP). In 1970, Grebler, Moore, and Guzman published their study *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority*. At the time the volume was the most comprehensive examination into the growing Latino community. While the study would be interesting on its own, a series of event that happened nearly 30 years following the study make it a unique contribution in the study of minority politics in the U.S., one that has often been overlooked in many respects. In the mid-1990s two junior faculty Vilma Ortiz and Edward Telles found the original survey responses during a building renovation. Their keen insight saw an immediate opportunity: a panel study. Using the original surveys, they were able to reinterview a large portion of the original respondents as well as children of the respondents.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>For original respondents who could not be contacted or were deceased, Telles and Ortiz, used informants who knew the original respondents well. These were often neighbors or other family members. For the most

The resulting dataset, while limited in many ways, is one of the most unique datasets of its kind. The dataset has a panel component for the original respondents as well as an intergenerational component that interviews the children of the original respondents in 2000, 30 years after their parents were interviewed. Because of this unique intergenerational component, I can test how certain socialization factors from parents in the late 1960s are related to attitudes and behaviors of their children nearly three decades later. I can also exploit the panel nature of the dataset and compare the responses from original respondents between 1965 and 2000.

The goal of this section is to show that certain parental behaviors and commitments are related to their children's adoption of ethnic attachments and commitments. As I argued earlier, one possible path to strong ethnic commitments happens when parents and family seek to transmit ethnic commitments and attachments across generations. When I spoke with Jason, for example, his family focused on working hard and making a better life for his family, which in his case did not include the activities and practices that promoted, maintained, and supported his family's ethnic background. As such, while Jason recognized his Latino heritage when prompted, it was not something he initially brought up. When I probed Jason, he noted that ethnic cultural practices were not something his family focused on. Instead, his family focused on getting by, and at times, suggested he and his sister downplay any ethnic attachments in order to get ahead. While Jason and other people I interviewed provide strong evidence to my theoretical framework, the MASP survey data and other quantitative data demonstrate broader generalizability of my theory.

### **2.2.1 Parental Predictors of Children's Ethnic Identity**

I begin by examining parental predictors of children's ethnic attachment. While the MASP does not measure ethnic attachment with the same questions used in political science (Dawson 1994; Tate 1993; Pérez 2015b) or social psychology (Leach et al. 2008), there are several

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part, I do not rely on the original respondents (1965) in wave 2 (2000). My primary focus is on the children of the original respondents, who were often young children in 1965 but are adults during the 2000 interview wave.

outcomes from the survey instrument that I use to explore links between one's parents and their ethnic attachments. I start with the intergenerational component of the MASP which means that I use responses from the original survey respondents fielded in 1965 to predict their children's ethnic attachments in 2000, over three decades later.

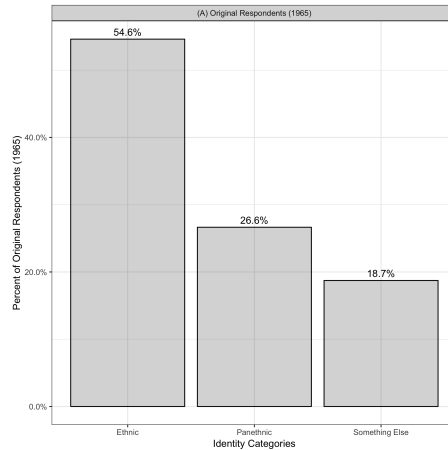
From a methodological standpoint, there are several clear advantages to using this setup. The first and most important reason is that this approach guards against threats of endogeneity and reverse causality. A child's responses in 2000 cannot impact their parent's response measured 30 years prior. While this design does not offer a causal identification strategy as omitted or spurious variables could still be present, it does provide more compelling evidence to help test my hypotheses.

I begin with the most simple question, do parental identity ethnic commitments predict their children's ethnic identity commitments. The MASP measured parents identity commitments by asking "As we go around talking with people in this community, we find that some people prefer to call themselves:" with "Spanish-speaking", "Latin-Americans", "Mexicans", "Mexican-American", "American only", "Hispano-Americano", "Spanish-American", "Spanish descent", and "Other" as possible responses. I collapsed these variables into three different variables: "Ethnic" which encompasses any attachment to Mexico, "Pan-ethnic" which considers Latin based or Spanish attachment, and "Other" which includes "American" and any other response that could not be classified as ethnic or pan-ethnic. Figure 2.1 shows the distribution of these categories for the original respondents. More than one half (54.6%) of the original respondents considered themselves ethnic. Only 26.6% considered themselves pan-ethnic and less than 20% (18.7%) did not use an ethnic or pan-ethnic label.

I use this variable to predict how their children respond to a similar ethnic identity question asked 30 years later. In 2000, the survey team asked: "People have different ways of thinking about their ethnic background or origins. What about you? How do you think of yourself? What do you consider your ethnic background to be?" This question was the first question of the survey and respondents were not given any prompt and thus came up with these responses on their own. If a respondent mentioned more than one group, they were asked a follow-up question: "Which ethnic background do you feel closest to?"



Figure 2.1: Distribution of Identity Categories: Original Respondents (1965)



*Notes: This figure shows the distribution of identity categories from the original respondents in 1965. Responses were collapsed into ethnic (national origin), pan-ethnic, and other possible categories. Source: MASP*

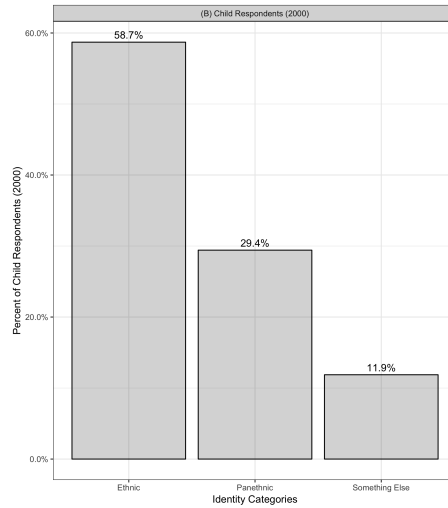
which again was open-ended. These questions were classified into a similar set of categories<sup>3</sup> Using these two questions, I create child’s ethnic category if the first and only response was ethnic (pan-ethnic) or if when prompted, the respondent said ethnic (pan-ethnic) was the most important. Similar to the results in Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of responses. More than half (58.7%) identified as ethnic. Less than one third, (29.4%) identified as pan-ethnic and only 11.9% identified as something else. In general, there is stronger support for ethnic attachments, attachments that are connected seeing oneself as Mexican.

Using these two variables, I test whether a parent’s identity commitment is predictive of a child’s identity commitment. Table 2.1 shows a linear model predicting the attachment of a respondent’s child in 2000 based on their parent’s attachment in 1965. The bivariate test shows a positive and statistically significant relationship between the two variables, suggesting that how one’s parent identified relates to how their children identify.<sup>4</sup> The first

<sup>3</sup>The open-ended responses were categorized into the following categories: Anglo, American, Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, Mexican, Mexican-American, Mexicano, Spanish, Other, and Refused.

<sup>4</sup>Table 2.1 shows the bivariate relationship. This relationship also holds when controlling a child’s income and whether they graduated from college. These results are shown in Table 2.2 in the Appendix.

Figure 2.2: Distribution of Identity Categories: Child Respondents (2000)



*Notes: This figure shows the distribution of identity categories from the child respondents in 2000. These are not the original respondents, but the children of the original respondents who were interviewed in 2000. Responses were collapsed into ethnic (national origin), pan-ethnic, and other possible categories. Source: MASP*

column shows the results for “ethnic” attachment. Column 2 shows the results for pan-ethnic attachment, where respondents identified to a group that was broader than just their national origin attachment.

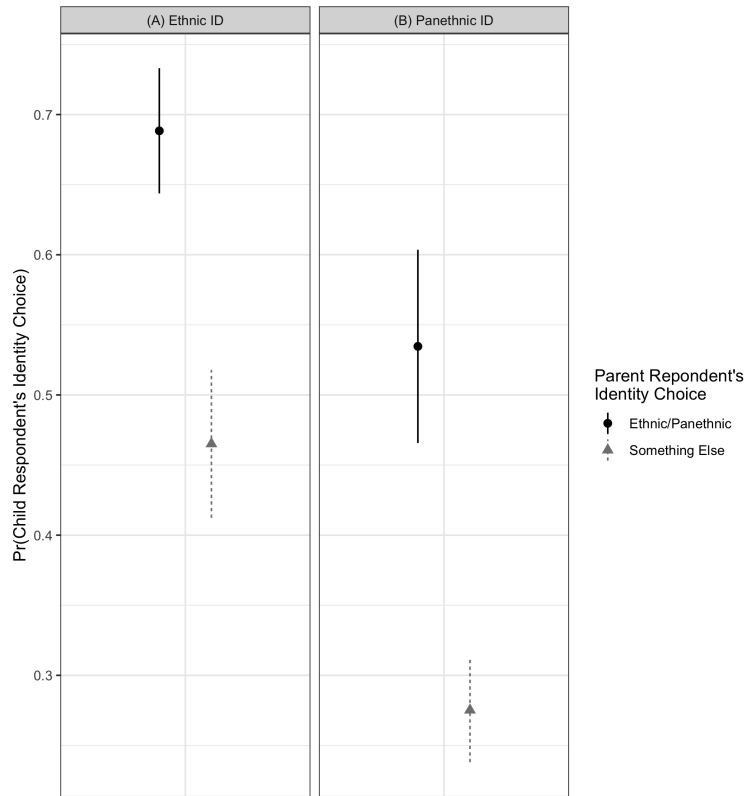
To get a better sense of the substantive relationship, Figure 2.3 shows the predicted probabilities for ethnic and pan-ethnic identity among the child respondent given a parent respondent’s identity choice. Mirroring the results in Table 2.1, the results in Figure 2.3 show a strong relationship between how children identify given how their parent identified 30 years prior.

In terms of ethnic identity (Panel (A)), child respondent’s have a probability of 0.69 (0.022) of identifying with an ethnic label if their parents identified with an ethnic label in 1965. For those whose parents did not identify as ethnic, the predicted probability is 0.47 (0.027), 22 percentage points less likely. The results are mostly similar for pan-ethnic identification (Panel (B)). Those with a parent who identified as pan-ethnic have a probability of 0.53 (0.035) as identifying as pan-ethnic. Otherwise, the probability of pan-ethnic identification is 0.28 (0.019), representing a 25 percentage point difference.

	Ethnic ID	Pan-ethnic ID
Intercept	0.47*** (0.03)	0.28*** (0.02)
Parent's Ethnic ID	0.22*** (0.04)	
Parent's Pan-ethnic ID		0.26*** (0.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.06
Num. obs.	758	758
RMSE	0.48	0.46

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Figure 2.3: Predicted Probability of Child Respondent's Identity Given Parent Respondent's Identity



Notes: This figure shows the predicted probability of how a child respondent identifies (2000) given how the parent respondent identified (1965). Results are from a bivariate regression with robust standard errors. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP

While these results suggest strong evidence of a relationship between a child's and parent's identity and begin to demonstrate the overall importance of familial practices related to identity transmission, the robust relationship offers little in terms of a mechanism. While the panel design allows me to rule out endogeneity (child's identity cannot cause a parent's identity), it does not rule out the presence of other factors that could influence this relationship. The depth of the MASP does, however, allow me to test other observable implications that can help adjudicate the importance of socialization practices in transmitting group based attachments between generations.

Next, I consider a set of empirical tests that help better understand the conditions under which identity categories and the strength of ethnic attachments are transmitted between generations. The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows. First, I show that the relationship above, where parent's identity choices are linked to their children's identity choices, is robust to several alternative explanations. While a number of these factors are important for transmission, these results suggest that parent's structure the identity categorization process, which is required for the development and maintenance of group-based attachments.

I then explore how peer networks are linked to group attachments. Here I use the UCLA-SIC and MASP studies to better understand the links between group attachment and one's peer networks. The findings here support the predictions I outlined and complement the interviews I have conducted. Peer networks are linked to group attachments.

### **2.2.2 The Power of Family Commitments: Robustness Given College Attendance and Income**

I now consider how robust the results I presented above are to alternative specifications. To do this, I control for several alternative explanations by including important control variables. Table 2.2 adds two important variables that could explain attachment. I include whether the child respondent graduated from college with a 4-year degree and the income of a child respondent. Education is strongly related to group based attachment. As Dawson (1994)

Table 2.2: Parent's ID Predicts Child's ID w/ Controls

	Ethnic ID	Panethnic ID
Intercept	0.46*** (0.04)	0.30*** (0.04)
Parent's Ethnic ID	0.23*** (0.04)	
College (Child)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Income (Child)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Parent's Panethnic ID		0.27*** (0.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.06
Num. obs.	708	708
RMSE	0.48	0.46

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

points out, those who attend a 4-year college and obtain a college degree are likely exposed to a set of cues and stimuli that forge stronger connections between individuals and the group. For many, this comes from taking classes that structure the link between individuals and the larger group. These classes, for many, are the first time individuals are exposed to a critical and historical examination of how race has structures Black's life changes and economic opportunities. As a result, feelings of linked fate among college-educated Blacks are much stronger than those who did not attend college.

The results in Table 2.2 consider this important variable and show that even after adjusting for a college degree, parental attachment to a particular group continues to predict a child's strong attachment to the same group. In other words, attending and graduating from college has little impact on the influence of a parent's group attachment.

The results in Table 2.2 also show that these results are robust to the adjustment for a child respondents income in 2000. Income has long been understood as a possible moderator of identity attachment since higher levels of income are often predicted to diminish the strength of group attachment. If this were the case, we would expect to see the inclusion of income attenuate the relationship between parent's ethnic attachment and the ethnic attachment of their children. Yet the results in Table 2.2 show no such relationship. Instead, a parent's ethnic commitment in 1965 is a strong predictor of a child's ethnic commitment

Table 2.3: Importance of Group Attachment

	Spanish at Home	Church Attend	Church Composition	Full	Interaction
Intercept	3.36*** (0.22)	3.29*** (0.23)	3.18*** (0.26)	2.96*** (0.28)	3.19*** (0.59)
Spanish at Home (1965)	0.05** (0.02)		0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Age (2000)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
College (2000)	0.06 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)
Income (2000)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Church Attendance (1965)		0.04 (0.02)		0.05* (0.02)	0.01 (0.10)
Church Composition (1965)			0.08* (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.00 (0.17)
Attendance:Composition					0.02 (0.03)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Num. obs.	689	698	614	611	611
RMSE	0.72	0.72	0.71	0.71	0.71

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

in 1965.

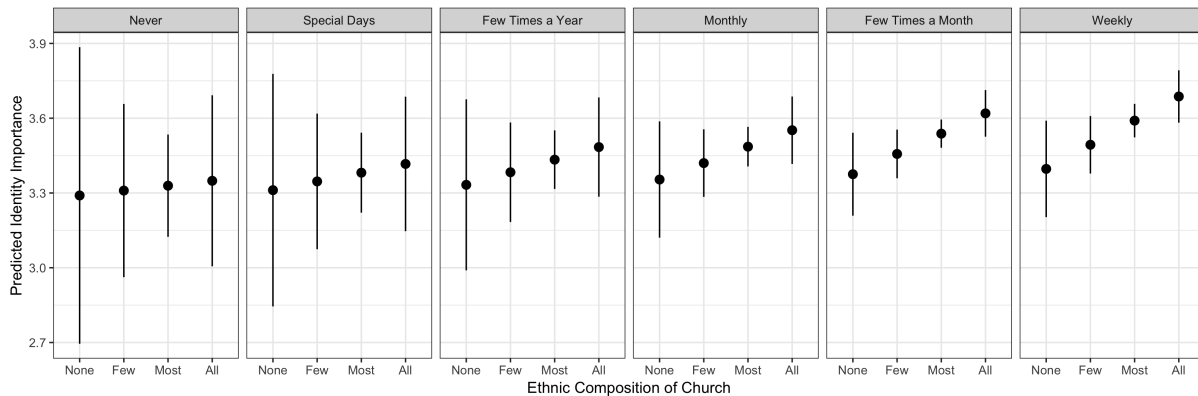
Another way to examine the role of these social practices is to look at how certain ‘ethnic affirming’ practices in the home are linked to group attachment. This is another way to understand the strength of group attachment since these practices are closely related to identity-based outcomes (Phinney and Alipuria 1990). To do this, I examine how speaking Spanish at home, church attendance, and church composition during one’s childhood are related to the strong group attachment as an adult. I turn back to the intergenerational component of the MASP. Table 2.3 shows the results from a series of regressions probing this important link between familial practices and the importance of identity. In 2000, the UCLA research team asked child respondents the importance of their ethnic attachment with the following question, “How important is your ethnic background to you? Would you say:”<sup>5</sup> I use three questions that were asked to the parents in 1965 to probe the ethnic socialization practices undertaken by the family. These questions include the level of Spanish spoken in the home, church attendance, and church composition. I expect that each variable is positively

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<sup>5</sup>The possible responses: “Very important,” “Somewhat important,” “Not very important,” or “Not at all important”

related to ethnic identity importance since these family practices provide more exposure to the ethnic affirming cues that are linked to categorization, helping us better understand the mechanisms and practices that provide the results from above.

Figure 2.4: Predicted Importance of Ethnic Attachment Given Socialization Practices



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted importance of identity-based on church socialization practices during one’s childhood. The values are based on an interaction between the ethnic composition of a church and frequency of church attendance controlling for speaking Spanish at home, age, college, and income. Values are based off regression model from column 5 in Table 2.3. All control variables held at the mean value. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP*

The first column of Table 2.3 shows a positive and significant relationship between speaking Spanish at home and importance of group attachment, suggesting that these small, day-to-day family based practice are positively linked with the importance of ethnic identity. Column 2 shows that church attendance is also positive and significantly related to group attachment. Frequent church attendance helps transmit the ethnic affirming cues that facilitate the process of categorization. Turning to column 3, the results in Table 2.3 show that the ethnic composition of the church matters. This finding is particularly interesting since I did not include frequency of church attendance in the model, meaning that the variation in composition explaining the outcome takes place even when how often someone goes the church is not considered. Next, I include both measures in column 4, which shows a positive and significant relationship between the church variables and ethnic importance. However, in column 4, we also see that Spanish at home is no longer a statistically significant predictor of identity importance, but the coefficient is still positive ( $p = 0.17$ ). In column 5, I interact

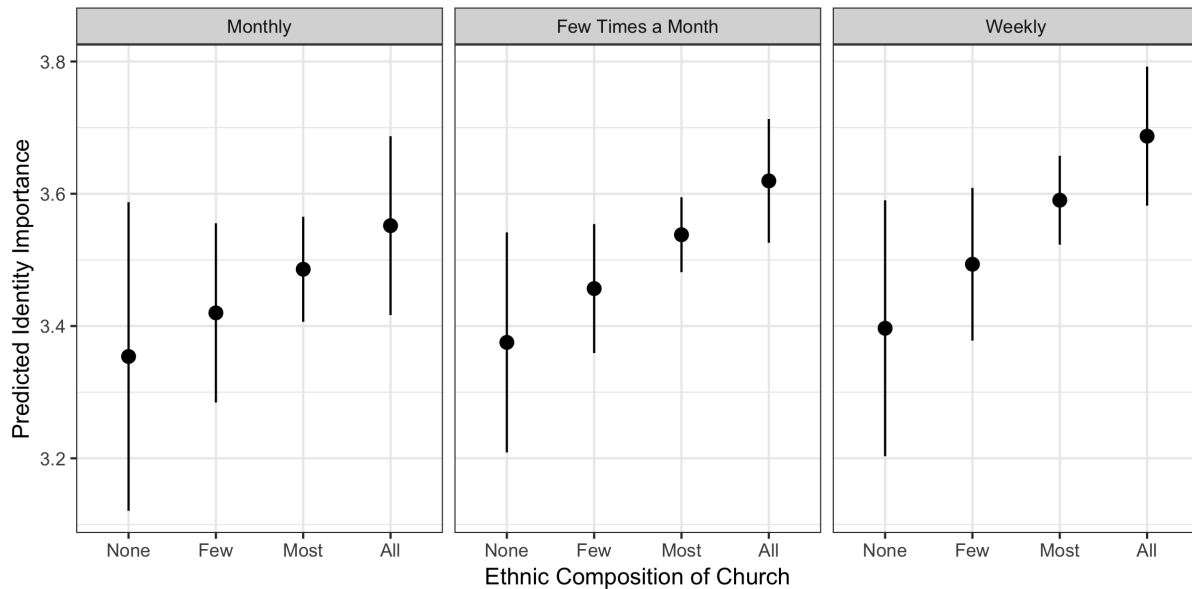
church attendance and church composition, since I expect to see the strongest link between identity importance and these family practices to be when composition and attendance are at the highest level. Although the results of the interaction are not statistically significant, I plot the predicted values from a model with the interaction term to better understand its substantive importance. These results are plotted in Figure 2.4.

The results in Figure 2.4 provide a better idea of the substantive relationship between these variables. On the x-axis is the composition of the church from none to all co-ethnics. Each panel shows each of the different levels of attendance. Starting from the left panel, the first panel shows those who never go to church. As expected the level ethnic composition has no impact on these individuals since these are the individuals that never go, and not exposed to the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that are transmitted day in and day out. However, as we move across the panels, we begin to see a clear pattern. As the frequency and ethnic composition increase, respondents are more likely to report a strong identity attachment. Figure 2.5 subsets Figure 2.3 and shows the last three panels, those who attend monthly, a few times a month, and weekly.

Figure 2.5 shows a more detailed version, focusing on those who attend regularly. The results suggest that church participation both in terms of frequency and composition is important. For those who attend monthly and attend an all ethnic church, the predicted identity importance is 3.55 (0.07). A similarly situated Latino who attends a few times a month has a predicted identity importance of 3.62 (0.05), a difference of 0.07 points, which on a 1-4 scale, is a 1.7% increase, or 10% of a one standard deviation increase. While this is substantively small, I want to point out that church composition and attendance was measured by parents in 1965 and identity importance was measured in 2000. The effect we are seeing is after nearly 30 years of potential decay. For those who went at least weekly, attending at a place with high ethnic composition is associated with predicted identity importance of 3.69 (0.053), 0.14 points higher than those who attend monthly. This is a 3.5% increase or about 20% of the standard deviation of the outcome. Children have little agency in both the frequency and the composition of the church as children. These practices are largely dictated by the parents and part of the overall socialization and development of children. The results I



Figure 2.5: Predicted Importance of Ethnic Attachment Given Socialization Practices among Regular Church Goers



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted importance of identity-based on church socialization practices during one's childhood. The values are based on an interaction between the ethnic composition of a church and frequency of church attendance controlling for speaking Spanish at home, age, college, and income. Values are based off regression model from column 5 in Table 2.3. All control variables held at the mean value. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP*

presented suggest that when parents feel these practices are important, and attend church regularly and go to services where the vast majority if not all of the other members are co-ethnics, children are much more likely to develop strong ethnic attachments, attachments that persist much later in life.

Earlier in this chapter, I showed a strong link between a parent's ethnic commitment and the ethnic commitments of their children as adults. These findings showed a strong link between a parent's ethnic commitment, identifying with an ethnic or pan-ethnic label and how their children identified using those same categories. I argued that these commitments were transmitted to the children in a variety of ways. Here I want to re-examine these findings, using the information regarding church attendance and church composition to probe further how family practices are linked to identity attachment. In this set of analyses, I unpack how church attendance is related to ethnic and pan-ethnic commitments, conditional

Table 2.4: Importance of Group Attachment

	Pan-Ethnic Model	Ethnic Model
Intercept	0.35 (0.34)	0.24 (0.41)
Pan-Ethnic Attachment (Parent)	0.27*** (0.04)	
Church Attendance (1965)	0.06 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)
Church Composition (1965)	0.03 (0.10)	0.06 (0.12)
Age (2000)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
College (2000)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
Income (2000)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Attendance:Composition	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Ethnic Attachment (Parent)		0.22*** (0.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.11	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.05
Num. obs.	626	626
RMSE	0.45	0.48

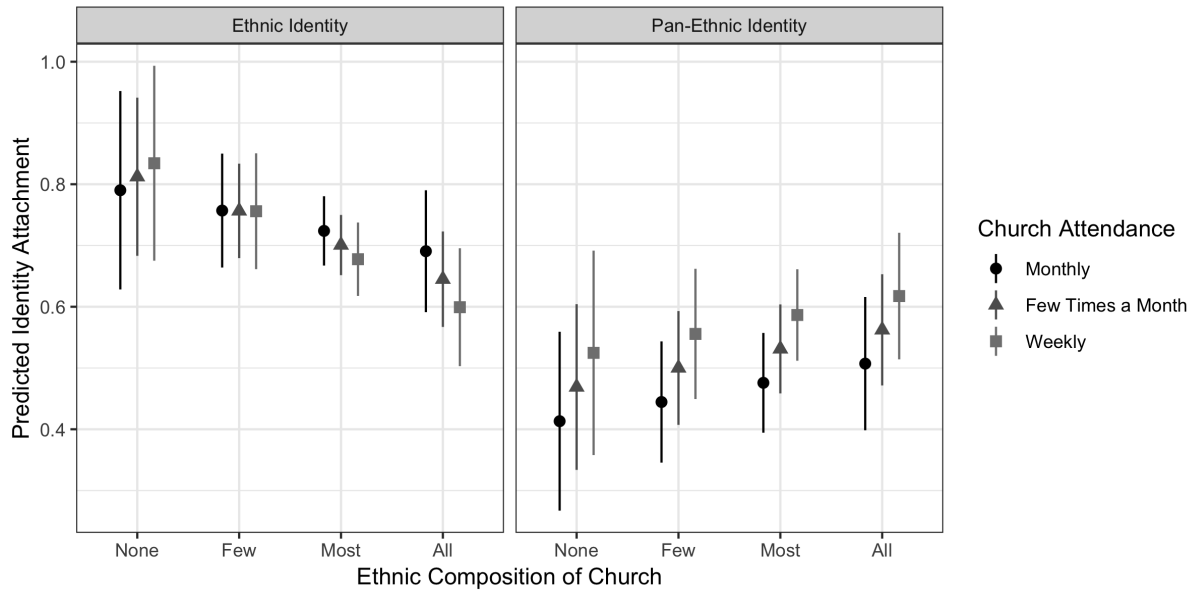
\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

on a parent's identity commitment.

Figure 2.6 and Table 2.4 show the results from this analysis. Beginning with Table 2.4, what stands out as the starkest result is the continued role that a parent's ethnic commitment has in explaining the ethnic commitment of children 30 years later. As the results suggest, this is the strongest and most consistent finding shown in Table 2.4. While pan-ethnic commitments are strong predictors of a child's pan-ethnic commitments and a parents' ethnic commitment are a strong predictor of a child's ethnic commitment, the inclusion of the church variables allow me to understand these process better. As Table 2.4 shows, the interaction term for the ethnic model is negative, suggesting that frequent church attendance with other co-ethnic is negatively related to an ethnic commitment.

Figure 2.6 plots this out to help us better understand the model. Interestingly, it appears that frequent church attendance with other co-ethnics lowers the likelihood of an ethnic attachment and increases the likelihood of a pan-ethnic attachment. These results are very noisy and I cannot be certain given the large confidence intervals, but findings do seem to suggest that the more social aspects of family socialization are related to stronger

Figure 2.6: Predicted Probability of Ethnic (Pan-Ethnic) Attachment Given Family Social Practices and Parent’s Attachment



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted strength of ethnic (pan-ethnic) identity-based on church socialization practices during one’s childhood including the ethnic (pan-ethnic) attachment from the parent in 1965. The values are based on an interaction between the ethnic composition of a church and frequency of church attendance controlling for speaking Spanish at home, age, college, and income. Values are based off regression model from columns 1 and 2 in Table 2.4. All control variables held at the mean value. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP*

pan-ethnic commitments. This shows that the cues and stimuli transmitted in these spaces do indeed impact categorization practices, both in terms of the strength of attachment but also the possible categories. Frequent church attendance may expose churchgoers to a set of ethnic affirming cues that promote a broader, more inclusive social identity commitments, privileging and highlighting a more diverse but still unified social grouping. This is likely the case since the information being used by social, religious, and church leaders promoted a broader, more inclusive ethnic commitment (Mora and Okamoto 2019).

Again, these results point to the strong relationship between family practices and group attachments. The quantitative data I showed also fit with the experience by a few of my interview respondents. Tomas was an active member of a mostly ethnic church community. Jeniffer, who did not discuss church and these types of social activities, did discuss

the importance of her family and the traditions they practiced. The role of the family is central in facilitating the process of categorization and building the lasting ethnic attachments that persist into adulthood. Along with the impact of one's family, peer networks and friend groups are also crucial in the categorization process. Peer networks supplement (and sometimes fully supply) the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli needed for the process of categorization. In the next section, I show that these peer networks have a lasting impact on group attachment using a unique panel study of students from racially/ethnically diverse backgrounds.

### **2.3 Even in College, High School Friends are Important: Evidence From UCLA Students**

While parents are vital for aiding the maintenance and development of group-based attachments as well as the strength of those attachments, friends and peer networks also have an impact on these identity outcomes (Santos et al. 2017; Phinney et al. 2001). During my interviews, several participants discussed their interactions with friends and other peers. Some, like, Angela, were active in their church community, especially the youth groups where they participated in many activities, often with other Latinos. Others, such as Jason, did not have robust ethnic peer groups, although he did comment that most of his friends growing up were Latino and this likely had some impact. As I theorized above, peer networks are capable of transmitting these ethnic affirming cues which aid in the process of categorization. The interactions with other co-ethnic peers in these networks opens opportunities for an individual to categorize as these interactions and experiences vary the fit and accessibility of these social categories. As Waters (1999) points out, the second generation Black immigrants in New York began to adopt an "African American" identity as their peer networks included a larger share of "African Americans," despite the first generation parents maintaining a strong Black immigrant identity. Waters (1999) highlights the power of these peer networks.

In this section, I seek to complement the findings from above and focus more on the peer networks of individuals and how these networks associate with group attachment. I

turn to the *Studies in Intergroup Conflict: A University Context* (UCLA-SIC) panel survey conducted among UCLA students between 1996 and 2001. First-year students were recruited in 1996 and surveyed each subsequent year. Given that several social psychologists conducted the study, they asked many social identity-based outcomes. Also, the scholars also took advantage of UCLA's large Latino and Asian American student bodies, thus providing an excellent source of data to test how peer networks and friend groups are related to group based attachment. Like the MASP, the UCLA-SIC also employs a panel design, interviewing the same respondents each subsequent year, providing stronger evidence than a traditional cross-section design.

I start by considering the bivariate relationship between co-ethnic friends and the importance of identity. Given the literature and expectations described above, the social and friendship networks that people are apart of act as agents of socialization, which I argue help structure the identity structures that persist later in life. I begin by examining the correlation between the number of co-ethnic high school friends and the importance of one's ethnic identity among Latinos. In the baseline wave, the correlation was 0.35 among Latinos, suggesting a moderate relationship between co-ethnic friends and group identity. Four years later, the respondents were again asked about their ethnic identity. The correlation between co-ethnic high school friends reported in year 1 and the importance of identity in their senior year is 0.31. These correlations are suggestive of a relatively moderate and lasting relationship between social and friend networks and group attachment, lending support to the hypothesis that baseline levels of group identity through socialization practices are established during one's formative years.

Among Asian Americans, this relationship is not as strong, but it is still present. In the baseline survey, the correlation between the number of Asian American high school friends and the importance of ethnic identity is 0.26. 4 years later, the correlation is 0.23. Yes, the overall relationship is weaker among Asian Americans but the results are mostly consistent across the two periods suggesting the importance of peer networks on perceptions of group identity during one's formative years.

Next, I use a linear model to understand the substantive size of this relationship better.

Table 2.5: Co-Ethnic High School Friends Predicts Strong Group Attachment

	Latino (Baseline)	Latino (End)	AAPI (Baseline)	AAPI (End)
Intercept	3.49*** (0.26)	1.98*** (0.37)	3.86*** (0.23)	2.21*** (0.32)
Latino HS Friends	0.51*** (0.07)	0.23* (0.09)		
Importance of ID (Baseline)		0.45*** (0.06)		0.38*** (0.05)
AAPI HS Friends			0.41*** (0.06)	0.19** (0.07)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.12	0.29	0.07	0.21
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.12	0.28	0.07	0.21
Num. obs.	460	248	745	384
RMSE	1.61	1.40	1.53	1.26

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

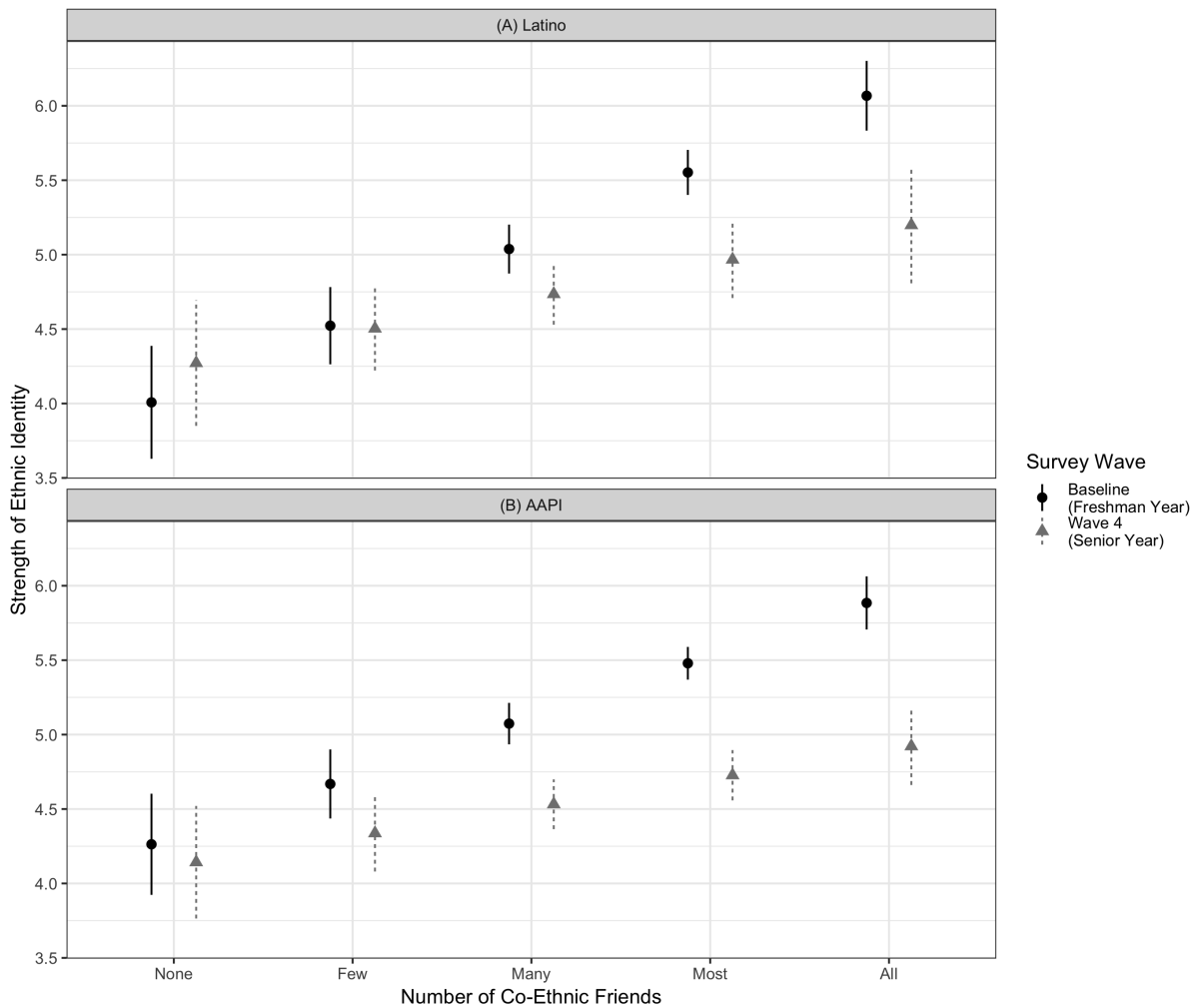
Table 2.5 shows the results from a series of regressions where I regress the importance of group identity at two times periods (baseline and during one’s senior year) on the number of co-ethnic friends during high school as measured in wave 1. I also include the importance of identity at baseline in the model predicting ethnic identity during senior year. Column 1 shows the results at baseline for Latinos. Here we see a positive and statistically significant relationship between the number of co-ethnic friends and the importance of one’s identity. Column 2 also shows a positive and statistically significant relationship between the number of co-ethnic high school friends (recorded during the freshman year) and the importance of group identity reported during one’s senior year. This is even the case when controlling for the importance of group identity during wave 1, suggesting that co-ethnic peer networks during formidable development are an essential factor in maintaining the strength of identity years later.

Among AAPI, the results are very similar. Column 3 of Table 2.5 shows a positive and statistically significant relationship between the number of co-ethnic AAPI friends and the importance of group identity. Column 4 shows that the number of co-ethnic friends during high school is positively and significantly related to the importance of group identity during one’s senior years even when controlling for the strength of group attachment during the

first wave.

Figure 2.7 shows the predicted strength of ethnic identity for Latinos and Asian Americans given the various number of co-ethnic friends. Panel (A) shows the results for Latinos. The solid black circle is the predicted value during a respondents freshman year and the gray triangle is the predicted strength of group identity in during a respondent’s senior year. Panel (B) shows the same results except for AAPI.

Figure 2.7: Predicted Strength of Group Attachment Given Number of Co-Ethnic High School Friends



Notes: This figure shows the predicted strength of group identity during one’s freshman and senior year given the number of co-ethnic high school friends reported during freshman year. Results are from a bivariate regression with robust standard errors. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: UCLA-SIC

The results in Figure 2.7 show a clear positive relationship as we saw in the regression results in Table 2.5. The results here help us better understand the magnitude and the difference between identity strength right after high school and identity strength four years later. For both Latinos and Asian Americans, there is a considerable reduction in the importance of ethnic identity during college, likely due to the change in one's environmental context. These results are most pronounced for those who reported that a greater share of their friends during high school was co-ethnic. In other words, the role of co-ethnic friends on identity importance is stronger as the respondent is closer to high school. These results show that for Latinos and Asian Americans, the imprint of identity structures garnered from peer networks have a lasting quality. However, these results also speak to other parts of the theory, that one's environmental context and the built environment are in part responsible for identity maintenance over time, especially when one's environmental context changes.

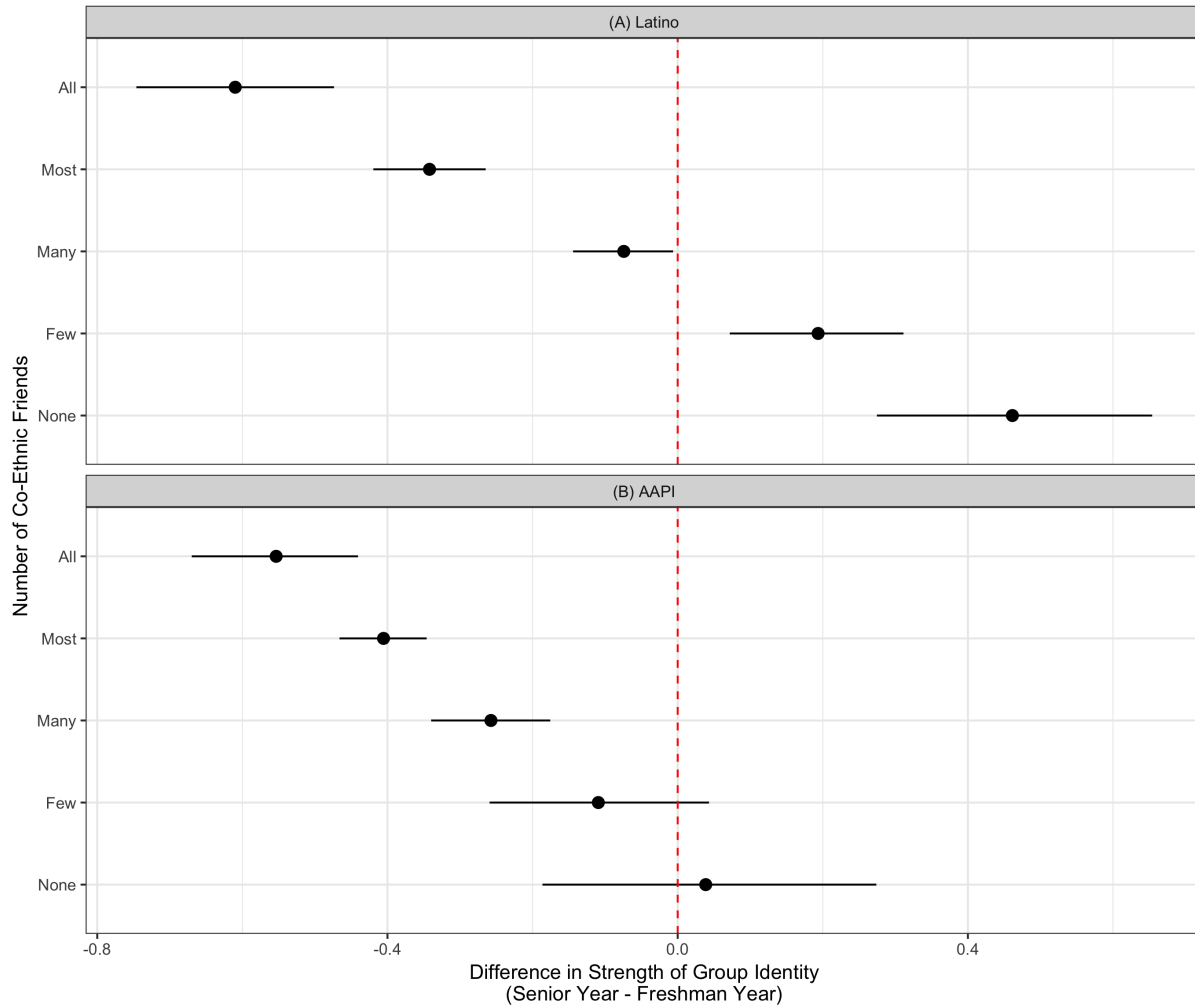
Figure 2.8 shows the bootstrapped difference between the strength of group identity during one's senior year and freshman year given the number of co-ethnic friends and the importance of group identity as measured at the baseline. The y-axis reports the number of co-ethnic friends and the x-axis reports the bootstrapped difference with 95% confidence intervals. I added a dashed red line on the x-axis to evaluate the statistical significance of the differences.

The results in Figure 2.8 show that for Latinos the differences between identity importance during one's senior year and freshman year varies conditional on the number of co-ethnic friends. For those with none or few co-ethnic friends, the importance of identity increased between one's freshman and senior year as indicated by the points to the right of the red 0 line in panel (A) of Figure 2.8. Since the 95% confidence intervals do not cross 0, I am confident the differences between identity strength are not due to random chance. While Latino strength of identity increases during one's time in college for those that had none or few co-ethnic friends, it decreases for those who began college with many, most, or all co-ethnic high school friends.

In thinking about the difference in the strength of group attachment between survey waves, Figure 2.8 shows that it is lower during one's senior year for both Latinos and Asian



Figure 2.8: Difference in Strength of Group Identity (Senior Year - Freshman Year)



*Notes: This figure shows the bootstrapped difference in strength of group identity between one's freshman and senior year. Results are from a bivariate regression with robust standard errors. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: UCLA-SIC*

Americans. It could be the case that I am picking up the effects of another variable, in particular, one's home context. In other words, it may not be the number of co-ethnic high school friends that is related to strong group identity, but it could be driven by the fact that those with many co-ethnic friends are simply more likely to live at home during their time at UCLA. As such, my measure of peer networks and influence is simply a proxy for living at home during college, which would continue to expose the students to the environmental context and ethnic visibility of their home locale. To rule this out, I interact an indicator

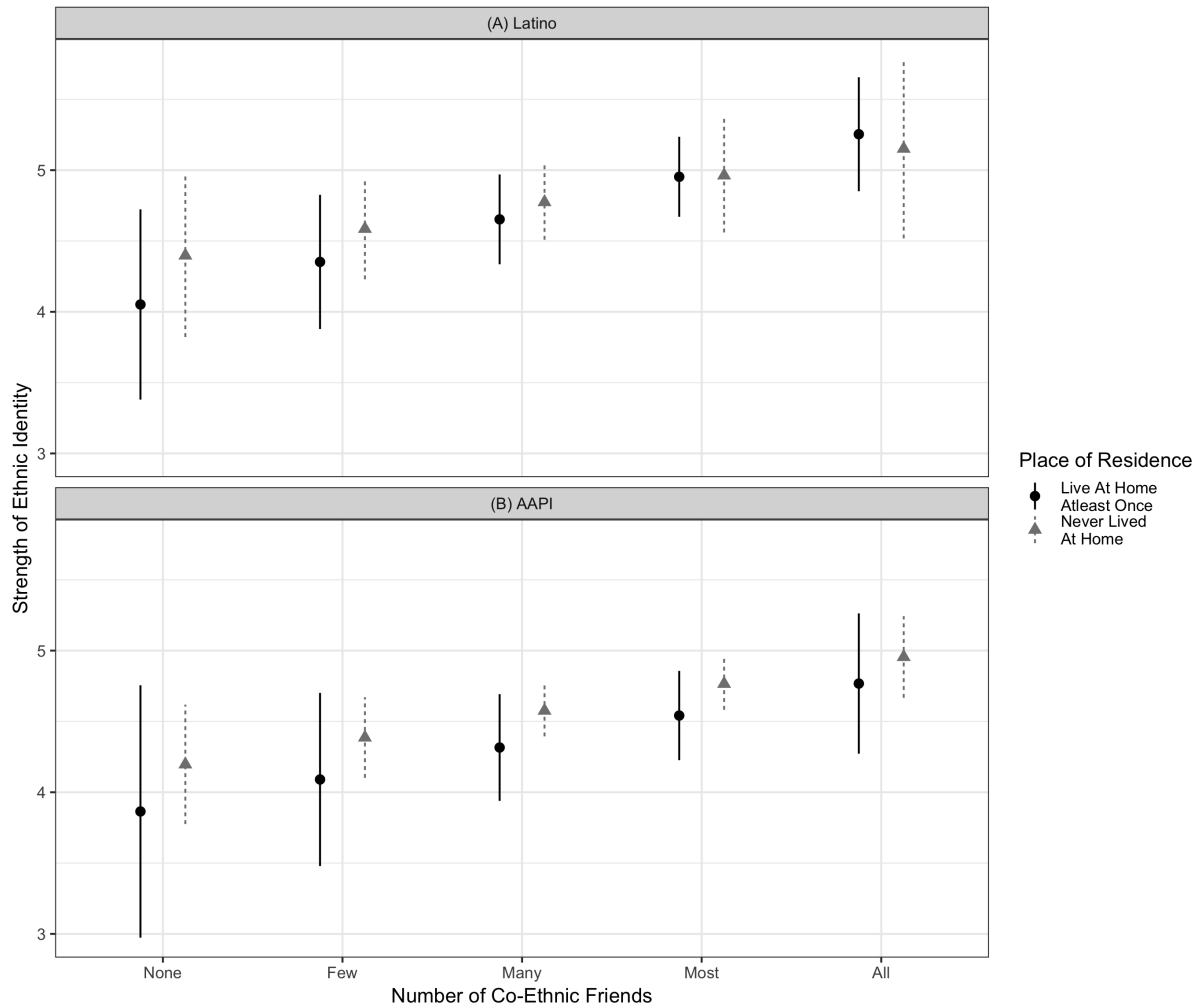
for whether the respondent had ever reported living at home during their time at UCLA.

Figure 2.9 shows these results. Here I show the strength of group attachment during one's senior year and again plotted the predicted value of the strength of group identity conditional on the number of co-ethnic friends during high school interacted with the indicator whether a respondent had ever reported living at home during college. I show the interaction by examining those that lived at home at least once (solid black circle) and those who never lived at home (gray triangle). Panel A shows the results for Latinos. The results show that there are slight differences in predicted strength of group attachment conditional on whether the respondents reported living at home during college. The difference for Latinos, however, are minimal. In general, we see a steeper slope among those who reported living at home. For example, Latinos who reported living at home have lower ethnic attachment than those who never lived at home for the subset of Latinos who reported that none of their high school friends were Latino. However, among the Latinos who reported all of their high school friends were Latino, those who reported living at home have a stronger group attachment.

Panel B of Figure 2.9 shows the results for Asian Americans. The findings show that those who never reported living at home during college always have a stronger predicted group attachment than those who reported living at least once. The differences, however, are minimal.

Figure 2.10 tests to see if these difference between those who reported living at home at least once and those who reported never living at home are statistically distinguishable. To obtain this estimate, I used a bootstrap procedure (10,000 boots). The results for Latinos (Panel A) show that as the number of co-ethnic friends during high school increases (y-axis), the difference increases. This suggests that living at home has an identity strengthening effect, but only when a respondent reported high levels of co-ethnic friends. Despite this trend, for those with none, a few, or many co-ethnic friends during childhood, living at home significantly decreases the predicted strength of group attachment. Only those who grew up with all co-ethnic friends report stronger group attachment after reporting living at home during college, but this increase is not statistically different from zero.

Figure 2.9: Predicted Strength of Group Attachment Given Number of Co-Ethnic High School Friends and Place of Residence

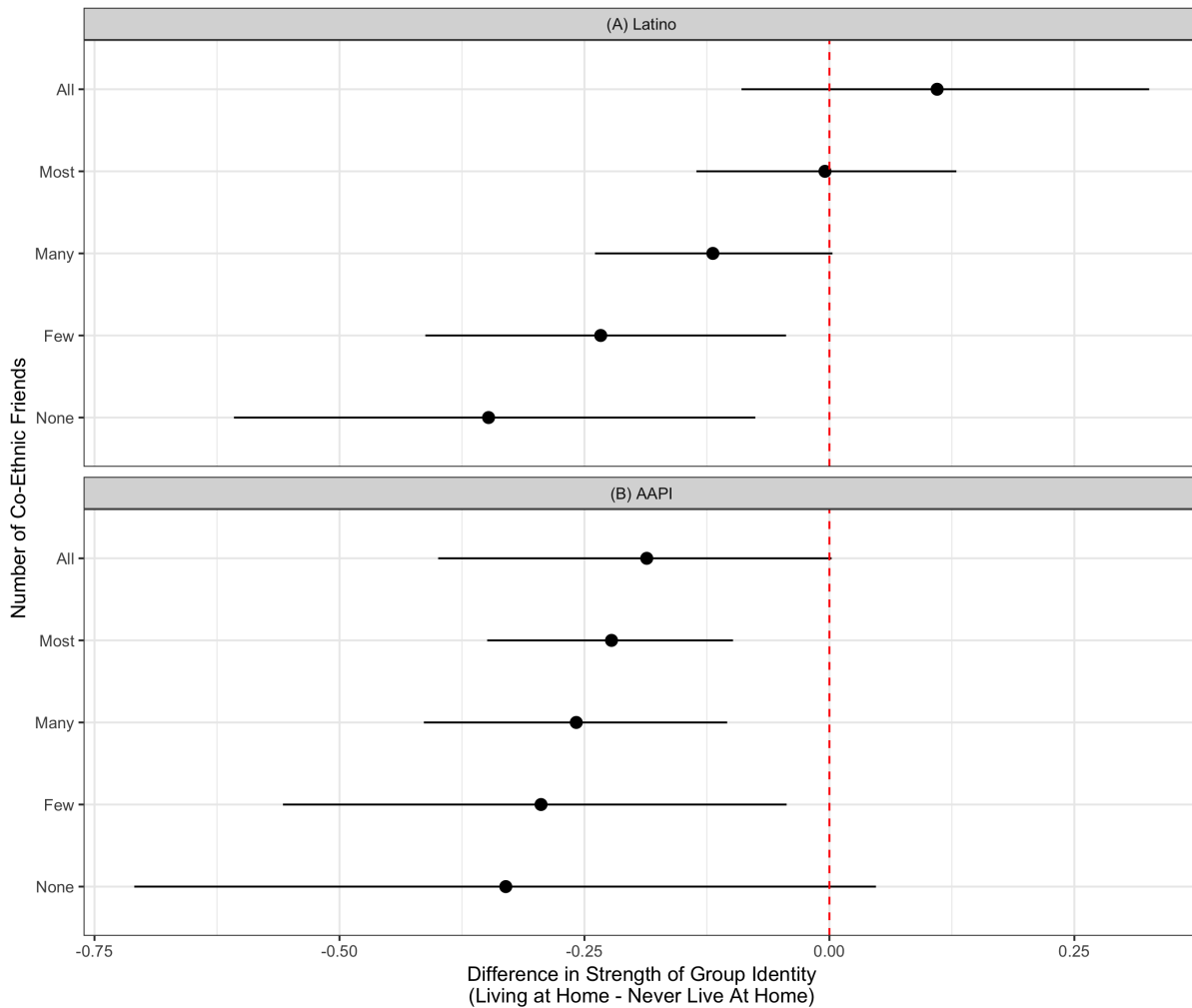


Notes: This figure shows the predicted strength of group identity during one's senior year given the number of co-ethnic high school friends reported during freshman year interacted with whether the respondents ever reported living at home during college. Results are from a regression with robust standard errors. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: UCLA-SIC

Panel B in Figure 2.10 shows the results for AAPI. Here we see a very different relationship. Regardless of the number of co-ethnic high school friends, AAPI who report living at home during college are always associated with a weaker sense of group attachment. The differences are statistically significant for those who reported most, many, and a few of their high school friends were co-ethnic. Those who reported that all of their friends were co-ethnic are predicted to have a weaker attachment, but the 95% confidence interval barely crosses

zero.

Figure 2.10: Difference in Predicted Strength of Group Attachment



Notes: This figure shows the predicted difference in group identity during one's senior year for those who reported living at home compared to those who never reported living at home during college. Results are obtained with a bootstrap (10,000 boots). Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: UCLA-SIC

### 2.3.1 Sandbox Friends and Group Attachment: Evidence from MASP

While the UCLA-SIC study has specific desirable properties, one of the fundamental limitations is that the sample only contains UCLA students. While UCLA and the greater University of California mission are to educate and serve the California community, UCLA is particularly prestigious. From 1996 to 2001, the time of the study, UCLA's average rank-

ing in the U.S. News and World Report index was 25.8 (sd = 1.3).<sup>6</sup> As such, UCLA is by no means representative of the broader population, especially for Latinos and Asian Americans, who have faced various impediments to education in the U.S.

Because of this, I turn back to the MASP, which asks a detailed number questions about peer networks during one's upbringing along with questions about the strength of identity and other "identity" like outcomes that should provide additional observable implications of my theory that peer networks are related to identity attachment. While the MASP only contains Latinos, the sample is much more representative than the UCLA-SIC. Ideally, the results should replicate across both samples, showing that the links between social context and identity attachment are not the result of a unique population or during a specific period.

Using the MASP, I examine how the number of one's co-ethnic childhood friends and schoolmates is related to the importance of ethnic identity. The two questions were asked to the child respondent parents in 1965. In other words, I exploit the intergenerational design and use the child's peer networks as reported by the parents in 1965 to understand the child respondent's various identity-related outcomes in 2000, thirty years later. I use both the number of Mexican schoolmates as well as the number of Mexican friends to try to deal with selection bias given the observational nature of the study (Santos et al. 2017).

Existing work in developmental psychology shows that students self-select into certain peer groups (Leszczensky and Pink 2015; Santos et al. 2017). This means that students' attitudes and values, including their strength of ethnic attachment, could impact whom they select as friends. Given I am interested in identity-based outcomes, which are likely related to the friendship selection process (Leszczensky and Pink 2015), using schoolmates helps guard against the selection process. Student's have a choice in the friends that they choose but have little choice in the school they attend. District boundaries structure the composition of schoolmates in those schools. District boundaries are exogenous to the ethnic attachment of the student. Of course, the parents' choice to live in the district is based on selection and thus impacts possible configurations of friends and schoolmates, but given the

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<sup>6</sup>Accessed from <http://bit.ly/2WyC506> January, 24, 2019.

level of residential segregation in the United States non-whites in the U.S. have had little agency over the neighborhoods they could live in (Massey and Denton 1993; Krysan and Crowder 2017). The residential selection process is limited for racial and ethnic minority members.

The use of the intergenerational component also provides an additional level of protection against other types of bias in the responses. As I mentioned elsewhere, a child respondent's responses cannot influence the parental response obtained 30 years prior. As such, I am relying on the composition of the schoolmates and friends as reported by the parents reduces any bias that comes from recall and memory concerns. It also protects against the outcome, strength of group identity, biasing question about schoolmate and friendship networks during childhood. Asking the child respondents to remember their current level of ethnic attachment could quickly impact their friends and schoolmates from when they were children. Those with a strong group identity could be more likely to report a lot of co-ethnic friends and co-ethnic schoolmates. While these protections certainly are not strong enough to provide a robust causal identification strategy, they do allow me to make more credible empirical findings.

I begin with the most straightforward test of this theory - is one's current importance of ethnic identity related to their peer networks during childhood as measured by the number of Mexican schoolmates and friends as reported by their parents when the child respondents were still children. While this question was asked to all respondents, I subset the analyses to those who identified an ethnic and excluded those who responded with a pan-ethnic or some other identity structure.<sup>7</sup> There is a theoretical reason for doing this given the questions asked about *Mexican* schoolmates and friends. The MASP asks about Mexican schoolmates and Mexican friends, not about pan-ethnic/Latino/Hispanic friends and schoolmates. Thus, given the theory I presented earlier, we should expect exposure to these more homogeneous peer networks to result in stronger "ethnic" attachments.

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<sup>7</sup>As the results below suggest this relationship is already quite weak and only weaker when I include those with a pan-ethnic identity and those with other identity attachments. I do include those results in the Appendix. These results show a positive albeit weak relationship between childhood peer networks and the importance of ethnic identity.

Table 2.6: Parent's ID Predicts Child's ID w/ Controls

	Schoolmate (Bivariate)	Friends (Bivariate)	Schoolmate (Controls)	Friends (Controls)
Intercept	3.44*** (0.15)	3.52*** (0.12)	3.32*** (0.34)	3.31*** (0.30)
Number of Mexican Schoolmates (1965)	0.07 (0.05)		0.07 (0.05)	
Number of Mexican Friends (1965)		0.04 (0.04)		0.04 (0.04)
Age (2000)			0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
College (2000)			0.18* (0.09)	0.23** (0.08)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.02
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Num. obs.	335	372	335	372
RMSE	0.67	0.66	0.67	0.66

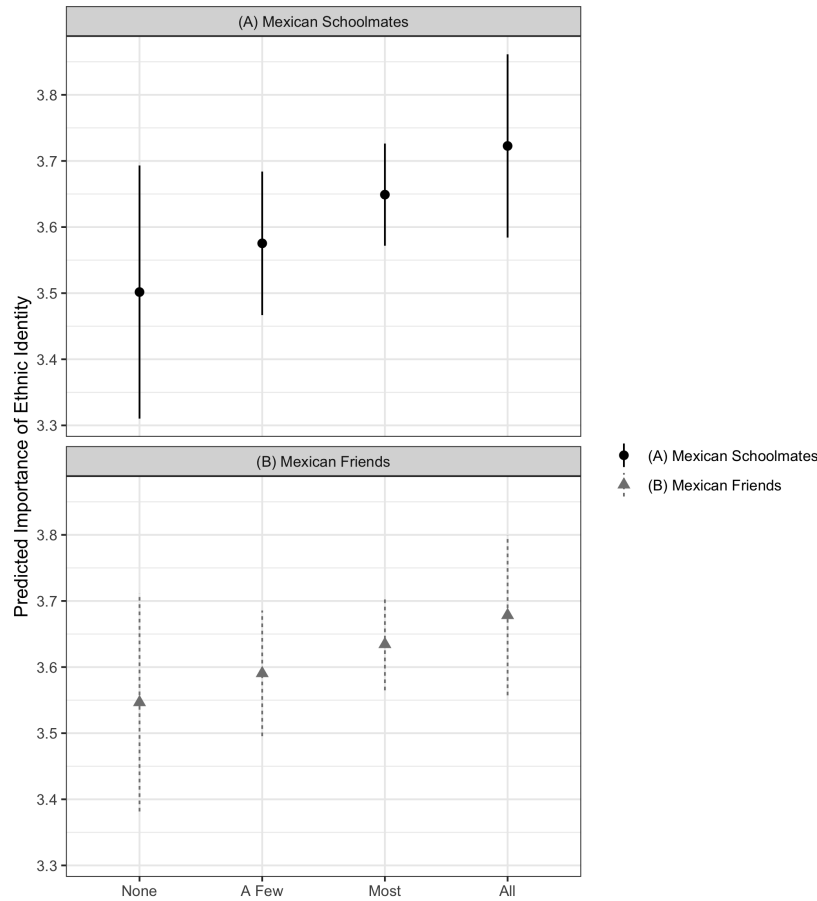
\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 2.6 shows the results of a linear model where I regress the importance of ethnic identity (2000) on the number of Mexican schoolmates and Mexican friends as reported by the parents (1965). Columns 1 and 2 show the bivariate relationship and columns 3 and 4 show the regressions where I controlled for a child respondent's age in 2000 and whether or not they graduated from college in 2000.

Looking at the results in Table 2.6, we see that the number of Mexican schoolmates and friends is positively, but weakly related to the importance of ethnic identity. Under all specifications, the large standard errors make it challenging to ascertain the exact relationship. However, the results are in the expected direction, and the positive relationship is promising. Figure 2.11 shows the predicted importance of ethnic identity given the number of Mexican schoolmates and friends along with adjustments for age and college.

It is clear in Figure 2.11 that there is a positive relationship, but the size of the effect is rather small. Figure 2.12 shows the marginal effect of going from having no Mexican schoolmates (friends) to all Mexican schoolmates (friends). In terms of going from no Mexican schoolmates to all Mexican schoolmates is only associated with a 0.159 95%CI[-0.095,0.416] point change. Given the outcome is measured on a 4 point scale, this change is quite small. Moreover, the confidence intervals cross 0, making it impossible to distinguish a statistically significant effect. In terms of Mexican friends, the estimated marginal effect is 0.086 95%CI[-0.125,0.307], nearly half the size of the effect of Mexican schoolmates and not statistically distinguishable from no effect.

Figure 2.11: Predicted Importance of Ethnic Identity Given Mexican Schoolmates and Friends

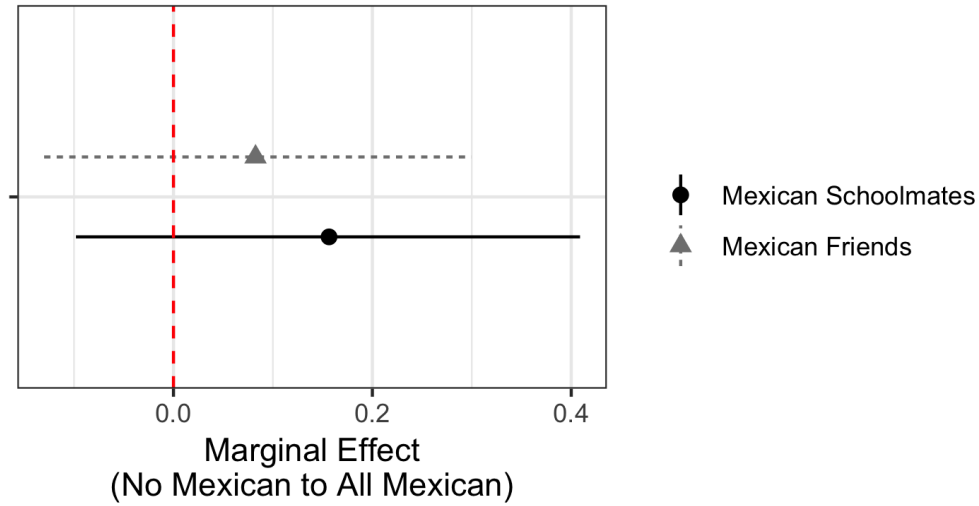


*Notes: This figure shows the predicted importance of ethnic identity in 2000 given the number of Mexican friends (Mexican Schoolmates) while the child was growing up as reported by parents in 1965. Results are from an OLS regression with robust standard errors. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP*

While these findings are in the correct direction, both the substantive size and level of statistical significance causes some concern. There are some reasons why this could be the case. First, in terms of theory, I argued that the strength of group identity is related to two crucial factors: 1) a social context and socialization practices that instill or imprint a sense of group-based attachment; and 2) more contemporary exposure to an environmental context that relates to one’s ethnic attachment given the variation in ethnic visibility of one’s locale. This means that we should expect peer networks during adolescence to “set” overall ethnic identity importance.



Figure 2.12: Marginal Effect of Mexican Schoolmates and Friends for Importance of Ethnic Identity



*Notes: This figure shows the marginal effect of going from no Mexican schoolmates (Mexican friends) to all Mexican schoolmates (Mexican friends) as reported in 1965 by a child respondent parents for the importance of ethnic identity measured in 2000 when child respondents are adults. Results are from an OLS regression with robust standard errors. Differences were obtained through bootstrap (boots = 10,000), Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP*

Returning to the UCLA-SIC study, I examine the relationship between co-ethnic peer networks and importance of group identity where the period between adolescent socialization practices was much shorter – four to eight years at most since the cohort was roughly the same age. We should expect to see these networks to be a stronger predictor of identity importance. Even in the UCLA-SIC results, we saw a decrease in identity strength over time.

Using a simple t-test, I compare the level of ethnic importance for Latinos and Asian Americans during the baseline and final wave of the survey, taken four years later. For Latinos, the mean value for ethnic importance at baseline compared to wave four was 5.2 to 4.9 (p-value = 0.01). For Asian Americans, the value of ethnic importance is 5.3 to 4.9 (p-value < -0.001). These results suggest a slight decay in the strength of ethnic identity attachment. Given the earlier results in from the UCLA-SIC study, which showed a positive relationship between co-ethnic peer networks and the strength of group identity, we should

see this decrease in identity attachment as evidence that context matters as well. While I take this discussion up in detail in chapter three, the considerable change in context as a result of starting school results in a slight reduction in the strength of identity attachment.

Because of this, we should be considering these results in light of contemporary ethnic contexts as well. Ideally, I would be able to adjust for the current environmental context and the ethnic visibility associated with one's current locale. Unfortunately, detailed geographic data from respondent's interviewed in 2000, both the original respondents and children of the original respondents, is not available. The smallest geographic unit is the county, which provides little since most of the respondents were in Los Angeles or Bexar counties. While the MASP is limited in this way, other questions and variables can be used to continue exploring the theoretical implications I set forth earlier. While there is only one question that directly asks about the strength of group identity, the MASP asks several variables that are related to the outcome of interest. More specifically, these variables represent potential and possible outcomes of the theory that provide some evidence of the mechanisms at work.

### **2.3.1.1 The role of peer influence on identity-related outcomes**

Above I showed that peer influence is related, albeit weakly, to the strength of group identity. Here I want to continue to unpack these relationships and comment on how these peer networks are related to other outcomes of interest that were collected in the MASP. The additional variables in this section are implications of what we should expect to see if a respondent has a strong attachment to their group, the behavioral and attitudinal manifestations of group attachments. Each of them asks about the importance of teaching their children various aspects of Latino and Mexican culture. Thus, we can use these variables as proxies for group-based attachment. In some ways, these variables might help better tap into the behavioral and attitudinal manifestations of group attachment since respondents are likely more familiar with these types of questions rather than questions directly probing identity attachments.

In this section, I use four identity-related proxies from the intergenerational component

of the MASP. This means I use information collected from the parents in 1965 to predict the various identity outcomes among the children respondents measured in 2000, leveraging the fact that attitudes and practices in 2000 are unlikely endogenous with the variables measured in 1965. First, I examine the importance of children learning and following Mexican values. Second, I examine the importance of children learning about the history and traditions of Mexican origin people. Third I examine the importance of children learning Spanish. The final question serves a proxy for in-group affect or in-group bias and asks about the importance of their children marrying someone of Mexican origin.

I first examine the importance of children learning about Mexican values. The MASP survey asked respondents, “How important is it to you that your children learn and follow Mexican family values.” I recoded the variable such that higher values represent more important responses<sup>8</sup> Table 2.7 shows the results from a linear model. I also plot the predicted values conditional on the number of Mexican schoolmates and Mexican friends in the first row of Figure 2.13. The results in Table 2.7 show a positive and statistically significant relationship between both measures of peer influence. To get an idea of the size of the relationship. The predicted importance for an average respondent with no Mexican schoolmates is 3.37. Compared to an average respondent whose parents report all Mexican schoolmates with predicted importance of 3.58, who is 0.21 points higher. Given that the scale of the outcome ranges between 1-4, this is about a 5% increase in the level of importance. While the estimate is precisely estimated, it is not substantively large. In terms of Mexican friends, those with no Mexican friends predicted importance is 3.37 and those with all Mexican friends is 3.53, a 0.16 or 4% difference, again quite small and in line with the estimate above.

Relatedly, the MASP survey also asks about the importance of children learning Mexican history, tradition, and culture.<sup>9</sup> These results are presented in Table 2.8 and row 2

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<sup>8</sup>The possible responses are Not at all important (1), Not very important (2), Somewhat important (3), and Very important (4).

<sup>9</sup>The exact question wording: “How important is it to you that your children learn about the history and traditions of Mexican origin people?” responses were coded Not at all important (1), Not very important

Table 2.7: Role of Peer Networks in Importance of Learning Mexican Values

	Schoolmate (Bivariate)	Friends (Bivariate)	Schoolmate (Controls)	Friends (Controls)
Intercept	3.03*** (0.15)	3.12*** (0.14)	3.44*** (0.35)	3.49*** (0.34)
Number of Mexican Schoolmates (1965)	0.14** (0.05)		0.15** (0.05)	
Number of Mexican Friends (1965)		0.10* (0.04)		0.11* (0.04)
Age (2000)			-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
College (2000)			0.01 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Num. obs.	422	458	421	457
RMSE	0.79	0.80	0.79	0.80

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 2.8: Role of Peer Networks in Importance of Learning Mexican Culture

	Schoolmate (Bivariate)	Friends (Bivariate)	Schoolmate (Controls)	Friends (Controls)
Intercept	3.32*** (0.13)	3.33*** (0.12)	3.81*** (0.30)	3.60*** (0.30)
Number of Mexican Schoolmates (1965)	0.06 (0.04)		0.07 (0.04)	
Number of Mexican Friends (1965)		0.05 (0.04)		0.05 (0.04)
Age (2000)			-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
College (2000)			0.09 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.00
Num. obs.	422	458	421	457
RMSE	0.72	0.73	0.72	0.73

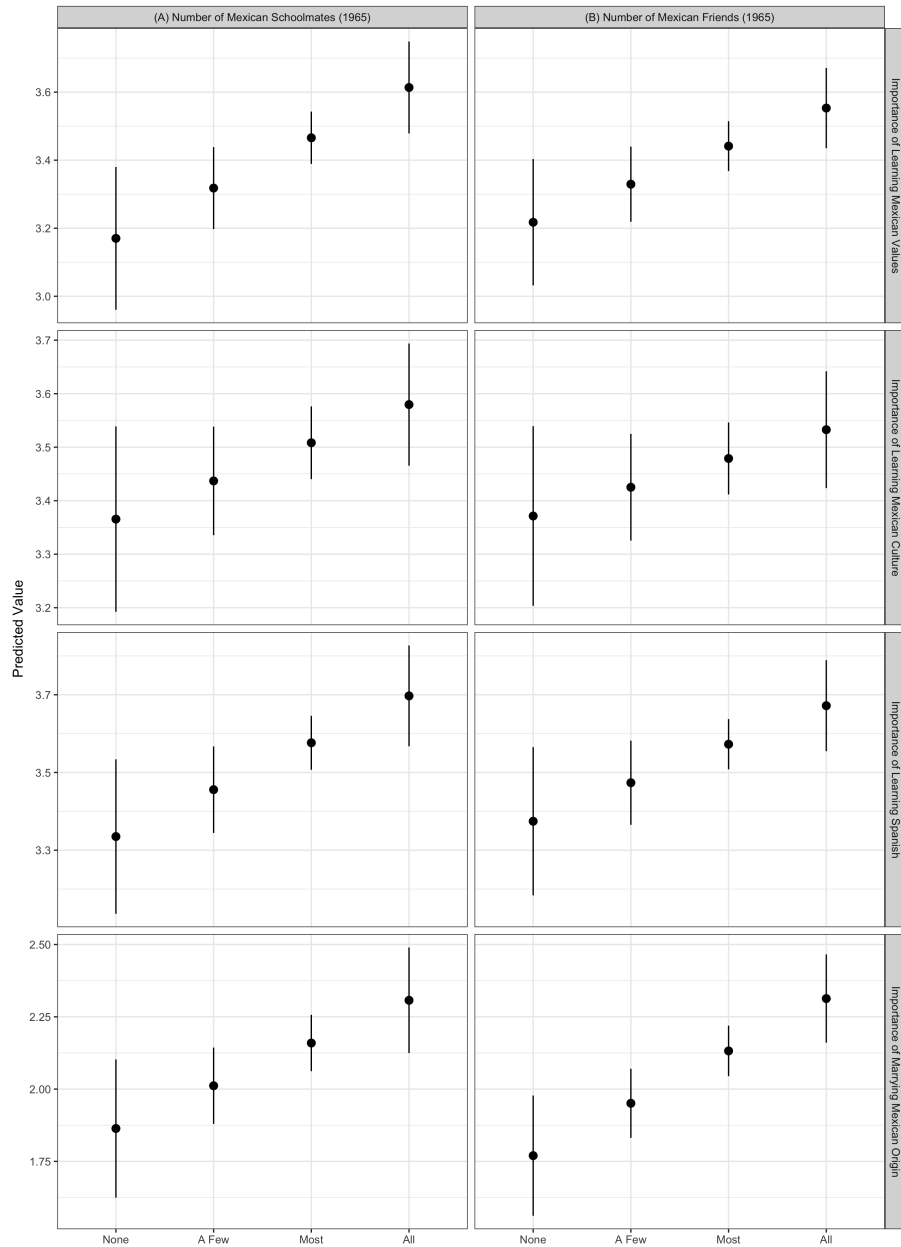
\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Panel (A) and Panel (B) of Figure 2.13. As Table 2.8 demonstrates, the relationship between Mexican schoolmates and Mexican friends is positively related, but does not achieve statistical significance at the conventional level. Looking at the results in the figure also demonstrates the same concerns. While there is a clear positive relationship, the predicted levels of importance are noisy. That coupled with the minimal substantive changes suggests that while the results are in the expected direction, learning about the history and traditions of Mexican origin people is not strongly impacted by peer networks during childhood.

For one, this could be due to its connection to education and schooling, whereby the social and family practices surrounding the goals of education are distinct. In other words, for Mexican families survey in the MASP, educational activities and attainment

(2), Somewhat important (3), and Very important (4).

Figure 2.13: Predicted Importance of Four Different Identity Related Outcome Variable



Notes: This figure shows the predicted strength of attachment as measured by four distinct outcome variables (learning Mexican values, learning Mexican culture, learning Spanish, and marrying someone of Mexican origin) among the child respondents in 2000 given the number of Mexican friends (Mexican schoolmates) reported by parent respondents in 1965. Results are from an OLS regression with robust standard errors. Bands represent 95% confidence intervals. Source: MASP

Table 2.9: Role of Peer Networks in Importance of Learning Mexican Culture

	Schoolmate (Bivariate)	Friends (Bivariate)	Schoolmate (Controls)	Friends (Controls)
Intercept	3.31*** (0.13)	3.33*** (0.12)	3.80*** (0.30)	3.61*** (0.30)
Number of Mexican Schoolmates (1965)	0.06 (0.04)		0.07 (0.04)	
Edu. Goals: Discipline and Religion	0.04 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)
Number of Mexican Friends (1965)		0.05 (0.04)		0.05 (0.04)
Age (2000)			-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
College (2000)			0.09 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
Num. obs.	422	458	421	457
RMSE	0.72	0.73	0.72	0.73

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

should have been focused on more “practical” topics. While the MASP did ask respondents some questions about education and what they wanted to see their children learning, none of the possible categories adjudicate the question here, whether respondents want their children to learn specific skills that could be associated with trade or professional positions. However, I still want to use this question to see how adjusting for whether a parent believes school should focus on discipline and religious learning impacts the relationship between Mexican schoolmates and friends and importance for children learning the history and traditions of Mexican origin people.

Next, I examine how childhood schoolmates and friends predict the importance that children learn Spanish. Table 2.10 shows a positive and statistically significant relationship between the number of Mexican schoolmates and Mexican friends and the importance of children learning Spanish. These results are robust to the inclusion of other covariates as well. I also show these results visually in the third row of Figure 2.13. Here we see the predicted response across various levels of peer networks from the full model. As predicted, those with more robust ethnic peer networks as children in 1965 are significantly more likely to report that it is vital for their children to learn Spanish in 2000.

Finally, I consider a question that asks about the importance of their children marrying someone of Mexican origin and I show these results in Table 2.11 and row four of Figure 2.13. The results in Table 2.11 show positive and statistically significant relationships between

Table 2.10: Role of Peer Networks in Importance of Learning Spanish

	Schoolmate (Bivariate)	Friends (Bivariate)	Schoolmate (Controls)	Friends (Controls)
Intercept	3.23*** (0.14)	3.29*** (0.14)	3.48*** (0.33)	3.52*** (0.30)
Number of Mexican Schoolmates (1965)	0.11* (0.05)		0.12* (0.05)	
Number of Mexican Friends (1965)		0.09* (0.05)		0.10* (0.05)
Age (2000)			-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
College (2000)			0.06 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Num. obs.	422	458	421	457
RMSE	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 2.11: Role of Peer Networks in Importance of Marrying a Mexican

	Schoolmate (Bivariate)	Friends (Bivariate)	Schoolmate (Controls)	Friends (Controls)
Intercept	1.67*** (0.18)	1.56*** (0.16)	1.49*** (0.40)	1.26*** (0.36)
Number of Mexican Schoolmates (1965)	0.17** (0.06)		0.15* (0.06)	
Number of Mexican Friends (1965)		0.20*** (0.05)		0.18*** (0.05)
Age (2000)			0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
College (2000)			-0.21 (0.11)	-0.19 (0.11)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.03
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02
Num. obs.	566	623	565	622
RMSE	1.08	1.07	1.07	1.06

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Mexican peer networks (1965) and the importance of their children marrying someone of Mexican origin. This means that those who grew up around more homogeneous (Mexican) peer networks feel that in-group marriage is more important.

I consider this measure of group attachment to be the most persuasive evidence of in-group favoritism, one of the results of in-group attachment as predicted (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Iyengar et al. 2012). It differs slightly from the other measures as it is tapping into a sense in-group preference and bias towards in-group members, which is at the heart of group attachment. Also, this measured has been used elsewhere to document how partisanship is a social identity and in-group marriage can be used to tap into perceptions of in-group affect (Iyengar et al. 2012).

The results in this section continue to show that ethnic peer networks are reliable and consistent predictors of variables related to group attachment. While this section analyzed

questions that were not identity-based outcomes, these variables tap directly into the attitudinal and behavioral manifestations of group attachment. I used the intergenerational component of the MASP to understand how varying homogeneity in ethnic peer networks during childhood impacts identity-related attitudes and beliefs nearly three decades later. I find there is an active link, illustrating the role of social context in facilitating the categorization process where individuals adopt group based attachments based on the variation in ethnic affirming cues and stimuli transmitted through their social context.

## 2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to answer one question. What is the role of social context in perceptions of group attachment? In other words, how does variation in the ethnic affirming cues in one's social context impact their identity attachments? In the chapter, I focused on two critical elements, family practices that are more akin to the traditional socialization literature and peer networks. I show that there are robust links between social context and group attachment. I showed that a parent's ethnic commitments are transmitted to their children. Even when controlling for several factors, a parent's ethnic commitments, that is their identity choices and the group that they most associate with is strongly related to how their children identify nearly 30 years later, suggesting that these group attachments are being transmitted across generation through family practices. This is the case even after students go to college, where we could expect them to change the identity attachments and be more likely to adopt a pan-ethnic attachment given the potential exposure to a broad, pluralistic history. In families where group attachments are stronger, the children who lived in those environments are exposed to all the day to day practices associated with parents stronger ethnic commitments are more likely to show a stronger group attachment than those who grew up to contexts that did not expose them to the same ethnic affirming cues.

I then showed that peer networks have a substantive influence in maintaining group attachments, and when these peer networks transmit ethnic affirming cues during one's formative years, the maintenance of identity structures over time is lasting. I showed this



for both Asian Americans and Latinos and how the influence of peer networks remains even after one of the most significant changes for many adults, going to college. For Latinos, I was able to show that their peer networks during childhood continue to exert influence on some identity-related outcomes, nearly thirty years later. These findings complement much of the existing work showing the importance of peer networks in understanding group based attachments (Santos et al. 2017; Phinney et al. 2001; Waters 1999). They also push back on other bodies of work that show a negative relationship between ethnic context and ethnic attachments (Umaña-Taylor 2004). Teasing this apart is essential, but often challenging given the limitations in observational and causal research designs available.

These findings reinforce what came up in my conversations with Jennifer and Jason. While both these individuals had unique social contexts during their upbringing, both Jason and Jennifer's experiences relate to my quantitative findings here. Jennifer's upbringing was fueled by a strong family commitment to her Mexican identity, which she carried with her when she began college. Jason, who did not have that same family experience, still maintained a sense of group attachment that he developed during his formative adolescent years through his peer networks, which were almost entirely composed of other young Latinos.

While social context is an important factor in understanding group based attachments, it is not the only factor that relates to these attachments. In fact, for Latinos and Asian Americans, who exhibit a more situational identity, social context is only one source for the identity-affirming cues that facilitate the process of categorization. In the next chapter, I examine how the environmental context is related to group based attachments, focusing on the variation in ethnic affirming cues within one's local environment.

## CHAPTER 3

# Local Origins: Environmental Context and Group Identity

Thus far, I have shown that one's social context is linked to group attachments as one's social context provides variation in ethnic affirming cues and stimuli. I, use two unique panel datasets to show that group attachments are transmitted intergenerationally through family practices and that peer networks during one's formative years are linked to strong group attachments years and decades later. This evidence supports one aspect of my theory, linking social context to group based attachments.

In this chapter, I tackle the second part of the theory, which links one's environmental context to group based attachments. My argument here is that one's environmental context varies exposure to ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that facilitate the process of categorization as these cues and stimuli provide information about the accessibility and fit of salient social categories.

Existing work in political science has connected context and the features and characteristics associated with one's context to important political attitudes and behaviors (Enos 2015; Newman and Velez 2014; Newman et al. 2015; Newman 2013; Hopkins 2010; 2011; Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a;b; Huckfeldt and Sprague 1987; Huckfeldt 1983; 1979; Wong et al. 2012; Wong 2007; Cho and Baer 2011; Gay 2004; Valenzuela and Michelson 2016). As such, we know there are links between one's environmental context and a variety of outcomes. The work on identity as an outcome, however, has not received the same attention (Gay 2004; Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a), despite the importance of understanding group based attachments in understanding political behavior and attitudes of Latinos and Asian Americans (Sanchez

2008; 2006b;a; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Stokes 2003; Pérez 2015b; Garcia-Rios et al. 2018). While political science has not explored the link between environmental context, scholars in sociology and anthropology have had more to say about these links (Alba 1992; Jimenez 2010; Negrón 2011; Waters 1999; 1990; Brubaker et al. 2004).

### **3.1 Observational Links Between Environmental Context and Attachment**

In existing work (Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a), I demonstrated a robust link between local level context and strength in ethnic attachment. To do this, I relied on the 2008 CMPS sample of Latinos where I showed a strong association between factors within one's context and strong attachment to being Latino. Before I move forward with experimental tests of the links between environmental context and group attachment, I review the findings from the observational work to help better understand how context is linked to group attachments.

My theory about environmental context begins with the idea that ethnic affirming cues that exist within one's environmental context are often visual. This means that ethnic affirming cues frequently come from the visual material in a respondent's immediate vicinity. While this is often businesses and the signs associated with those businesses, this visual material includes other signs, murals, graffiti, flags, decorations, etc.

Previous work linking context to identity has focused on the presence of co-ethnic group members as a key independent variable of interest (Gay 2004; Huckfeldt 1979; Alba 1992). To measure the bevy of ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that occur within one's environmental context, researchers have focused almost entirely on the presence of ethnic group members. This means that to understand the ethnic neighborhoods, scholars have examined the variation in the ethnic composition. This measurement strategy is limited as it misses a substantial amount of variation in the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that are likely robustly related to the ethnic composition, but distinct.

An excellent example of why this matters comes from the work of (Garcia Bedolla

2005) and (Valenzuela and Michelson 2016), who both juxtapose two parts of Eastern Los Angeles in their respective studies of identity, context, and politics. Garcia Bedolla (2005) shows that the tumultuous political climate in California in the 1990s motivated increased political participation across both Eastern Los Angeles contexts. However, in East Los Angeles, residents demonstrated stronger group attachment, “motivating them to become more involved in electoral politics” (23). Those in Montebello, CA had lower levels of psychological contextual capital compared to Latinos living in the vibrant East Los Angeles, and because of it, a lower level of attachment resulting in lower levels of participation.

Valenzuela and Michelson (2016) show that the efficacy of identity appeals used to mobilize voters is conditional on the type of community. In areas of East LA with larger immigrant populations (ones that also happen to be higher on my measure of ethnic visibility), ethnic appeals work better. In adjacent areas, where the population is less foreign-born but also slightly higher status (and areas with lower levels of ethnic visibility), Valenzuela and Michelson (2016) show that ethnic appeals are less effective and “American” appeals are more effective at mobilizing voters in these neighborhoods. These studies highlight the need to look beyond population-based metrics in understanding the role of context. Both the LA neighborhoods are very similar in terms of % Latino, yet so different on other important dimensions.

My theory suggests that a whole host of visual ethnic affirming content likely exists within a context and ethnic group members are just one aspect of this much larger construct. Moreover, while the proportion of ethnic/racial group members may be useful in understanding other groups, it is missing such valuable information for Latinos and Asian Americans. To overcome this limitation, I added a novel measurement of these ethnic affirming cues by examining the proportion of ethnically names businesses within one’s immediate vicinity.

To do this, I gathered up to 100 business names from Yelp’ business listing within a specified buffer of the respondent’s home address. With each business name, I determined if the business had an ethnic name or a non-ethnic name. I then created a new measure for each respondent that measured the proportion of ethnic businesses within the immediate vicinity of the respondent’s home. Comparing this measure to the proportion of co-ethnic

members within one's census tract reveals a correlation of 0.55. This suggests that these two variables are strongly positively correlated, but are not measuring the same underlying construct.

To test whether ethnic saturation is related to perceptions of group attachment among Latinos, I calculated the ethnic saturation score for each Latino respondent from the 2008 CMPS.<sup>1</sup> This study provided detailed geographic information for all respondents allowing me to gather and calculate the neighborhood level ethnic saturation based on their exact address. I use this new measure alongside the proportion of Latinos in one's census tract. Both of these measures are part of the environment context component. I also include a measure of the social context that considers the frequency of church attendance along with the composition. While Chapter 2 focused on social context, I include the measure here to provide more empirical support for my argument about social context and to provide a comparison point for interpreting the substantive effects of environmental context compared to social context.

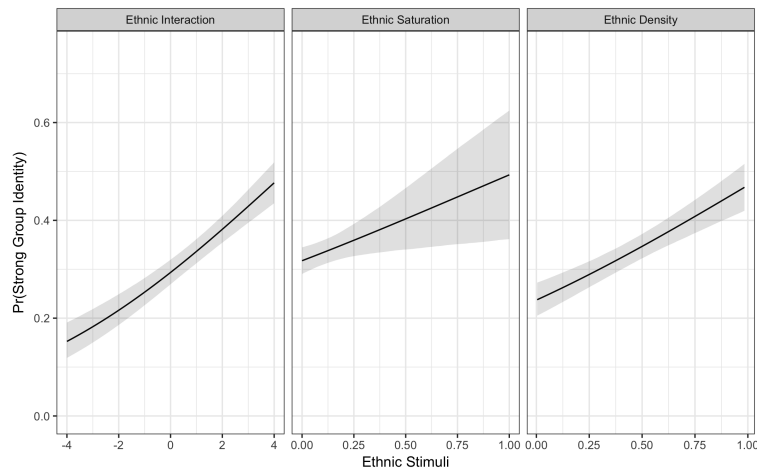
Figure 3.1 shows the bivariate relationship between three measures of context and group attachment for Latinos. The x-axis of each panel shows the different values of the independent variable. The y-axis shows the predicted probability of strong group attachment, which was calculated from an ordered logistic regression. Here I predicted the probability of the strongest perception of group attachment conditional on the value of the contextual variable.

The first panel shows the association between strong group identity and ethnic interaction, which is a measure of social context and measured using the frequency of church attendance and the composition of church membership. As the panel shows, there is a positive relationship between ethnic interactions and strong group attachment. These build on the findings from Chapter two as they show how current social context relates to ethnic attachment. While there are more concerns over endogeneity, the results convincingly show that social context is related to group attachment.

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<sup>1</sup>ADD INFO

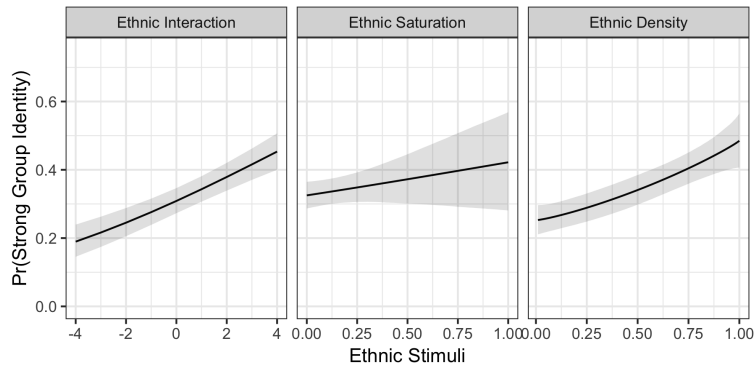
Figure 3.1: Predicted Probability of Strong Group Identity Given Variation in Ethnic Stimuli



*This figure shows the predicted probabilities of perceiving strong group identity for Latino respondents given variation in each of the ethnic stimuli (ethnic interaction, ethnic saturation, ethnic density composition) at the bivariate level. 95% confidence interval shown. Source 2008 CMPS.*

The focus of this chapter, however, is on environmental context. Panel and panel show how the measures of environmental context are associated with strong group attachment. The second panel shows the first of these variables, called ethnic saturation, which is the proportion of businesses in the immediate vicinity or a respondent with a co-ethnic name. Here we see a strong positive relationship between the proportion of ethnic businesses and the probability of a strong group attachment. This means that my new measure of environmental context is related to perceptions of group attachment. The measure, which is a rough proxy for the broader concept of ethnic visibility, associates with group attachment. In areas where a greater proportion of the businesses are ethnic or have ethnic names, the probability that a Latino respondent feels a strong connection to being Latino is much more likely. In the last panel, I show the bivariate results between co-ethnic density and group attachment. The link between ethnic density, as expected, is strong and positive. These findings reinforce the existing work about the role of fellow ethnic group members within one's context. However, as I have shown, ethnic density is not the only meaningful measure, and there is unexplored variation in perceptions of strong group attachment that is not captured by ethnic density. Environmental contexts are more than just a collection of people.

Figure 3.2: Predicted Probability of Strong Group Identity Given Variation in Ethnic Stimuli with Control Variables



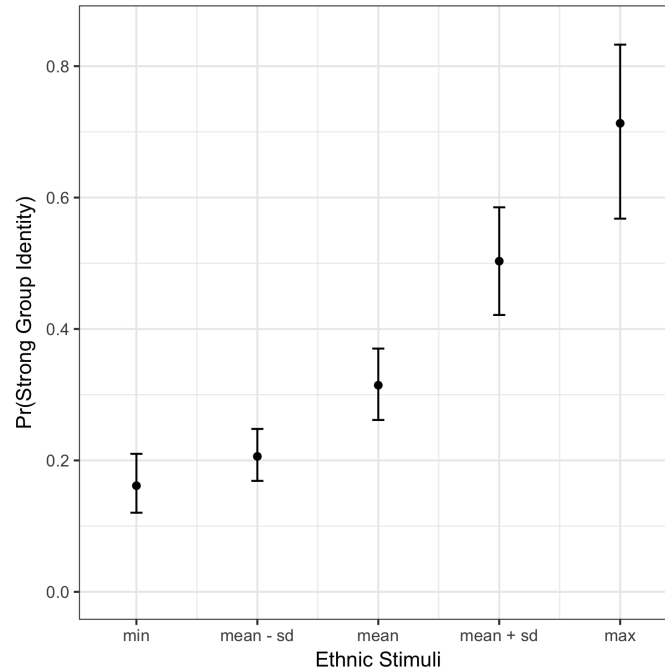
*This figure shows the predicted probabilities of perceiving strong group identity for Latino respondents given variation in each of the ethnic stimuli in a model with all control variables. 95% confidence interval shown. All other variables are kept at the mean except for census tract diversity (entropy), which is modified using ratio preserving counterfactual (Adolph 2013). Source 2008 CMPS.*

Figure 3.2 shows the same relationships but includes some control variables. The findings here across my measures of social and environmental context show similar relationships. Social context (panel 1) and environmental context (panels 2 & 3) are linked to a strong group attachment among Latinos. Even adding controls, the role of context is still linked to perceptions of strong group attachment.

In Figure 3.2, I include all three contextual variables in the same model and then predict the probability of strong group identity given variation in the underlying contextual scale. To do this, I create an additive scale of the environmental context and keep social interaction as the social context. As the results in Figure 3.2 suggest, there is a strong link between ethnic context and group attachment for Latinos. And they show that is it just not where one lives, but rather a host of other ethnic affirming cues and stimuli on one’s social and environmental context that matter for structuring group based attachments.

These results show a strong link between context and group attachment. However, as I mentioned early on, using observational data to understand contextual phenomena is challenging since it is unclear and nearly impossible to determine if self-selection is present or if a spurious variable is present. In terms of selection, we could think that people with strong

Figure 3.3: Predicted Probability of Strong Group Identity for Environmental and Social Dimensions of Ethnic Context



*This figure shows the predicted probabilities of perceiving strong group identity for Latino respondents given variation ethnic stimuli in a model that includes both structural and social dimensions of ethnic stimuli as well as control variables. 95% confidence interval shown. The values of each dimension (structural and social) are set to min, min - 1 standard deviation, mean, mean + 1 standard deviation, and max. All other variables are kept at the mean except for census tract diversity (entropy), which is modified using ratio preserving counterfactuals for each of the scenarios (Adolph 2013). Source 2008 CMPS.*

group attachments are the ones who are moving into neighborhoods with the bevy of ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that help maintain their strong group attachments. Because of this, the claims above are associational, limiting me from making any causal inferences. To overcome this limitation, I next develop and design a way to more credibly test the links between environmental context and group attachment since these results do indeed show a strong link between context and attachment and one that I think is causally related.



## 3.2 Experimental Design to Understand Context

While the existing observational evidence has demonstrated a strong link between environmental context and perceptions of group identity, observational approaches are unable to provide causal clarity. The respondents in the sample could have selected into neighborhoods with greater ethnic visibility, thus reversing the causal ordering of the variables. In this case, the strength of group identity “causes” individuals to move into areas rich in ethnic visibility, diminishing the chance for variation in ethnic visibility at the local level to impact group based attitudes. Later in this chapter, I provide evidence that this residential self-selection is not motivated by group attachments using evidence from a conjoint experiment along with strong historical evidence that minority groups often have little agency in the residential selection process compared to their white counterparts (Krysan and Crowder 2017; Krysan et al. 2009).

A second trouble comes from the possibility of an omitted variable. While I have developed a robust theoretical framework that links environmental context with perceptions of group identity in a causal order, there could exist another variable  $Z$ , for example, that affects *both* strength of group identity and is a substantial factor in the choice where to live. Because  $Z$  is unobserved, the strong positive relationship between ethnic visibility and strength of group identity is spurious.

To better understand the causal order and reduce the possibility of reverse causality and omitted variable bias, I develop a novel experimental design that aims to randomize the ethnic visibility in one’s environmental context in order to test whether ethnic visibility is causally related to perceptions of group attachment. As I argued earlier, environmental context does not lend itself to easy or quick randomization. At least in the U.S., much of the built environment is already established, making it nearly impossible to assign a context to a participant randomly. On the other hand, assigning participants to a unique environmental context (i.e., moving them to a random neighborhood) would require extensive resources and possible ethical violations.

Instead, I use a survey experiment, which allows me to identify a causal effect through

the randomization  $t$  across various conditions. To do this, I assign respondents to one of two conditions (control vs. experimental). Following the treatment, I measure a variety of important identity-based outcomes. While survey experiments are certainly limited in the real world significance, they are ideal in cases like this where I am interested in isolating the causal relationship in a controlled environment. I am confident that a short exposure is unlikely going to have a lasting impact, but any detectable causal effect provides evidence to understand the links between environmental context and group attachments better. Because of this, this is not the *best* test of the theory, but instead will offer a glimpse into the micro-foundations of categorization conditional on the variation in ethnic affirming cues and stimuli.

I run this survey experiment on two different online samples. The first comes from a more extensive panel survey of registered voters in Los Angeles County. Using the panel design, I can understand the causal effect of ethnic visibility both within-subjects since I measure outcomes at  $T_1$  and across subjects since I randomize whether the respondent is assigned to treatment or control in the second wave of the survey. I also conduct the experiment with a more representative and national sample from Lucid. Using the Lucid sample, I estimate the causal effect of environmental context by comparing the difference in means between a control group and the experimental group given that each respondent is randomized to either treatment or control conditions.

### **3.3 Research Design**

The goal of the experiment is plausibly and convincingly randomize exposure to ethnic visibility via environmental context. To do this, I ask respondents to complete a classification task as part of the ombuds survey. The classification task is described as a separate study within the main study, so participants are not 100% aware of the point of the study.

Participants are asked to review nine images for a marketing-based study from another UCLA faculty member. They are told that the faculty member is trying to figure out how visible certain neighborhood features are from streetview images. The features include a gas

station, grocery store, bank/ATM, etc. Participants are told to spend some time “looking” at the image in search of the various features. They are then asked to record the presence or absence of each feature before moving on to a subsequent image. The point of this deception is to try to mask the true nature of the experiment and any links between the ethnic contents of the image.<sup>2</sup>

Participants are assigned to either a control condition which displays no ethnic visibility or an experimental condition where ethnic visibility is present. All the images across both control and treatment condition are based on the same base image and were manually manipulated to either add/remove/alter the ethnic visibility. The images used are shown in the supporting information section.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3.1 Identity Based Outcomes

Following the experiment, respondents were then asked a set of outcome variables. The key dependent variables are a set of group-based identity measures to assess how exposure to ethnic visibility causes changes in the strength of group identity. I use the following four questions to assess group identity:

- **Question 1:** How much is being [GROUP] an important part of how you see yourself?
- **Question 2:** How much does your doing well have to do with other [GROUP] also doing well?
- **Question 3:** How much of a problem is discrimination against [GROUP] in today's society?

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<sup>2</sup>Following IRB protocol, respondents are told the true nature of the study at its completion.

<sup>3</sup>I first selected 3 AAPI, 3 Latino, and three non-ethnic images to edit. This is to ensure that some of the images viewed are “authentic” and not artificially manipulated. However, to ensure internal validity, I use the same image across each condition. In other words, I did not want to select nine unique images for each condition, which would limit the ability to conclude that the variation in ethnic visibility is attributable to any changes in the outcomes.

- **Question 4:** How important do you think it is for [GROUP] in the United States to work together politically in order to increase their status in society?

Question 1 is designed to tap into perceptions of identity centrality (Leach et al. 2008), a central measure of group identity in the social identity tradition and one that has been adopted in the political science literature (Pérez 2015b). The possible responses to this question were: very important, somewhat important, not very important, and not at all important.

Question 2 is based off the linked fate question (Dawson 1994; Tate 1993). While this measure was developed based on the African American experience in the U.S., several scholars have transported the framework into studies understanding Latinos and AAPI (Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Masuoka 2006; Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a). The possible responses included: Not at all, A little, Some, and A lot.

Question 3 captures group-based discrimination, which is often linked to feelings of group attachment (Sanchez 2006a;b; Citrin and Sears 2014). The existing work has seen perceptions of group-based discrimination as a necessary component of group consciousness. Barreto and Pedraza (2009), for example, consider group consciousness to be linked fate plus group discrimination.

Question 4 is designed to capture a dimension of group consciousness (Miller et al. 1981; Gurin et al. 1980; Sanchez 2006b;a; Masuoka 2006; Stokes 2003). While group consciousness came out of a long literature examining class based consciousness and how these social identities associated with one's class was related to various political behaviors, Gurin et al. (1980); Miller et al. (1981) and others began to notice that Black Americans exhibited strong feelings of consciousness, which included a sense of attachment to the group, realization of the groups status in society, and a willingness to work to better the group.

I use these four variables to capture a sense of group-based attachment. In addition to asking about the larger pan-ethnic/pan-racial group (Latino/Asian American), in the Lucid sample, I also ask about an individual's attachment to their national origin group using the following questions.

- **Question 1 (National Origin):** How much is being [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] an important part of how you see yourself?
- **Question 2 (National Origin):** How much does your doing well have to do with other [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] also doing well?
- **Question 3 (National Origin):** How much of a problem is discrimination against [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] in todays society?
- **Question 4 (National Origin):** How important do you think it is for [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] in the United States to work together politically in order to increase their status in society?

In the Lucid survey, I randomize the order of the question blocks. 50% of the respondents will see the pan-ethnic questions first and then the national origin questions. The remaining 50% of the respondents will see the national origin questions first then the pan-ethnic questions.

### **3.3.2 Political and Identity Outcome: Using a Candidate Evaluation Conjoint Experiment**

In addition to the identity-based outcomes, participants are also asked to participate in a candidate evaluation study using a conjoint experiment. The goal of this portion of the study is to provide additional information and leverage the experimental design to see if there are any changes in candidate evaluations. I expect that respondents exposed to the treatment condition (ethnic context vs. control context) are more likely to use a candidate's ethnicity as an evaluative factor. In other words, among Latinos exposed to the ethnic context, I expect that a candidate's co-ethnicity (Latino) will be more influential in the candidate evaluation and selection process compared to a Latino candidate in the control condition.

To do this, I replicate the candidate evaluation experiment form (Hainmueller et al. 2014b), making only minor changes to ensure plausibility in the conditions. I used the

same eight attributes. The attributes and levels and levels are displayed in Table 3.1. Each respondent was shown 5 pairs of candidates. The attributes were fully randomized.

Table 3.1: Candidate Evaluation Conjoint Attributes & Levels

Attribute	Levels
Race/Ethnicity	Latino/Hispanic, White, Asian American/AAPI, African American/Black
Gender	Male, Female
Religion	Mainline protestant, Catholic, None, Jewish, Mormon, Evangelical Protestant
College	Community college, State, university, Small college, Ivy League university
Annual Income (Family)	\$32,000, \$54,000, \$65,000, \$92,000, \$210,000, \$5.1,million
Age	36, 45, 52, 60, 68, 75
Profession	Business owner, Lawyer, Doctor, Farmer, High school teacher, Car dealer
Military Service	Served, Did not serve

I asked respondents two questions for each candidate profile pair. First, all respondents were asked to select which of the two candidates they would prefer. Then respondents were asked to rate the quality of each candidate on a scale from 1 to 7, one being very unfavorable and 7 being very favorable. I told each respondent that the candidates were all Democrats, were running in a district where a Democrat has won in the past five elections, and are running in a primary election. I did this to ensure information equivalence following (Dafoe et al. 2018). By locking in these characteristics, I am more confident that being exposed to any other characteristics did not fundamentally change how a respondent understood the candidate on an unmeasured dimension.

### 3.4 Can we Credibly Manipulate Ethnic Visibility?

Above I described some of the perils associated with using observational data to understand what is an inherently causal process. In response, I developed a novel experiment embedded in a larger survey that credibly manipulates the ethnic visibility of an environmental context and thus attempts to randomize context. Here I describe in detail the experimental design along with some results from various tests to ensure that the design works as anticipated.

I began with nine unique streetview images of various locations in the U.S. This images, shown in the supporting information section at the end of the chapter, highlight various features of the built environment. They show a broad representation of different neighborhood contexts from across the U.S. Most, but not all, were collected from Los Angeles County, as

the variation of ethnic visibility in Los Angeles County is quite pronounced. Others came from the Midwest (Chicago, IL and Ann Arbor, MI) and one came from the Albuquerque, NM. The images were purposefully selected given the presence of various stores, signs, murals, etc., all visible features of ethnic visibility, which I argued is causally linked to the strength of one's group identity.

Each image was then professionally manipulated using Adobe Photoshop to change its ethnic visibility. For the original images (ones that were not manipulated), I selected 3 Latino, 3 AAPI, and 3 non-ethnic images.<sup>4</sup> This is to ensure that the ethnic visibility in the AAPI and Latino images were drawn from the actual data generating process, streetview configurations that are present in the real world and thus an environmental context that people could be exposed to.

To manipulate the images, I searched for a variety of ways to capture ethnic visibility. Most of this came from other streetview images where I took the signs and other instances of ethnic visibility to use in the modified images. I then went through an iterative process with a professional photo editor to manipulate the current context and replace it with modified content. To ensure that this process worked well and ethnic visibility was credibly manipulated, I went through a rigorous pre-testing phase. Part of the iterative process was running small pilot tests to ensure that manipulations worked and were believable. While the section below reports the final results of the pre-test, I worked through several different images and manipulations to come up with the final set. During this process, I kept some images and removed others. Of the first 9 images I began with, only 6 remained in the final set. 3 new images were added after testing showed that ethnic visibility could not be manipulated. The final images are available in the supporting information.

### **3.4.1 Pre-Test Results**

I tested each of the final images using MTurk to ensure that the ethnic visibility was reported as intended and the images were perceived as realistic. To measure the ethnic visibility, I

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<sup>4</sup>In two out of the three non-ethnic images, I added additional non-ethnic signs.

recruited 100s MTurk workers to for a small study to “Categorize Images” where each worker was paid \$0.50 to categorize the ethnic visibility of 9 unique images and rate the authenticity of each image. The results below focus on the nine final images that tested by 100 MTurk workers.

In the study, each worker was shown one set of images and asked to classify whether the image showed: Latino, Asian American, or Non-ethnic visibility.<sup>5</sup> Each worker was then asked to rate how realistic each image appeared on a scale from 0 (the image is not realistic) to 10 (the image is very realistic). I asked MTurk workers to rate the realism on a separate screen so that workers could not go back and look for imperfections. I wanted to get a general sense of how realistic the images were after the MTurk worker had already viewed the image. This study was conducted in February 2019.

For each image, I calculated the percent correctly predicted based on dividing the total number of correct responses over the total number of respondents who saw that image. I present these results in Figure 3.4. On the y-axis are the 9 image labels. The x-axis shows the percent correctly predicted and ranges from 1-100. I categorized the points by image type (Latino, AAPI, and Non-ethnic) and whether the image was original or modified. Solid blacks points are always the original, unmodified images, regardless of the category. The shapes and linetypes signify the different categories.

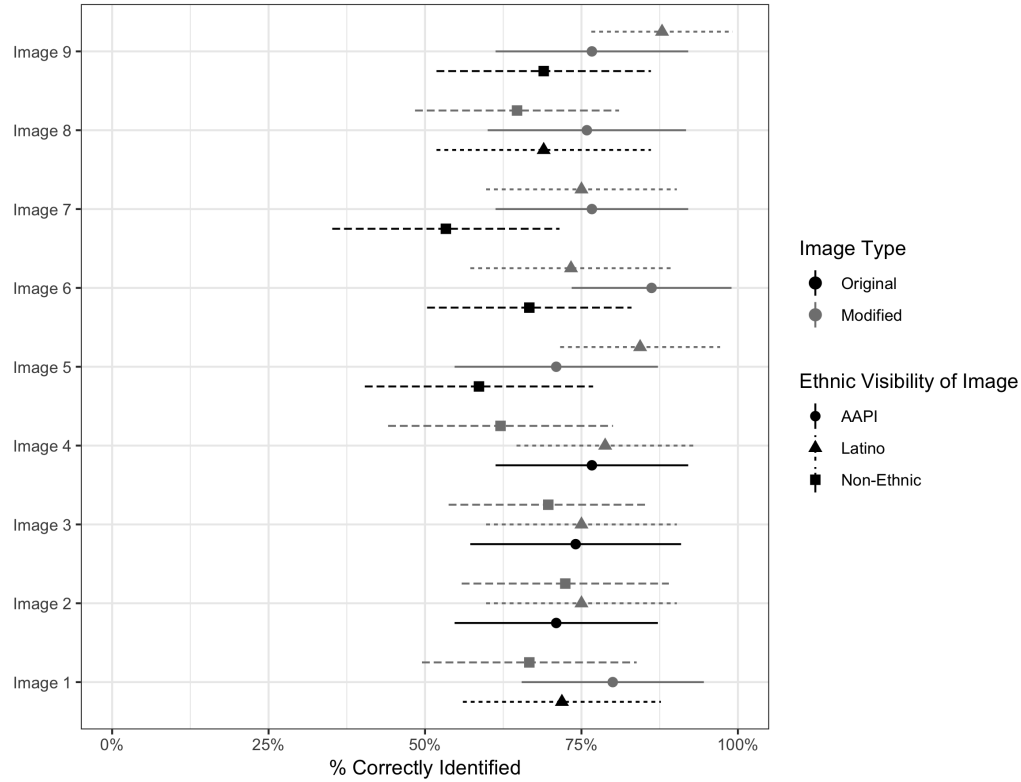
The results in Figure 3.4 show that a vast majority of the MTurk workers correctly categorize the ethnic visibility of the images. The average percent correctly identified was 68.7% for the original images and slightly higher 75.1% for the modified images. This means that respondents were slightly better at identifying the modified images. We can also see this in the figure. The original image for image 5 and image 7 was non-ethnic, and for these images, respondents had the lowest likelihood to identify correctly. Table 3.2 shows the average percent correctly identified grouping by image type and the ethnic group of interest. In general, respondents were better at correctly identifying images of ethnic visibility. As

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<sup>5</sup>This is based on a previous study which used MTurk workers to classify the ethnic visibility of over 50,000 street view images. Comparing the MTurk results with trained undergrads resulted in a correlation of greater than .90 for all categories.



Figure 3.4: Percent of Images Correctly Identified



Notes: This figure shows the percentage of each image that the ethnic visibility of the image was correctly identified. Respondents were shown either the original image or an image where the ethnic visibility was manipulated. Results were obtained from an MTurk sample with 100 respondents. Bars are 95% confidence intervals.

the table shows, the modified ethnic images were the most likely to be correctly identified, suggesting that the manipulations worked well the modify the ethnic visibility.

Table 3.2: Image Classification: Average by Group and Image Type

Image Type	Group	% Correct	SE
Original	AAPI	73.90	8.25
Original	Latino	70.42	8.41
Original	Non-Ethnic	61.90	8.91
Modified	AAPI	77.73	7.67
Modified	Latino	78.48	7.29
Modified	Non-Ethnic	67.11	8.56

Immediately after categorizing an image, I asked each respondent to evaluate the realism or authenticity of the image. In the survey instrument, this question was on a separate screen, which prevented the respondent from being able to go back and “double-check” their thoughts. I also completely randomized the order of images in the survey and the image

within each group (original, modified 1, modified 2) to protect against respondents being made aware after the first question. Respondents were assigned a randomized viewing order of images and then assigned randomly which type of image. No respondent evaluated the same image twice and by design, no respondent saw multiple versions of the same image. It is possible, by chance, that the only images that were viewed were of one ethnic type, but this probability is quite rare. This randomization scheme was organized because I did not want the respondents to scrutinize the following images more than the first image, knowing they would be asked this about the following images.

Respondents were asked to rate how realistic each image appeared on a scale from 0 (the image is not realistic) to 10 (the image is very realistic). These results are presented in Figure 3.5. On the y-axis are the various images and on the x-axis is the average realism score with 95% confidence intervals. Again the solid black shows the original images and the gray shows the modified images. The shape and linetype distinguish the ethnic visibility of the image.

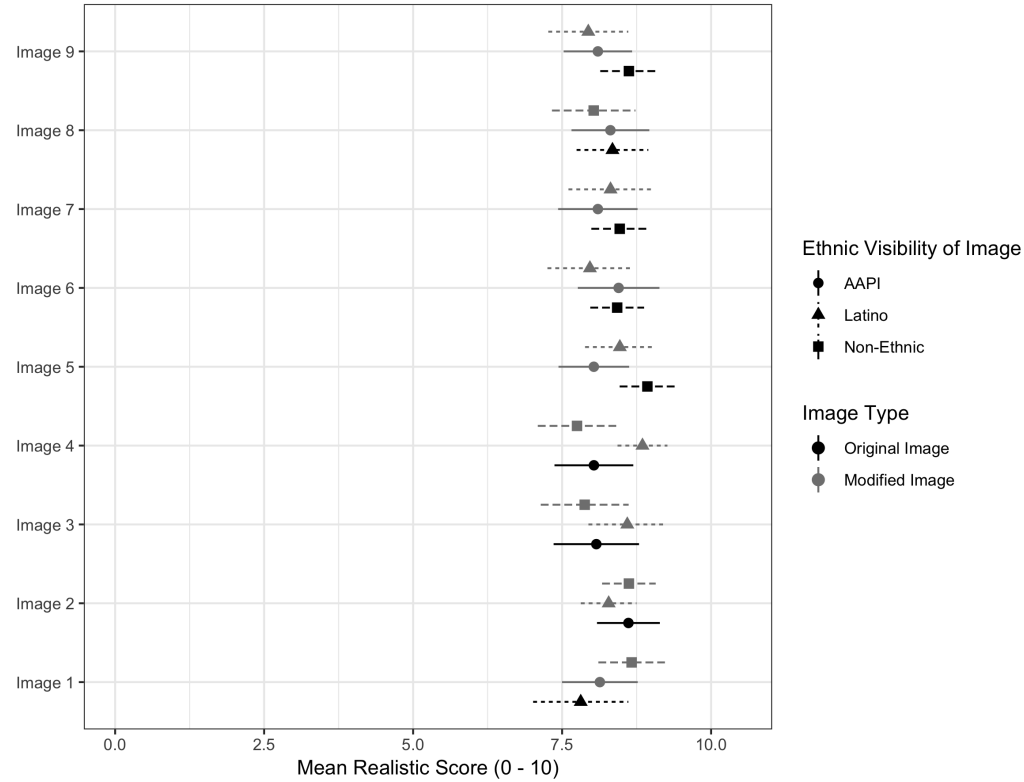
The findings in Figure 3.5 show that respondents find the images quite credible. All of the estimates range between 7.5 and 9.0, suggesting that the image modifications that I performed did not alter the authenticity of the image in any meaningful way. The average rating for AAPI images was 8.2, 8.3 for Latino images, and 8.4 for non-ethnic images. Table 3.3 provides the group by image type comparisons. In Table 3.3 we see some variability in the average ratings by the group and by image type. However, the variability does not result in any informative patterns. In some cases, modified images are rated as more realistic than original images, but that is not the case across all groups.

Table 3.3: Image Rating: Average by Group and Image Type

real	group	avg	se
Original Image	AAPI	8.24	0.32
Original Image	Latino	8.08	0.36
Original Image	Non-Ethnic	8.61	0.24
Modified Image	AAPI	8.19	0.32
Modified Image	Latino	8.34	0.31
Modified Image	Non-Ethnic	8.19	0.32

Next, I conduct a formal statistical test of the differences between the original and modified images to ensure that there are no statistical differences in the realism of the

Figure 3.5: Average Realism Ratings of Each Image



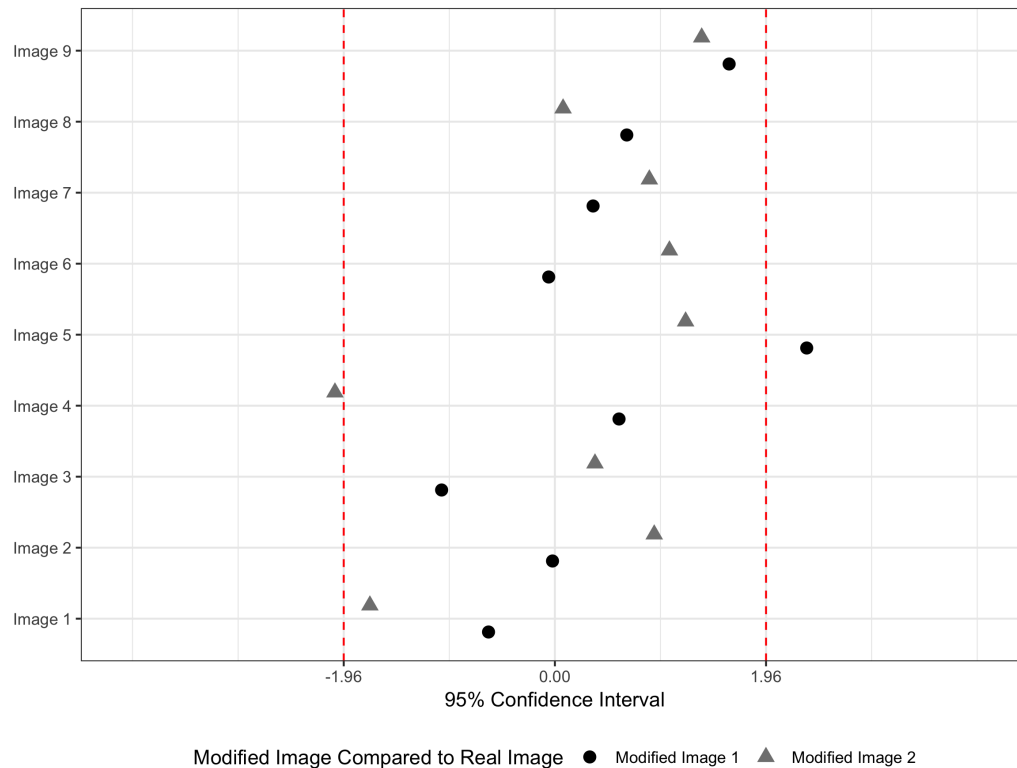
Notes: This figure shows the average realism score for each image. MTurk respondents were asked to evaluate the realism of the image immediately after categorizing it but on a separate screen. Images were presented in a fully randomized order. Results were obtained from an MTurk sample with 100 respondents. Bars are 95% confidence intervals.

images. To do this, I conduct a series of T-Tests where I compare the distribution of realism ratings of the original image to the distribution of realism ratings of each modified image. If the distributions are not statistically different, we can be more confident that there are no systematic differences in the realism of the modified images compared to the real image. If the modified images were all viewed as less realistic, and those differences were statistically significant, the overall design of the experiment would be much weaker. One of the embedded assumptions is that the only difference between the control and treatment groups is ethnic visibility.

I plot the t-statistics for each comparison in Figure 3.6. Each point then is the t-statistic for a formal two-sample t-test where the null hypothesis is that the difference in means is  $= 0$ . Under this specification, support for the alternative that the difference is not

equal to 0 is evident if the t-static is larger than 1.96. As such, I provide two lines at  $-1.96$  and  $1.96$  to asses whether the t-statistic from each test is outside of this band. Any results within the band, where the t-statistic  $> -1.96$  and t-statistic  $< 1.96$  provide support for the null hypothesis of no difference between the two samples.

Figure 3.6: Statistical Differences Between Realism Scores for Original and Modified Images



*Notes: This figure shows the t-statistics from a series of t-tests where the distribution of realism scores from the original (real) images was compared to the distribution of realism scores from the modified images (image 1 and image 2). The points show the value of the t-statistic from a t-test. Points within the 95% confidence interval ( $-1.96 \geq t\text{-statistic} \leq 1.96$ ) provide support for the null hypothesis of no difference in the distributions between the two scores.*

Figure 3.6 shows strong evidence that there is little difference in the ratings between the original images and the modified images. There are only two cases we observe statistically significant differences in the distribution of rating across the images. Compared to the original image 4, modified image 2 for image 4 and compared to the original image 5 the modified image 1 for image 5 are statistically distinguishable, suggesting that raters found significant differences in the realism of the images. First, in expectation, we should expect that 1 out of 20 results will be different due to change. Both of the results are very close to

the threshold of statistical significance. For the image 4 comparison, the p-value = 0.04653. For image 5, the p-value associated with the difference = 0.02303, which is more concerning, but in expectation, we should expect 1 in 20 (5%) of findings to not be statistically significant due to chance alone.

The results from this test provide evidence of two key factors. First, the images used in the analysis convey the desired ethnic visibility. This means that the treatment of ethnic visibility is being delivered to the responses. Second, the modification of images is believable to a majority of those who viewed the image.

These results also speak to a more substantial contribution and essential takeaway. Randomizing environmental context has proven to be quite elusive for researchers for a whole host of reasons. These results show evidence that aspects of environmental context can be manipulated credibly. This method of using images and altering the content of an image may offer a way for researchers to better understand the link between context and various outcomes of interest. Future work, outside of this dissertation, should look to advancements in virtual and augmented reality as ways to manipulate contextual features in a principled and controlled way. In the next section, I discuss in detail the samples used to conduct the experimental test. I then turn to the results from both survey experiments.

## **3.5 Experimental Samples**

I ran the experiment on two separate samples. The first sample comes from an ongoing panel of Los Angeles County registered voters who were recruited to participate in the panel in January 2019. The second sample comes from the online panel vendor Lucid. Both samples have strengths and weaknesses which I outline below.

### **3.5.1 Los Angeles County Panel**

The Los Angeles County Panel (LACP) has some desirable properties for this survey. First, because I measure the outcome at  $T_0$  (January 2019), I can assign the treatment assign-

ment within outcome based strata (blocks). If I randomly assign the treatment and control conditions to the entire sample, this could create a set of randomizations where too few respondents with a given level of identity at baseline are in the treatment or control conditions. Since I already expect my treatment to be weak, I want to maximize the chance to recover a causal effect. Before distributing the second wave, I conduct a block randomization procedure based on the identity outcomes collected at baseline. I classify respondents into three blocks based on the respondents in wave 1 identity questions: weak, middle, and strong identity blocks. From there, I randomize the treatment and control conditions within each block where an equal number of respondents are assigned to each condition. Since I used terciles to assign these blocks, each group has about one-third of the overall sample.

This sample is not without some limitations. For one, it is limited to registered voters living in Los Angeles County. I recruited the panel from registered voters who 1) had valid emails on the voter file and 2) who agreed to participate in the panel after responding to an initial survey. The overall response rate for the original survey was around 2.0%. Table 3.4 shows the results from a regression where 1 = those who responded to the survey and 0 is all those who did not respond. I regress this outcome on a set of covariates from the voter file. Unfortunately, the voter file does not contain a full host of demographic covariates. Instead, I have access to age, predicted race/ethnicity, party registration, and vote history. I regress the indicator for a response on these covariates and present the results in Table 3.4.

The results Table 3.4 suggest that there are substantial differences between those who responded to the survey and those who were surveyed but did not respond. This overall difference is most visible by analyzing the f-statistic, which is a joint test of overall significance. The f-statistic is 49.86, much larger than the value 10, the commonly understood cut-off where values greater than 10 show the samples are very different. This means that there is a statistical difference between those who respond and those who do not. Examining individual predictors shows that older respondents are more likely to respond. Those who voted in 2016 are also much more likely to respond. Compared to Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and AAPI are less likely to respond. Despite these issues, the LACP is still internally valid, meaning that any difference in treatment and control conditions remains valid for the sample,

Table 3.4: Respond to Survey Balance Test

	Respond to Survey
(Intercept)	0.01*** (0.00)
Age	0.00*** (0.00)
Party ID (Democrat)	-0.00 (0.00)
Party ID (other)	-0.00** (0.00)
Voted (2016 General)	0.01*** (0.00)
Latino	-0.00** (0.00)
Black	-0.01*** (0.00)
AAPI	-0.01*** (0.00)
Other	-0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.00
Num. obs.	148763
F statistic	49.86
RMSE	0.13

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

but cannot necessarily be generalized to all registered voters living in Los Angeles County.

In March 2019, I distributed the experiment to the smaller subsection of voters who had agreed to be part of the sample. Of the 2,501 respondents that began the survey in January 2019, 667 respondents agreed to be apart of the panel out of 1,481 who made it to that point of the study. While I had anticipated a panel agreement rate of  $\sim 50\%$ , 45.5% of those who completed the survey agreed to be part of the panel. Table 3.5 shows a regression where the outcome is equal to 1 if the respondent opted into the panel and 0 if the respondent did not agree to be part of the panel. The results in Table 3.5 help us understand the factors that explain who opted to participate in the ongoing panel. Compared to Asian American voters, Black and Latino voters are slightly more likely to opt-in. Democrats are slightly less likely opt-in, however, strong liberals are more likely. Those born in the U.S. are also more likely to respond. I do not read too much into these results because of issues with multiple comparisons. Instead, I use the F-Statistic as a way of assessing the joint difference. The f-statistic for the model is 4.43, which suggests that there is not a joint statistical difference

between the two groups.

This result is helpful given that those who opt into the panel is a highly selective bunch. An overly simplified view of the selection process for these individuals is shown below:

- population → reg. voter → email on file → take survey → opt into panel

This is particularly worrisome if the goal is to make inferences about the population at large, which is always implicit in any research study. That being said, I am more confident that those who opt into the panel are no different from those who decided to take the survey in the first place.

Of the 667 respondents who opted into the panel, 90 were AAPI and 287 were Latino. The full results of those who opted in and those who did not want to participate in the panel are displayed in Table 3.6 and Figure 3.7, showing that a sizable number of respondents for all groups agreed to participate in the panel.

One of the benefits of the LACP is harnessing the power of the panel component and the ability to measure the outcomes of interest in  $T_1$ . This gives me the power to use blocking to increase the statistical precision of the estimates. Figure 3.8 shows the distribution of group attachment among Latinos in the LACP. As the figure shows, the plurality of respondents, 48.4%, report a strong sense of identity centrality. 26.5% report a sense of identity centrality. Less than 25% report no or a weak sense of identity centrality. In the right panel, which shows the breakdown for linked fate, we see a fairly uniform distribution, but also one that is quite different from the identity centrality measure. Here the plurality, 32.1% feel no linked fate. 47% of the respondents do feel a somewhat strong or strong sense of linked fate.

Figure 3.9 shows the breakdown of group attachment among AAPI. In the first panel, showing identity centrality, 46.7%, the plurality, show some sense of identity centrality. 33.3% have a strong sense of identity centrality, and less than 20% have none or a weak sense of identity centrality. In terms of linked fate, the right panel, the results are quite similar to those among Latinos in terms of the uniform distribution. Around 50% of the respondents have some or strong linked fate and the remainder have weak or no sense of linked fate.



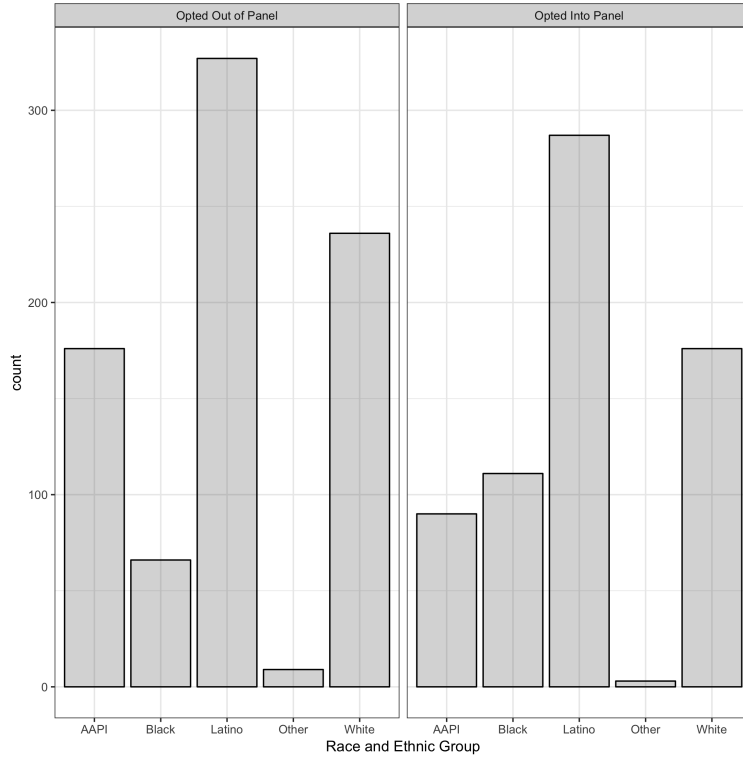
Table 3.5: Panel Agreement Balance Test

	Panel Agreement
(Intercept)	0.44*** (0.09)
Female	-0.04 (0.03)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	-0.02 (0.01)
Income	-0.00 (0.00)
Black	0.22*** (0.06)
Latino	0.09* (0.04)
Other	0.02 (0.19)
White	0.05 (0.05)
Party ID (Democrat)	-0.02* (0.01)
Ideology (Liberal)	0.03* (0.01)
Born U.S.	0.11** (0.04)
Employed	-0.00 (0.01)
Married	-0.00 (0.00)
Own Home	-0.06 (0.03)
Voted (2016 General)	0.01 (0.03)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.04
Num. obs.	1188
F statistic	4.43
RMSE	0.49

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

	Opted Out of Panel	Opted Into Panel
AAPI	176	90
Black	66	111
Latino	327	287
Other	9	3
White	236	176

Figure 3.7: Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Respondents

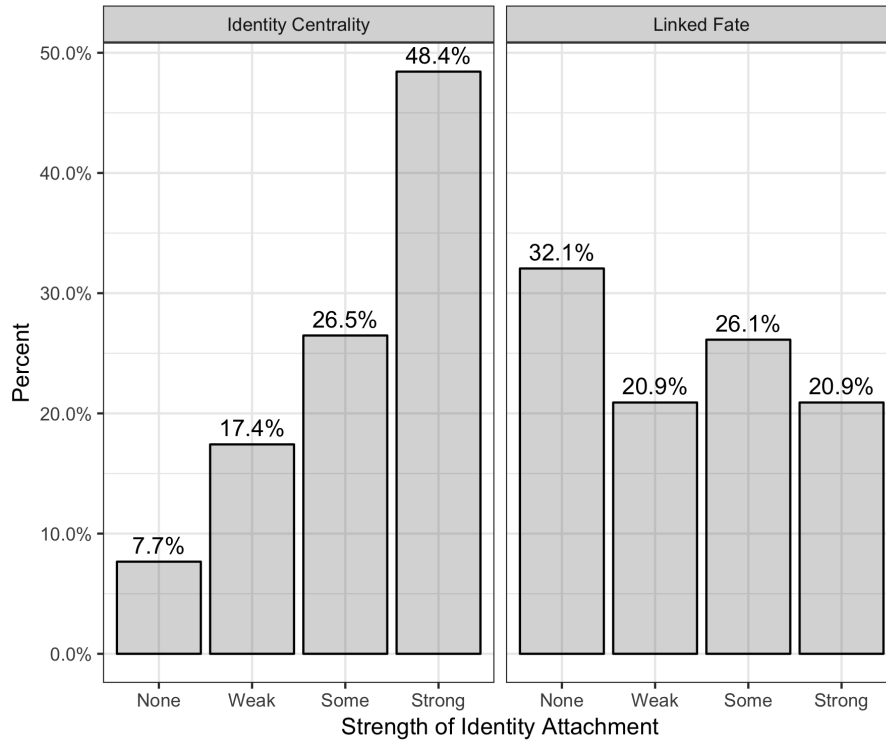


*Notes: This figure shows the distribution of those who agreed to participate in the panel and those who opted out of the panel by racial and ethnic group. Source LACP 2019.*

One of the goals of collecting these variables was to use these as blocking variables in the second wave when I planned to conduct the actual experiment. To do this, I created an identity index where I added each variable together and then cut the data by tercile to create a weak, medium, and strong group attachments. This means that each group contains about 33% of the respondents based on their answer to the two identity questions. Table 3.7 shows the group means of identity strength used to performing blocking.

In the second wave of the survey, the treatment conditions were randomized within

Figure 3.8: Strength of Group Attachment among Latinos in LA County Panel



*Notes: This figure shows the distribution group attachment among Latinos in wave 1 of the LA County Panel. Source LACP 2019.*

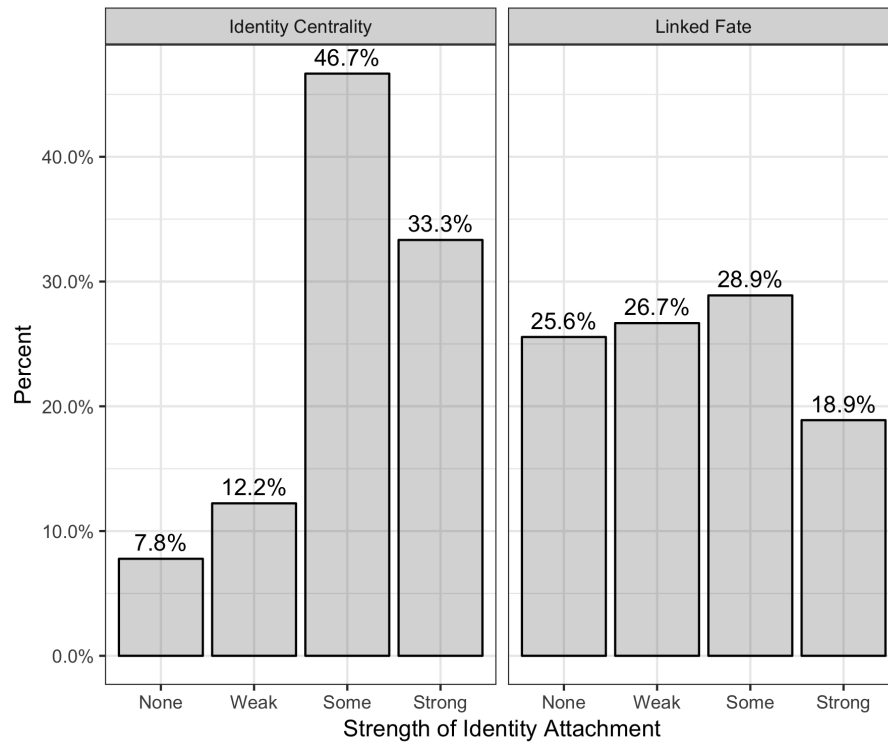
the identity groups. Before reporting the results of the survey, I quickly comment on the attrition in the panel and describe the Lucid panel.

### 3.5.1.1 Attrition in the LA County Panel

In March 2019, I sent the wave 2 survey to the 667 respondents who agreed to be part of LACP. Of the 667, 366 respondents completed the second wave of the survey. Table 3.8 shows the results from a series of regressions where I regressed successful completion in wave 2 (0 = did not complete, 1 = completed) on a set of predictors. I compare those who completed the survey to three different groups, to see if there were any differences in those who responded to the second wave compared to 1) those who opted in to participate in the panel; 2) those who complete wave 1; and 3) those who began the survey in wave 1.

The results from Table 3.8, specifically the f-statics, which shows the joint test of

Figure 3.9: Strength of Group Attachment among AAPI in LA County Panel



*Notes: This figure shows the distribution group attachment among AAPI in wave 1 of the LA County Panel. Source LACP 2019.*

the difference between the two groups shows that there is no evidence of a joint statistical difference between those who completed wave 2 and those who opted in, completed wave 1, or began wave 1. The f-static here is always less than 10 and ranges from 1.15 to 1.68, providing strong evidence of no joint statistical difference.

### 3.5.2 Lucid Panel

In addition to the LACP, I also fielded the survey using Lucid, an online marketplace for survey researchers to conduct surveys. Lucid provides some key benefits over other online platforms such as MTurk, ReasearchNow/SSI, YouGov, etc. For one, the online marketplace provides the researcher with complete control over who enters the survey through a set of qualification options. This step allows me to specify whom I want into the survey instrument based on a broad set of parameters. Since I am interested in Latinos and AAPI, I can set

Table 3.7: Average Identity Strength Across Groups

Group	ID Factor	Mean	SE
AAPI	Weak	3.53	0.10
AAPI	Medium	5.45	0.06
AAPI	Strong	7.48	0.08
Latino	Weak	3.36	0.06
Latino	Medium	5.68	0.05
Latino	Strong	7.56	0.04

these qualification parameters from the beginning.<sup>6</sup> Platforms such as MTurk do not provide this level of detail and other firms do not put this control in the hands of the researcher, but “manage” it on their end. Lucid allows researchers to manage the quota outside of the survey instrument and increment quotas based on pre-screening questions rather than completes, which allows me to construct a more representative sample from the beginning.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.6 Estimation

Using the LACP also provides additional estimation strategies. Normally, the causal effect in an experimental designed is identified by randomization and the assumption that the only difference between the treatment group and control group was due to random assignment, a coin flip. Comparing the difference in means between the two groups provides an estimate of the causal effect of the treatment. The estimand of interest  $\tau_{ATE_i}$  using the potential outcomes framework is the difference in the outcome  $Y_1$  under treatment and  $Y_1$  under control for any unit  $i$  is never observed. However, since outcomes were measured at  $T_0$ , for all respondents, I can estimate  $\tau_{ATT_i}$  comparing the difference between  $Y_{1T=0}$  and  $Y_{1T=1}$ , which, simply put, is a measure of within unit variation as opposed to between units. This

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<sup>6</sup>Respondents are let past qualifications based on the answers to screening question *and* existing demographic information maintained by the panel vendors and Lucid. This means that many of the demographic variables are already known, thus preventing people from entering and hacking into the survey to achieve the reward.

<sup>7</sup>This feature is important because it will allow me to screen out more common Latino and AAPI respondents. For example, I can shut out younger respondents from the survey sooner and wait to get older respondents. This is key to keep costs lower and construct a more representative sample.

Table 3.8: Predictors of Wave 2 Survey Completion

	Opt In	Completed Survey	Began Survey
(Intercept)	0.67*** (0.16)	0.25** (0.08)	0.20*** (0.05)
Female	0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
College	0.09 (0.05)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)
Income	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Black	-0.18 (0.10)	0.03 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)
Latino	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)
Other	0.05 (0.44)	0.04 (0.18)	-0.11** (0.04)
White	-0.20* (0.09)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)
Born U.S.	0.11 (0.07)	0.08* (0.03)	0.05* (0.02)
Independent	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)
Republican	-0.04 (0.07)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)
Moderate	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)
Cell Phone Only	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Married	0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)
Own Home	-0.12* (0.06)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)
Christian	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	0.02	0.02
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.01
Num. obs.	448	1044	1600
F statistic	1.15	1.33	1.68
RMSE	0.50	0.40	0.34

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

is simply an additional test that I can conduct because of the panel nature of the LACP. Under this same logic, I can also assess the average treatment effect through a difference in differences (DID) design.

Despite some of the limitations of the LACP, which include smaller sample sizes, these additional estimation strategies are quite useful. For both samples (LACP and Lucid), I also assess the treatment effects by comparing the difference in means between the two groups. For the Lucid sample, I plan to use a simple difference in means estimator. I will estimate this quantity via a regression framework, adjusting for pre-treatment covariates, which help increase statistical precision (Gerber and Green 2012).

### **3.6.1 Difference in Marginal Means - Using Conjoint Experiments as Outcomes**

The goal of the candidate evaluation conjoint experiment is to test whether exposure to ethnic affirming environmental contexts is linked to changes in the co-ethnic candidate evaluation attribute. The conjoint experience provides an ideal research design since it does not directly ask about race and ethnicity, but instead embeds this dimension of interest within a broader framework that provides some protection over the direct racial appeal (Hainmueller et al. 2014b). In other words, since all of the attributes are included, it is less likely that respondents will detect my interest in the candidates' race/ethnicity.

Typically, conjoint experiments are evaluated on by examining the average marginal component effect (AMCE), which shows the importance of a certain level of an attribute compared to a baseline level. The absolute value of the AMCE is understood to be the relative importance of the level in the outcome of interest. More recent work has explored marginal means (MM), which do not require a reference category (Leeper et al. 2018). MMs are simple to interpret. The average mean outcome of the selection is 0.5 given randomization. Therefore, values below 0.5 suggest the attribute is not as preferred and values above 0.5 suggest the attribute is preferred. Like AMCEs, MMs are measured on the same scale, regardless of the attribute and number of levels within the attribute.

To identify the effect of ethnic visibility via environmental context on candidate selec-

Table 3.9: The Causal Effect of Context: Difference in Difference

	Latino ID	Latino LF	AAPI ID	AAPI LF
(Intercept)	3.01*** (0.12)	2.19*** (0.13)	3.08*** (0.17)	2.38*** (0.21)
Treatment	-0.01 (0.18)	-0.09 (0.19)	-0.12 (0.24)	0.06 (0.31)
Post-Period	-0.10 (0.18)	0.11 (0.20)	0.12 (0.22)	0.08 (0.29)
Treatment x Post-Period	0.20 (0.25)	-0.08 (0.28)	-0.08 (0.34)	-0.16 (0.43)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03
Num. obs.	262	262	98	98
RMSE	1.03	1.13	0.86	1.06

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

tion and evaluation, I plan to take the difference in marginal means between the treatment group and the control groups. To my knowledge, using a conjoint to measure a treatment effect has not been used. To obtain a measurement of uncertainty around the estimate, I plan to bootstrap the process, which will provide an idea of the sampling distribution, from which I can draw estimates of uncertainty.

## 3.7 Results

### 3.7.1 LACP

I begin examining the causal effect of ethnic visibility using the panel component in the LACP. To do this, I use a difference in difference design where I am comparing a within respondent change given the assignment to the treatment condition. I present the results in Table 3.9.

The results in Table 3.9 show weak evidence that environmental context impacts perceptions of group attachment. The first column, where the outcome was identity centrality, Table 3.9 shows a positive relationship, but the large standard errors limits any inferences. The second column shows a negative but substantively small and imprecisely estimated re-



relationship between treatment and linked fate. This same pattern is echoed in columns 3 and 4, which show the relationship for AAPI identity centrality and AAPI linked fate respectively. Despite the panel design, Table 3.9 shows little support for the relationship between environmental context and group attachment.<sup>8</sup>

Table 3.10 shows the difference in differences by including covariates. The inclusion of pre-treatment covariates increases the precision around estimation. The results here suggest, however, suggest similar results to those presented in Table 3.9. Only the result for identity centrality among Latinos is positive, but the standard error is too large to make any inferences. Columns 2 – 4 of Table 3.10 shows a negative but statistically insignificant relationship between group attachment and environmental context.<sup>9</sup>

The results from the panel component of the LACP show weak evidence of a causal relationship between group attachment and ethnic affirming cues in an environmental context. These results, while discouraging, must be considered in light of the nature of the sample. The LACP is a survey of only registered voters in LA county who have provided an email on the voter file, taken a survey with no compensation, agreed to be a part of an ongoing panel, and taken a second wave of a survey. As I showed above, this is not at all a representative sample of registered voters. Even those who respond to the survey are quite distinct from those who provide an email on the sample. While I was able to calibrate back to the population, if the non-response is non-response, which it likely is, this cannot be corrected by weighting procedures. I now present the results from the Lucid panel, which provides a more representative sample that is drawn nationally rather than from Los Angeles County, CA. Those living in Los Angeles County, CA might exhibit some difference than those living elsewhere. For one, Los Angeles County, CA is home to some of the most vibrant ethnic

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<sup>8</sup>In the supporting information, I also include analyses that considers the blocking following Gerber and Green (2012), where I use block weights in the estimation. These results are very similar to those in Table 3.9. I also analyze each outcome by block to see if there are within block relationships. Here I find that the within blocks, the relationships are very similar to the average relationship across the blocks. However, for identity centrality among Latinos, those with weak attachments during wave 1 show a positive treatment effect, though not statistically significant (p-value = 0.20).

<sup>9</sup>I also ran separate subset analyses where I split the sample by generation. The results when subset by generation mirror those presented in Table 3.9 and Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: The Causal Effect of Context: Difference in Difference with Covariate Adjustment

	Latino ID	Latino LF	AAPI ID	AAPI LF
(Intercept)	3.08*** (0.52)	2.28*** (0.60)	3.45*** (0.92)	3.17** (1.08)
Treatment	0.13 (0.18)	0.04 (0.20)	-0.28 (0.29)	0.17 (0.34)
Post-Period	-0.11 (0.18)	0.09 (0.19)	0.22 (0.26)	-0.00 (0.28)
Age [W1]	0.00 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Female [W1]	0.50*** (0.13)	0.12 (0.14)	-0.24 (0.20)	-0.98*** (0.24)
College [W1]	-0.00 (0.13)	-0.09 (0.14)	0.17 (0.28)	0.00 (0.34)
Generation [W2]	-0.28** (0.10)	-0.23* (0.11)	0.04 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.14)
Party ID (Democrat) [W1]	0.12** (0.04)	0.13** (0.05)	0.14* (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)
Ideology (Liberal) [W1]	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)
Racial Resentment [W1]	-0.07 (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Treatment x Post-Period (ATT)	0.17 (0.24)	-0.06 (0.27)	-0.17 (0.37)	-0.21 (0.42)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.31	0.32	0.26	0.29
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.27	0.29	0.14	0.18
Num. obs.	212	212	74	74
RMSE	0.89	0.98	0.79	0.91

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

communities in the country and with nearly 40% of the population identifying as Latino, it may be challenging to for a short treatment of 9 images can change how individuals see themselves in relation to a broader social category, *especially when they are likely exposed to some variation in ethnic context regularly.*

### 3.7.2 Lucid

I now turn to the results from the Lucid sample that I fielded in Spring 2019 on Lucid's platform.<sup>10</sup> During that time I collected responses from 194 AAPI and 223 Latinos. I provide some basic demographic breakdowns in Table XX.

### 3.7.3 Balance

I first examine the balance between the treatment and control conditions to ensure that the randomization protocol worked. The goal of this analysis is to show that there are no systematic differences between those in the control condition and those in the treatment condition. To conduct this, I regress the treatment condition (treatment = 1 vs. control = 0) on a number of covariates. These include age, education, female, generation, Mexican heritage, and the natural log of the total number of second spent on each image vignette. Table 3.11 shows the results. The results in the table show a positive and statistically significant relationship for generation, suggesting that those in the treatment condition are slightly more likely to be later generation. However, as I have discussed earlier, examining the f-statistic, which is a joint test of statistical difference, shows an f-statistic of 1.57, suggesting that these two groups are not jointly statistically different.

Table 3.12 show the balance test for AAPI. The variables are identical except I did not include any county of origin controls.<sup>11</sup> Among the AAPI sample, the results in Table 3.12 show balance across all the covariates. The f-statistic is 0.63, providing evidence that there

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<sup>10</sup>The survey was live from March 21, 2019, to March 26, 2019.

<sup>11</sup>I had planned to do this, but there was a question display error in the Qualtrics survey preventing this question being asked to those in the AAPI sample.

Table 3.11: Treatment Assignment Balance Among Latinos

	Balance
(Intercept)	0.03 (0.31)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	-0.00 (0.02)
Female	0.07 (0.08)
Generation	0.11* (0.05)
Mexican	-0.06 (0.08)
Income	-0.00 (0.01)
Page Time (log)	0.08 (0.06)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.02
Num. obs.	173
F statistic	1.54
RMSE	0.50

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 3.12: Treatment Assignment Balance Among AAPI

	Balance
(Intercept)	0.09 (0.38)
Age	0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.03 (0.03)
Female	-0.07 (0.09)
Generation	0.01 (0.05)
Income	-0.00 (0.01)
Page Time (log)	0.06 (0.07)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.02
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.02
Num. obs.	154
F statistic	0.63
RMSE	0.51

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

is no joint statistical difference between those in the treatment condition and those in the control condition.

The results from the balance tests show that the randomization achieved its desired goal of creating a treatment and control condition where there is no evidence of any statistical difference between the treatment and control conditions.

### 3.7.4 Lucid Results

In this section, I present the results from the Lucid survey experiment. I begin by estimating the treatment effect (difference in means) using a linear model. Table 3.13 shows the estimate of the treatment effect across each of the pan-ethnic outcome variables. Looking at the coefficient on the treatment we see a positive treatment effect, suggesting that after examining the ethnic affirming images, respondents were more likely to report a stronger group attachment than those who examined a set of non-ethnic images. However, the re-

Table 3.13: The Effect of Environmental Context Among Latinos

	ID Centrality	Linked Fate	Discrimination	Group Consciousness
(Intercept)	3.37*** (0.09)	2.36*** (0.11)	2.52*** (0.06)	4.17*** (0.11)
Treatment	0.18 (0.11)	0.20 (0.16)	0.04 (0.09)	0.12 (0.14)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Num. obs.	204	204	203	204
RMSE	0.83	1.14	0.61	0.99

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

Table 3.14: The Effect of Environmental Context Among Latinos (National Origin)

	ID Centrality (Nat Origin)	Linked Fate (Nat Origin)	Discrimination (Nat Origin)	Group Consciousness (Nat Origin)
(Intercept)	3.39*** (0.08)	2.33*** (0.11)	2.42*** (0.07)	4.04*** (0.11)
Treatment	0.17 (0.10)	0.18 (0.16)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.04 (0.15)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Num. obs.	204	204	203	204
RMSE	0.79	1.13	0.67	1.07

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

sults here show that only identity centrality has a statistically significant relationship with the environmental context. While the other variables are in the correct direction, due to the large standard errors, relatively little inference can be made.

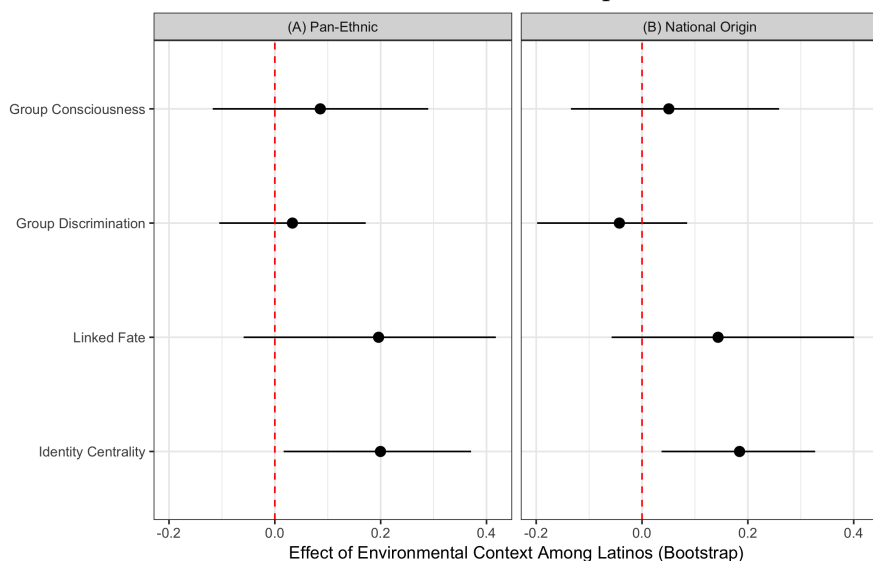
Table 3.14 presents the results on the national origin-based outcomes for Latinos. As a reminder, these questions substituted a respondents national origin group for the pan-ethnic group. The order in which respondents received the questions was random. 50% of respondents were first shown the pan-ethnic block and 50% were first shown the national origin block.

The results in Table 3.14 show a positive treatment effect on identity centrality, linked fate, and group consciousness. However, the treatment had a negative impact on perceptions of national origin discrimination. As we saw with the pan-ethnic outcomes, the effect of

environmental context is positive and significant on identity centrality.

Figure 3.10 shows the estimated treatment effect by bootstrapping the difference in predicted values given treatment status. To obtain this value, I predicted the difference in the predicted outcome (treatment effect) across 10,000 bootstrap samples. While uncertainty is estimated in the results in Table 3.13 and Table 3.14, using the bootstrap gives an idea of the overall sampling variability and estimates of uncertainty are obtained in a non-parametric way through the full distribution of possible values.

Figure 3.10: Effect of Environmental Context on Group Attachment Among Latinos



*Notes: This figure shows the estimated causal effect of Latino ethnic environmental context on four Latino identity-related outcome variables (group consciousness, group discrimination, linked fate, and identity centrality). Estimates and uncertainty were obtained using a bootstrap produce with 10,000 boots. Bands show 90% confidence interval by obtaining values at 5th and 95th percentiles.*

The results in Figure 3.10 mirror the findings from above. In Panel A, which shows the pan-ethnic based outcomes, the effect of environmental context is only significantly different on identity centrality. The result for pan-ethnic linked fate is similar in size to identity centrality, but the large confidence intervals cross zero. The group consciousness and group discrimination outcomes are very close to zero with large confidence intervals. Panel B shows a similar set of findings. Environmental context has a positive and significant effect on national origin-based identity centrality. The relationship between environmental context and national origin linked fate is positive and about the same size as identity centrality, but

Table 3.15: The Effect of Environmental Context Among AAPI

	ID Centrality	Linked Fate	Discrimination	Group Consciousness
(Intercept)	3.34*** (0.09)	2.60*** (0.11)	2.12*** (0.07)	3.83*** (0.10)
Treatment	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.16)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.15)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Num. obs.	166	166	166	166
RMSE	0.79	1.01	0.56	0.95

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

the estimate is slightly noisier and does not achieve statistical significance. National origin group discrimination and group consciousness are both very close to zero with large error bars.

Among Latinos, there is a detectable positive effect of environmental context on one's group attachment. While the results were only significant at the 90% level for identity centrality, they were in the correct direction and close to statistical significance for linked fate, an additional measure of group attachment. I next turn to the results for Asian Americans to determine if there is a causal link between context and group attachment.

Table 3.15 shows the causal effect of environmental context on pan-ethnic group attachment for AAPI. The results here show no evidence to support the prediction that group attachment is causally impacted by environmental context. In the case of the pan-ethnic outcomes, environmental context has a negative effect on all but one of the outcomes. While none of these results are statistically significant, these null relationships show that for AAPI, exposure to ethnic affirming cues may be negatively related to pan-ethnic group attachment.

Table 3.16 shows the results for the national origin outcomes. The results here are identical to those for the pan-ethnic outcomes. Again, only one outcome, national origin discrimination, is positively linked to context. However, the large standard error, almost twice the size of the coefficient, prevents any inference.

Across both outcome categories (pan-ethnic and national origin), the effect of environmental context on group attachment for AAPI is inconclusive. Figure 3.11 shows the effect



Table 3.16: The Effect of Environmental Context Among AAPI (National Origin)

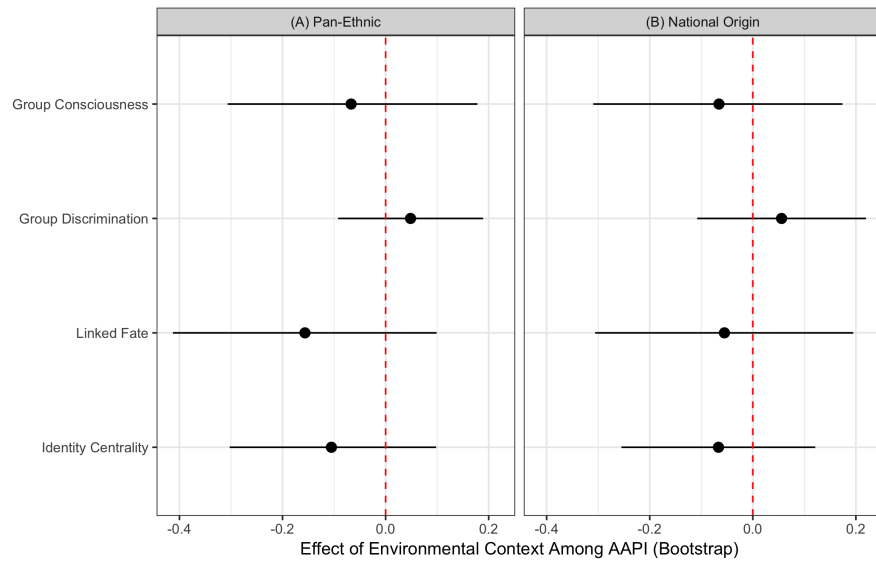
	ID Centrality (Nat Origin)	Linked Fate (Nat Origin)	Discrimination (Nat Origin)	Group Consciousness (Nat Origin)
(Intercept)	3.30*** (0.09)	2.63*** (0.11)	2.25*** (0.07)	3.92*** (0.10)
Treatment	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.15)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.15)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00
Num. obs.	166	166	165	166
RMSE	0.73	0.98	0.64	0.94

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

of context for each of the variable graphically along with 90% confidence intervals. Panel A shows the pan-ethnic outcomes, where we see mostly null results. While three out of the four results are negative, most of the effects are very small and near zero. The linked fate variable in Panel A is slightly larger in terms of substantive importance. The magnitude is slightly smaller than what we observed among Latinos. Panel B shows the results for the national origin-based outcomes. The results in Panel B are largely similar to those in Panel A. However, the effect of environmental context on the national origin linked fate outcome is much smaller and is very close to zero.

Across both panels, the results in Figure 3.11 are mostly inconclusive and suggest that there is no causal link between environmental context and group attachment among Asian Americans. If anything, the results here show a negative relationship, similar in direction to what I showed from the LACP. The small effect sizes along with the uncertainty around those estimates prevent me from making any conclusive takeaways. While I will return to this point in the conclusion of this chapter, one potential reason why there is no relationship could come from the fact that the ethnic affirming cues in the AAPI manipulations came from a variety of national origin groups. Unlike the Latino visibility, which is based mainly around Spanish and any visible linguistic cues and stimuli are in Spanish, that is not the case for AAPI. While AAPI come from many different countries like Latinos, many of those countries have unique languages, which is not the case for Latinos. As such, it could be the case that the many national origin cues are responsible for the null relationship where a set

Figure 3.11: Causal Effect of Environmental Context on Group Attachment Among AAPI



*Notes: This figure shows the estimated causal effect of AAPI ethnic environmental context on four AAPI identity-related outcome variables (group consciousness, group discrimination, linked fate, and identity centrality). Estimates and uncertainty were obtained using bootstrapping produce with 10,000 boots. Bands show 90% confidence interval by obtaining values at 5th and 95th percentiles.*

of national origin ethnic affirming cues and stimuli would have more positive effects. This is directly related to the idea put forth by Brewer (1991), who notes the importance of optimal distinctiveness. Before concluding, however, I present the results from an embedded conjoint experiment where I use the difference in preference for co-ethnic candidates conditional on the treatment to understand the causal effect of context.

### 3.8 The Political Effects of Environmental Contexts

Embedded in both samples was a candidate evaluation conjoint experiment which I use to provide an additional, more “political” measure of the change in group attachment. In the experiment, participants were asked to select between two pairs of hypothetical candidates running for office based on a fully randomized list of candidate attributes adopted from (Hainmueller et al. 2014b). Participants were asked to choose which candidate they preferred and then asked to evaluate each candidate on a 1-7 point scale, where 1 was less favorable and 7 was more favorable. The focus of this section is looking at the difference in responses

given the two treatment condition. In other words, did the exposure to an environmental context with ethnic affirming cues and stimuli affect the candidate selection and evaluation process? My prediction is that those who were in the treatment condition will be more likely to select a co-ethnic candidate since the treatment raised the strength of group attachment and consistent with the work in co-ethnic voting. I also expect that respondents will be more supportive of co-ethnic candidates in terms of favorability.

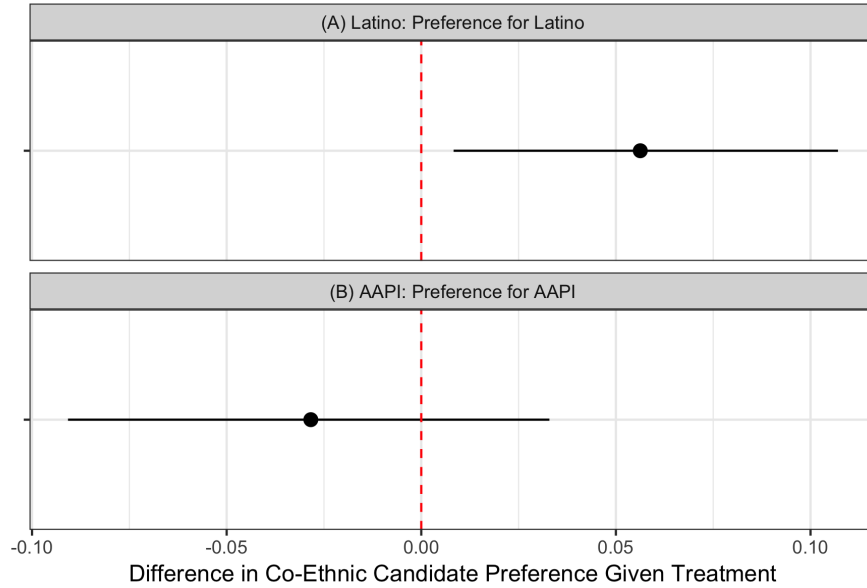
To estimate this effect, I took the difference between the marginal means for co-ethnic selection and evaluation given the treatment condition. I then used a bootstrap technique to obtain estimates of uncertainty around the effect at the 90% level.

Figure 3.12 shows the effect of treatment on co-ethnic candidate selection. I obtained this estimate by taking the difference in marginal means from a fully specified model. In Panel A, I show the co-ethnic preference for Latino candidates among Latino respondents. The results in Panel A show that exposure to ethnic affirming cues and stimuli is causes Latino respondents to be more likely to select a Latino candidate compared to those in the control condition, who were not exposed to the ethnic environmental context. For Latino respondents, exposure to treatment has a 0.06, 90% CI [0.01, 0.11] point impact on candidate selection, which corresponds to 10% of the standard deviation of the outcome. For AAPI respondents, shown in Panel B of Figure 3.12, there is a negative and non-significant relationship in supporting an AAPI candidate after being exposed to the AAPI ethnic affirming treatment.

Figure 3.13 shows the effect of treatment on candidate evaluation. Here I take the difference in marginal means for the co-ethnic attribute between those in the treatment condition and those in the control condition. The findings follow those presented above. Panel A of Figure 3.13 shows that Latino respondents evaluate Latino candidates significantly higher after exposure to the treatment. Treatment is associated with a 0.33, 90% CI[0.09, 0.58] point increase in overall favorability. The size of the effect is about 20% of the standard deviation of the outcome, suggesting that it is substantively large.

Panel B shows that AAPI evaluation of AAPI candidates is negative but imprecisely

Figure 3.12: Causal Effect of Environmental Context on Co-Ethnic Candidate Selection



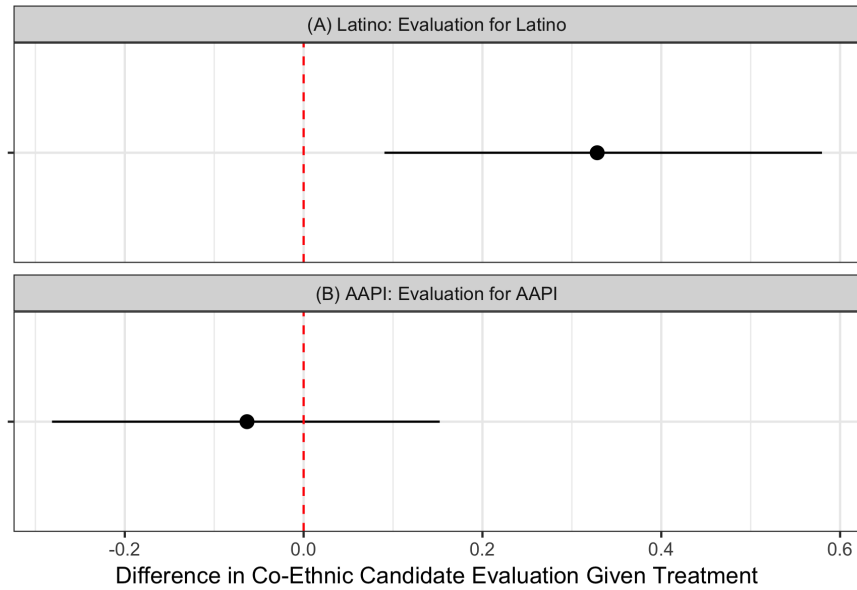
*Notes: This figure shows the results for a difference in marginal means for candidate selection given ethnic affirming context or non-ethnic affirming context. The results were obtained by bootstrapping (1,000 boots) the difference in marginal means from a conjoint where respondents were either exposed to ethnic affirming context or the control context. Bands show 90% confidence interval by obtaining values at 5th and 95th percentiles. All attributes in conjoint were fully randomized.*

estimated given the large confidence intervals. There is a -0.06 90% CI[-0.28, 0.15] point decrease in favorability conditional on treatment, again suggesting that exposure to the various ethnic affirming cues and stimuli in an environmental context does not cause detectable increases in group attachment when measured through co-ethnic candidate evaluation and selection.

While these findings were not initially what I predicted, these results confirm the results presented above when group attachment was measured with standard identity variables. For Latinos, ethnic affirming cues transmitted through an environmental context promotes a stronger sense of group attachment.

## Supporting Information

Figure 3.13: Effect of Environmental Context on Co-Ethnic Candidate Evaluation



Notes: This figure shows the results for a difference in marginal means for candidate evaluation (1-7 scale) given ethnic affirming context or non-ethnic affirming context. The results were obtained by bootstrapping (1,000 boots) the difference in marginal means from a conjoint where respondents were either exposed to ethnic affirming context or the control context. Bands show 90% confidence interval by obtaining values at 5th and 95th percentiles. All attributes in conjoint were fully randomized.

## 3.9 Treatment Images

### 3.9.1 Image 1

Figure 3.14: Image 1: Original & Stimuli = Latino



Figure 3.15: Image 1: Modified & Stimuli = AAPI

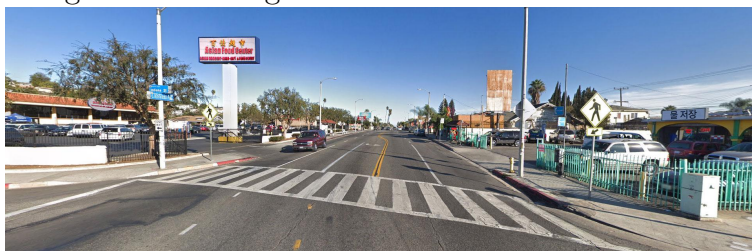


Figure 3.16: Image 1: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



### 3.9.2 Image 2

Figure 3.17: Image 2: Original & Stimuli = AAPI



Figure 3.18: Image 2: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



Figure 3.19: Image 2: Modified & Stimuli = Latino



### 3.9.3 Image 3

Figure 3.20: Image 3: Original & Stimuli = AAPI



Figure 3.21: Image 3: Modified & Stimuli = Latino



Figure 3.22: Image 3: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic





### 3.9.4 Image 4

Figure 3.23: Image 4: Original & Stimuli = AAPI



Figure 3.24: Image 4: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



Figure 3.25: Image 4: Modified & Stimuli = Latino



### 3.9.5 Image 5

Figure 3.26: Image 5: Original & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



Figure 3.27: Image 5: Modified & Stimuli = AAPI

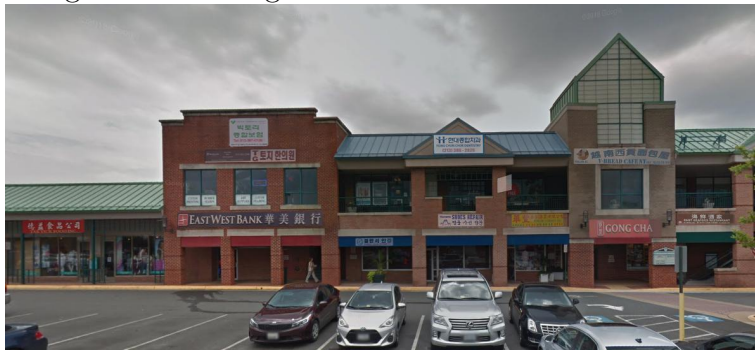
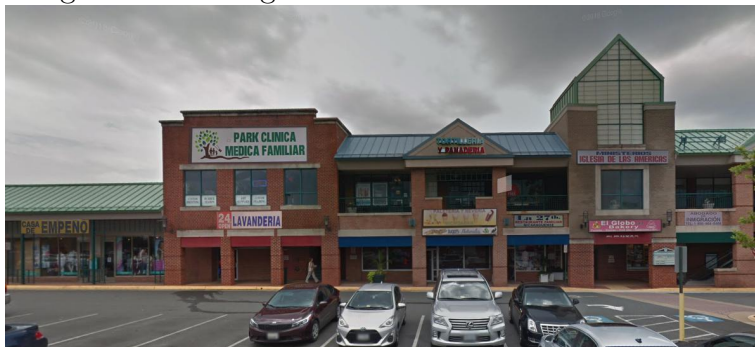


Figure 3.28: Image 5: Modified & Stimuli = Latino



### 3.9.6 Image 6

Figure 3.29: Image 6: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



Figure 3.30: Image 6: Modified & Stimuli = AAPI



Figure 3.31: Image 6: Modified & Stimuli = Latino



### 3.9.7 Image 7

Figure 3.32: Image 7: Original & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



Figure 3.33: Image 7: Modified & Stimuli = Latino



Figure 3.34: Image 7: Modified & Stimuli = AAPI



### 3.9.8 Image 8

Figure 3.35: Image 8: Original & Stimuli = Latino



Figure 3.36: Image 8: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic

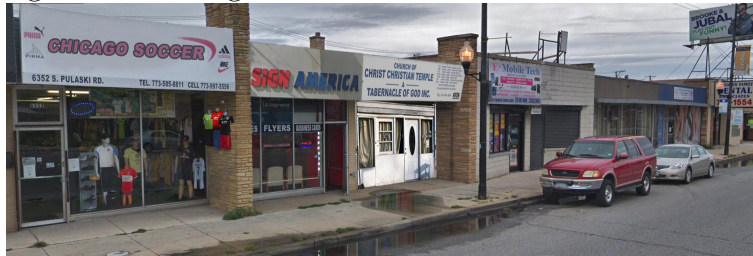


Figure 3.37: Image 8: Modified & Stimuli = AAPI



### 3.9.9 Image 9

Figure 3.38: Image 9: Modified & Stimuli = Non-Ethnic



Figure 3.39: Image 9: Modified & Stimuli = Latino

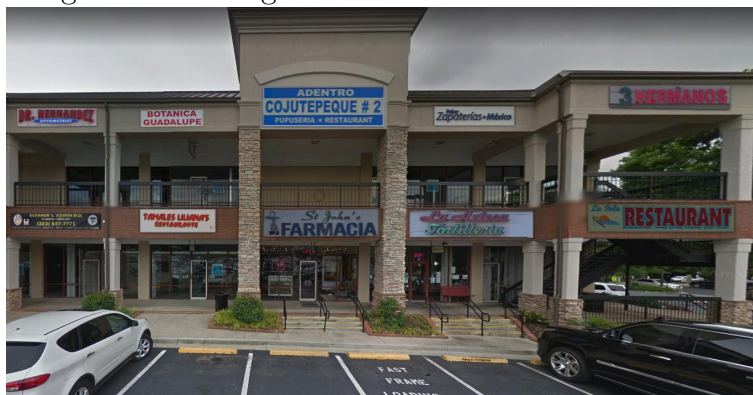


Figure 3.40: Image 9: Modified & Stimuli = AAPI



Table 3.17: Effect of Environmental Context: Difference In Difference (with blocks)

	Latino ID	Latino LF	AAPI ID	AAPI LF
(Intercept)	3.06***	2.24***	3.12***	2.41***
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.21)
Treatment	-0.11	-0.20	-0.19	-0.03
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.31)
Post-Period	-0.10	0.10	0.10	0.07
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.29)
Treatment x Post-Period	0.21	-0.05	-0.05	-0.13
	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.43)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.01	-0.00	-0.01	-0.03
Num. obs.	262	262	98	98
RMSE	0.73	0.80	0.60	0.75

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

### 3.10 Difference in Difference with Blocks

Following the advice of Gerber and Green (2012), I analyze the experiment from the LACP using the blocks. Table 3.17 shows the main results when all blocks are considered. The results here mainly fit the results shown above.

I also look at the effects for each outcome within each block. Table 3.18 shows the by block estimates treatment effect on linked fate among AAPI. Table 3.19 shows the effect by blocks on identity centrality for AAPI. Table 3.20 shows the treatment effect for linked fate among Latinos. Table 3.21 shows the treatment effect on identity centrality for Latinos. Here we see a positive relationship (not statistically significant) for those with weak identity as measured during wave 1, providing some but weak evidence that the treatment may be strongest for those with weak attachments prior.

### 3.11 Covariate Adjustment

In order to increase precision, I also include a set of covariates. In the model with covariate adjustment, I interact the treatment variable with the log of total time spent examining each vignette. To get this variable, I record the time that each respondent spent on each

Table 3.18: Effect of Environmental Context on AAPI Linked Fate by Blocks

	Weak ID	Medium ID	Strong ID
(Intercept)	1.50*** (0.19)	2.22*** (0.22)	3.57*** (0.20)
Treatment	-0.38 (0.23)	0.28 (0.28)	0.29 (0.25)
Post-Period	0.25 (0.37)	0.56 (0.31)	-0.71 (0.45)
Treatment x Post-Period	0.12 (0.47)	-0.46 (0.47)	-0.14 (0.61)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.11	0.08	0.23
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.02	-0.01	0.14
Num. obs.	32	38	28
RMSE	0.66	0.73	0.80

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ 

Table 3.19: Effect of Environmental Context on AAPI Identity Centrality by Blocks

	Weak ID	Medium ID	Strong ID
(Intercept)	2.25*** (0.25)	3.22*** (0.15)	3.86*** (0.14)
Treatment	-0.00 (0.40)	-0.32 (0.18)	0.00 (0.20)
Post-Period	0.75* (0.37)	-0.11 (0.25)	-0.29 (0.33)
Treatment x Post-Period	-0.50 (0.61)	0.31 (0.36)	-0.14 (0.56)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.12	0.05	0.07
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.03	-0.04	-0.05
Num. obs.	32	38	28
RMSE	0.87	0.55	0.74

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$



Table 3.20: Effect of Environmental Context on Latino Linked Fate by Blocks

	Weak ID	Medium ID	Strong ID
(Intercept)	1.18*** (0.09)	2.25*** (0.15)	3.48*** (0.11)
Treatment	0.06 (0.13)	0.10 (0.19)	-0.01 (0.17)
Post-Period	0.43 (0.23)	0.30 (0.27)	-0.42 (0.26)
Treatment x Post-Period	-0.17 (0.31)	-0.35 (0.36)	0.17 (0.38)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.02	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.02	-0.02	0.01
Num. obs.	113	80	69
RMSE	0.82	0.82	0.77

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

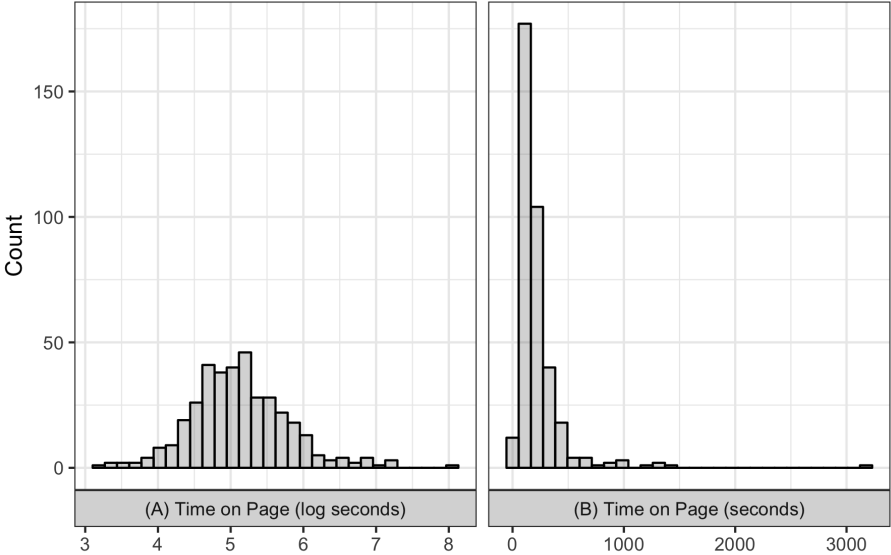
Table 3.21: Effect of Environmental Context on Latino Identity Centrality by Blocks

	Weak ID	Medium ID	Strong ID
(Intercept)	2.11*** (0.19)	3.29*** (0.13)	3.90*** (0.07)
Treatment	0.10 (0.24)	0.18 (0.18)	0.10 (0.07)
Post-Period	-0.11 (0.26)	0.03 (0.23)	-0.12 (0.12)
Treatment x Post-Period	0.44 (0.34)	-0.03 (0.30)	-0.10 (0.16)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.01	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.02	-0.02	0.02
Num. obs.	113	80	69
RMSE	0.91	0.69	0.34

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

screen before submitting their response. I sum these nine values (one for each of the nine vignettes) and then take the natural log of the variable. This variable accounts for exposure to the treatment as it accounts for respondents merely clicking through the survey and not spending much time on the treatment page. Figure 3.41 shows the distribution of the time spent on the treatment.

Figure 3.41: Time Spent Viewing Treatment Images



*Notes: This figure shows the sum of time spent on each of the treatment images. Panel A shows natural log of the raw sum (seconds) and Panel B shows the raw sum in seconds.*

Table 3.22: The Effect of Environmental Context w/ Covariate Adjustment

	ID Centrality	Linked Fate	Discrimination	Group Consciouness
(Intercept)	4.58*** (0.64)	2.92** (0.89)	2.14*** (0.52)	6.23*** (0.77)
Treatment	-0.71 (0.85)	-0.13 (1.13)	-0.16 (0.69)	-1.32 (1.04)
Page Time (log)	-0.06 (0.12)	0.01 (0.16)	0.15 (0.09)	-0.16 (0.14)
Age	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
Generation	-0.11 (0.06)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.20** (0.08)
Education	-0.08 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.13* (0.05)
Mexican	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.30 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.14)
Treatment x Page Time (log)	0.17 (0.16)	0.05 (0.22)	0.03 (0.13)	0.28 (0.20)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.07	0.03	0.05	0.09
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	-0.00	0.01	0.06
Num. obs.	201	201	200	201
RMSE	0.81	1.15	0.60	0.97

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

Table 3.23: Effect of Environmental Context w/ Covariate Adjustment (National Origin)

	ID Centrality (Nat Origin)	Linked Fate (Nat Origin)	Discrimination (Nat Origin)	Group Consciousness (Nat Origin)
(Intercept)	4.77*** (0.59)	3.62*** (0.94)	2.18*** (0.47)	6.22*** (0.74)
Treatment	-1.30 (0.75)	-0.68 (1.12)	-0.72 (0.72)	-1.87 (1.12)
Page Time (log)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.17)	0.09 (0.08)	-0.20 (0.13)
Age	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
Generation	-0.15* (0.06)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.21* (0.08)
Education	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.13* (0.05)
Mexican	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.17)	0.26** (0.10)	0.09 (0.15)
Treatment x Page Time (log)	0.28* (0.14)	0.16 (0.22)	0.12 (0.14)	0.38 (0.21)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.08
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.01	0.08	0.05
Num. obs.	201	201	200	201
RMSE	0.77	1.12	0.65	1.04

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

Table 3.24: The Effect of Environmental Context w/ Covariate Adjustment

	ID Centrality	Linked Fate	Discrimination	Group Consciousness
(Intercept)	1.98*	3.59**	0.46	1.86*
	(0.83)	(1.32)	(0.58)	(0.86)
Treatment	1.52	-0.38	1.14	3.07**
	(0.94)	(1.50)	(0.73)	(1.02)
Page Time (log)	0.25	-0.13	0.35**	0.44**
	(0.16)	(0.27)	(0.11)	(0.16)
Age	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01*	-0.01
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Generation	0.09	-0.03	0.07	-0.01
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.10)
Education	0.01	-0.06	0.00	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Treatment x Page Time (log)	-0.32	0.05	-0.22	-0.62**
	(0.19)	(0.30)	(0.14)	(0.20)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.03	0.02	0.07	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.01	-0.02	0.04	0.02
Num. obs.	164	164	164	164
RMSE	0.79	1.02	0.54	0.94

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

Table 3.25: Effect of Environmental Context w/ Covariate Adjustment (National Origin)

	ID Centrality (Nat Origin)	Linked Fate (Nat Origin)	Discrimination (Nat Origin)	Group Consciousness (Nat Origin)
(Intercept)	2.04*	3.12**	0.77	2.30*
	(0.84)	(1.16)	(0.57)	(0.88)
Treatment	1.04	-1.13	1.05	1.97
	(0.92)	(1.43)	(0.81)	(1.10)
Page Time (log)	0.27	-0.10	0.28*	0.37*
	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.11)	(0.17)
Age	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Generation	0.04	-0.05	0.19**	0.01
	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Education	-0.05	0.04	-0.02	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Treatment x Page Time (log)	-0.22	0.21	-0.20	-0.40
	(0.18)	(0.29)	(0.16)	(0.22)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.03	0.01	0.09	0.03
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.00	-0.03	0.05	-0.01
Num. obs.	164	164	163	164
RMSE	0.73	1.00	0.62	0.94

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.1$

## CHAPTER 4

# Ethnic Voting in Multi-Racial Contexts: Evidence from the Top-Two Primary System

### 4.1 Introduction

Ethnic voting has long fascinated scholars in political science, especially those in American politics who study the voting patterns of Irish, Italian, Black Americans, and Latinos (Dahl 1961; Wolfinger 1965; Huckfeldt 1979; Barreto 2007). Research on Black Americans (Tate 1991) and Asian Americans also confirms the general pattern of ethnic voting in the U.S. context (Espiritu 1993). Ethnic voting refers to an outsized preference for co-ethnic candidates in a competitive electoral contest. Despite the relatively simple formulation of ethnic voting, secret ballots in U.S. elections, the role of partisanship and issue positions, relatively low turnout in local elections, and ultimately few opportunities for ethnic voting to take place have made the study of this phenomenon particularly challenging for researchers. This is especially true given the use of aggregate data to understand election outcomes, which make it challenging to understand the mechanisms behind ethnic voting behaviors. There have been several mechanisms suggested, but the opportunities to examine these cases outside of a laboratory are limited.

Much of the existing research on mechanisms points to psychological-based mechanisms that structure ethnic voting behavior. Using individual-level survey data I find, psychological concepts such as group consciousness, linked fate, and ethnic identity are positively correlated with ethnic voting (Tate 1993; Barreto et al. 2010; Junn and Masuoka 2008), suggesting that an individual understands the co-ethnic candidate to be a member of their in-group. Experimental studies have identified ethnic linked fate as a mechanism in ex-

plaining co-ethnic voting (McConnaughy et al. 2010). Despite these links in the survey and experimental designs, many of these variables are absent in work using aggregate level, real-world election data (Barreto 2007), who obtain ethnic voting patterns through basic measures of racial/ethnic population density. The underlying racial and ethnic composition, which correlates with ethnic voting, often serves as a proxy for these attachments. I argue that it is a very rough approximation for the underlying psychological mechanisms that are responsible for ethnic voting behaviors.

In this chapter, I develop a measure of neighborhood-level ethnic visibility to capture the underlying ethnic identity of a neighborhood better using street-level images of the environmental context. To develop this measure, I gather and classify over 50,000 neighborhood-level images across two congressional districts in Los Angeles County which feature elections with Latino, Asian American, and Black candidates. I collect these images at the precinct level ( $\sim 100$  per precinct) and then estimate the precinct level ethnic visibility for each precinct across the two congressional districts. I then use these estimates in a model to predict ethnic voting. I compare the ethnic visibility measure to a traditional set of models that use the underlying racial and ethnic composition.

I exploit the recent change in California's voting law which instituted a top-two primary system effectively neutralizing the role of partisan identification in voting behavior in high profile federal elections. I examine two open-seat U.S. House races with multi-ethnic candidates in multi-ethnic settings. Finally, to get an idea of the mechanisms at play, I fielded an original survey of registered voters in one congressional district where I gathered information about perceptions of ethnic visibility and asked questions about group identity.

Across four electoral contests in two U.S. Congressional districts, I find that my new measure of ethnic visibility is a statistically significant predictor of candidate vote share for Latino and Asian American candidates. Ethnic visibility remains a statistically significant predictor of candidate vote share in models that control for racial and ethnic composition as well as other demographic variables. However, I do not find a link between Black ethnic visibility and support for a Black candidate. Instead, I show that the census measured Black density is a strong predictor of co-ethnic voting for Blacks. Turning to my original survey



data, I show that Latino and AAPI respondents who live in areas with more ethnic visibility are more likely to report living in areas with more ethnic businesses and non-English signs. In regards to the mechanism, I find a positive association between my measure of ethnic visibility and perceptions of stronger group identity, suggesting that areas with greater ethnic visibility lead to stronger perceptions of group attachment.

In this chapter, I offer two crucial theoretical and empirical contributions to the study of ethnic politics that helps advance of our understanding of why and how ethnic candidates do so well with their co-ethnic voters, which moves the scholarship beyond simple population demographics and survey experiments. First, I argue that neighborhoods vary in their degree of ethnic visibility. Extensive qualitative and ethnographic research makes it clear that there are real differences between the racial and/or ethnic sentiments from one community to the next and sometimes from one block to the next (Jimenez 2010; Alba 1992; Huckfeldt 1979). Second, using newly available geographic and contextual data, I provide a more nuanced view of the ethnic neighborhood. By relying on images, I capture a new dimension of variation that is directly related to the theoretical mechanism linking neighborhood features with group attachments (Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a).

## **4.2 Argument**

### **4.2.1 Toward A Theory of Ethnic Neighborhoods - Ethnic Visibility**

In understanding ethnic voting behavior, the existing literature has gone one of two ways: 1) it has relied on census measured racial/ethnic proportions, electoral outcomes, and advancements in ecological inference to estimate “actual” ethnic voting patterns (Barreto 2007); or 2) used survey or experimental designs to focus on the mechanisms underlying ethnic voting, at the cost of external validity and generalizability. To overcome these limitations, I develop a measurement strategy for understanding ethnic voting patterns in neighborhoods that seeks to better capture the mechanisms underlying ethnic voting *and* in an externally valid and generalizable way. To do this, I first define and discuss the concept of ethnic visibility.

I define ethnic visibility as the visual neighborhood-level factors that vary the fit and accessibility of ethnic stimuli within a neighborhood (Lau 1989; Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a; Jimenez 2010; Alba 1992; Wolfinger 1965). Consistent with my theory of context presented earlier, by varying the ethnic cues and stimuli, ethnic visibility is associated with heterogeneity in group attachments displayed by ethnic group members, which ultimately alters how individuals see themselves as part of the group. In this chapter, I focus on the link between ethnic visibility and ethnic voting behaviors, which I argue is structured by individual-level group attachment. In other words, ethnic visibility is a part of the environmental context that connects individuals to various groups predictably and systematically. As a result, the variation in ethnic visibility not only impacts how individuals think about themselves (Chapter 2) but ultimately impacts how they make critical political decisions. The focus of this chapter is on the measurement of ethnic visibility within the environmental context and linking this to real-world voting outcomes. Since existing work has primarily relied on the proportion of co-ethnics within one's precinct or neighborhood to understand and characterize ethnic voting, it has done so by approximating the more theoretically relevant variable with a variable that is robustly related and easier to measure. My goal is to show that ethnic visibility is systematically measurable and helps us better understand ethnic voting.

Any discussion of the ethnic neighborhood and the role of ethnic visibility has a long tradition in cogent fields. As Alba (1992) points out, the ethnic neighborhood is the center for ethnic life among the white ethnics in his Capital-Region study. Encapsulated in these ethnic neighborhoods are the co-ethnic friends, family members, social institutions, and ethnic establishments that promote a connection between the ethnic group members. Constant and continued exposure to ethnically salient materials increases the accessibility of ethnicity as an important identity and likely overpowers other identities such as social class, gender, or religion. These environments frame opinions and attitudes by structuring the set of accessible considerations (Chong and Druckman 2007). When the ethnic visibility is high, the accessibility one's ethnic category is high and other considerations are forced to compete with ethnicity. In searching for relevant associations, individuals in ethnic environments can quickly and easily retrieve this information to use in decision-making processes. My theory of

ethnic context builds on the idea that shared ethnic status is used as a “cue or informational short cut” (McConnaughy et al. 2010).

Garcia Bedolla (2005) compares two Latino communities in Eastern Los Angeles and highlights the differences in terms of composition, social networks, language, and contextual capital. She finds that Latinos living in East Los Angles had greater access to psychological and contextual capital, which facilitate group-based attachments, feelings of group worthiness, and higher levels of politicization compared to Latinos living in the adjacent Montebello. Garcia Bedolla (2005) argues, “The positive group identity among Latinos in East Los Angeles motivates them to become more involved in electoral politics” (23).

I suggest that associations between an ethnic candidate and a voters ethnicity will be more accessible in environments with high ethnic visibility as constant exposure to these ethnic cues presents a challenge for competing identities to exert influence above and beyond the accessible and salient ethnic identity category (Jimenez 2010).

I argue that ethnic visibility, along with the proportion of ethnic neighbors, captures a sense of the neighborhood level of ethnic attachment. Because these ethnic neighborhoods provide the relevant and essential considerations and vary the accessibility to ethnicity, I think these neighborhood-level attachments can be rendered politically consequential and used a heuristic when making a voting decision. In neighborhoods high in ethnic identity (composition and visibility), I expect to see stronger evidence for co-ethnic voting (H1). I also expect to see that the proportion of ethnic members in a neighborhood does not sufficiently capture the ethnic voting outcomes since it misses such a critical component of the mechanism behind ethnic voting.

Another goal of this chapter is to link three streams in the literature under one coherent theoretical and empirical framework. Existing work has 1) connected co-ethnicity and vote choice (Barreto 2007; McConnaughy et al. 2010); 2) demonstrated a positive relationship between ethnic context and ethnic identity (Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a; Jimenez 2010); and 3) identified the role of group identity strength in mobilization (Valenzuela and Michaelson 2016). I claim neighborhood level ethnic factors proxy for the strength of group identity

among neighborhood residents. In areas high in ethnic visibility electoral support will increase because of the shared co-ethnic status between a voter and a candidate as well as the identity attachment between an individual and their ethnic group. To do this, I use a multi-method research design that allows me to measure and understand neighborhood level ethnic visibility, link the variation in ethnic visibility to ethnic voting outcomes by modeling a candidates level of support as a function of my new measure, and lastly connect ethnic visibility to group attachment through an original survey of voters in one of the congressional districts.

#### **4.2.2 California and The Top Two Primaries**

Scholars traditionally relied on local elections for city council, school board, and mayor to analyze trends in ethnic voting. These elections frequently feature contests between non-white candidates. Many higher profile races, such as U.S. Congress, U.S. Senate, and Governor have rarely featured non-white candidates. Local and municipal electoral contests are also generally non-partisan, which allows researchers to isolate the effects of ethnic voting better. Researchers use partisan contests to neutralize the effect of partisanship. Because partisanship is such a powerful determinant of vote choice, it is nearly impossible to convincingly detect ethnic voting patterns that are not attributable to partisanship in general and runoff elections.

In 2010, California adopted a “Top-Two” primary system. Proponents of the new system argued that the closed primary system, where each of the major parties nominated a candidate produced ideologically extreme candidates since a successful primary candidate had to win the base of the party, which often contains more ideological extreme voters. Opponents of the system provided a variety of arguments against why these systems are problematic. While others have addressed whether top-two primaries decrease the ideological extremity of candidates (Hall 2015), here I use the change in California’s law to understand co-ethnic voting practices better.

By transitioning to a top-two system, general election races in the state can now feature

two candidates from the same party. Whereas before a Democrat usually ran against a Republican, the change to a top-two system could produce a general election with a co-partisan for any statewide or federal office. Table 4.1 shows the possible outcomes.

Table 4.1: Possible General Election Contests Under Top-Two Primary by Candidate Party

<b>Primary System</b>	<b>Candidate 1</b>	<b>Candidate 2</b>
Closed Primary	Democrat	Republican
Top Two Primary	Democrat	Republican
Top Two Primary	Democrat	Democrat
Top Two Primary	Republican	Republican

As Table 4.1 shows, two new possibilities were not possible under the closed primary system. For my purposes, this means that general election contests can now provide an opportunity to better test co-ethnic voting behaviors in races where it was not possible before. While this change is undoubtedly helpful, it did not create countless opportunities overnight. For one, many candidates in offices continued to hold office under the changed system. Running as an incumbent comes with many advantages including reelection (Mayhew 1974). This means that in order to exploit the changes in the top-two system, I need to find a set of open seat contests where neither candidate was in the officer prior. Since 2010, there have been several open seat elections. However, most of these races are unhelpful because they feature the breakdown as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Typical Electoral Contest by Candidate Race

	<b>Candidate 1</b>	<b>Candidate 2</b>
Outcome 1	White	White
Outcomes 2	White	Non-White

In these cases, it is hard to assess *ethnic* voting behaviors since ethnic voting cannot be fully disentangled from minority voting patterns. In other words, it could be the case that the presence of ethnic voting patterns arises from minority group members *not* voting for a White candidate as opposed to expressing a preference for the ethnic candidate. In these cases, the observable implications would be identical.

What is needed then is a particular electoral contest with at least three election and district characteristics required in order to determine the extent of ethnic voting. First,

the election must have two distinct minority group members. In many cases, a minority candidate is often running against a White candidate, which makes it harder to assess ethnic voting behaviors. Second, the election must be an open seat election. The electoral outcomes in the race where an incumbent is running against a challenger heavily favor the incumbent, even if the challenger is ideologically similar to the district or the challenger is co-ethnic. Third, the district must have a sizable population of members that corresponds to each candidate. These requirements are summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Ideal Election to Detect Ethnic Voting

	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Election Type	Open Seat	Open Seat
Race of Candidate	Non-White	Non-White
District Composition	<i>Same as Candidate 1</i>	<i>Same as Candidate 2</i>

Since California’s change in electoral laws, I identified two races that fit the requirements listed in Table 4.3. Both elections were for the U.S. House and took place in the greater Los Angeles, CA area, and featured multi-racial candidates in multi-racial settings. In central Los Angeles, longtime incumbent Xavier Becerra (CA-34) was appointed as Attorney General of California in January 2017 following former Attorney General Kamala Harris’s successful bid for the U.S. Senate. Becerra was first elected to the district in 2012, following some redistricting changes after 2010. In South Los Angeles, Democratic incumbent Janice Hahn (CA-44) stepped down to take a seat on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, creating an opening in the historically Black and Latino region of South L.A. The opportunity to win either of these seats held by Hahn or Becerra drew considerable attention, especially given the top-two primary system, where a Democratic candidate was all but guaranteed to be successful.

Table 4.4 shows the breakdown of CA-34 highlighting the three key parameters I identified above. Table 4.5 shows the breakdown of CA-44. As the tables, show both races feature two minority candidates in the runoff election. Both congressional districts also contain large corresponding minority populations. CA-34 and CA-44 are majority Latino districts. As well as being over 50% Latino, CA-34 is 19.6% AAPI. CA-44 is 15.93% Black and 69.94%

Latino.

Table 4.4: U.S. Congress, District 34, Runoff Election Breakdown

	Robert Ahn	Jimmy Gomez
Election	Open Seat U.S. Congress	Open Seat U.S. Congress
Candidate Race	Asian American	Latino
District Composition	19.58% AAPI	63.96% Latino

Table 4.5: U.S. Congress, District 44, Runoff Election Breakdown

	Isidore Hall	Nanette Barragán
Election	Open Seat U.S. Congress	Open Seat U.S. Congress
Candidate Race	Black	Latino
District Composition	15.93% Black	69.94% Latino

Given the nature of open seat U.S. Congressional elections along with the top-two primary system, both contests brought out a considerable number of primary candidates. Table 4.6 provides a breakdown of the candidates and results in CA-34 and Table 4.7 shows the candidates and results for CA-44.

In CA-34, 23 candidates sought the office and ran in the primary. Of those, 86% (N=20) were Democrats. 65% (N=15) of the primary candidates in CA-34 were Latino. Only one candidate, Robert Ahn, was Asian American. The remainder were White or not racially identified. CA-44 was slightly less competitive in the primary election since ten candidates ran in the primary. 70% (N=7) of those were Democrats. Two were registered Republicans and one was Independent. 60% (N=6) of the primary candidates were Latino. Isidore Hall was the only Black candidate running and the remainder were White or not identified.

CA-34 is of particular interest for this analysis because it captures at least three distinct areas of Los Angeles. The western part of the district is Koreatown, one of the largest concentrations of Korean origin individuals living in the U.S. The eastern part of the district is home to Boyle Heights, a longstanding Mexican-American neighborhood. To the north, is Echo Park and Los Feliz, areas with a storied Latino history but recently subject to gentrification and redevelopment from a younger, mostly white, professional class. Traditional theories of ethnic voting would predict strong support for Gomez in the eastern part of the

Table 4.6: U.S. House, California District 34, Primary and Runoff Results

<b>Runoff</b>				
<b>Party</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Vote Share</b>	<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>Racial/Ethnic Group</b>
Democratic	Jimmy Gomez	59.20%	25,569	Latino
Democratic	Robert Lee Ahn	40.80%	17,610	Asian American
<b>Primary</b>				
<b>Party</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Vote Share</b>	<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>Racial/Ethnic Group</b>
Democratic	Jimmy Gomez	25.40%	10,728	Latino
Democratic	Robert Lee Ahn	22.30%	9,415	Asian American
Democratic	Maria Cabildo	10.10%	4,259	Latino
Democratic	Sara Hernandez	5.60%	2,358	Latino
Democratic	Arturo Carmona	5.20%	2,205	Latino
Democratic	Wendy Carrillo	5.20%	2,195	Latino
Green	Kenneth Mejia	4.60%	1,964	Latino
Republican	William Morrison	3.20%	1,360	White
Democratic	Yolie Flores	3.20%	1,368	Latino
Democratic	Alejandra Campoverdi	2.40%	1,001	Latino
Democratic	Tracy Van Houten	2.50%	1,042	White
Democratic	Vanessa Aramayo	2%	853	Latino
Democratic	Sandra Mendoza	1.60%	674	Latino
Democratic	Steven Mac	1.60%	663	Other
Democratic	Raymond Meza	1.20%	509	Latino
Independent	Mark Edward Padilla	1%	427	Latino
Libertarian	Angela McArdle	0.80%	319	White
Democratic	Ricardo De La Fuente	0.80%	331	Latino
Democratic	Adrienne Nicole Edwards	0.40%	182	White
Democratic	Richard Joseph Sullivan	0.40%	155	White
Democratic	Armando Sotomayor	0.30%	118	Latino
Democratic	Tenaya Wallace	0.20%	103	White
Democratic	Melissa “Sharkie” Garza	0.20%	79	Latino

district and to some extent in the north and strong support for Ahn in the western part of the district.

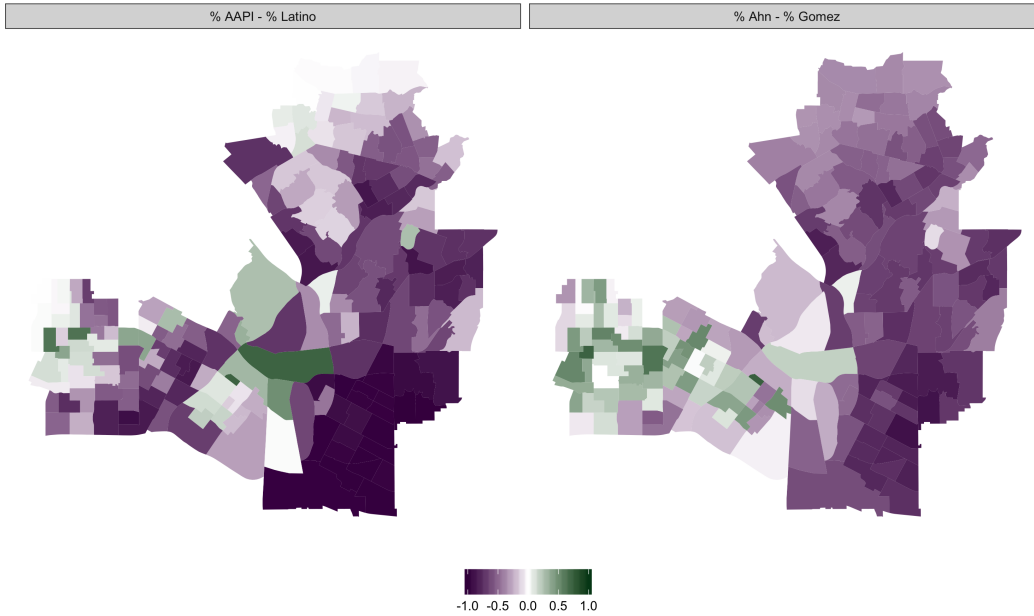
Figure 4.1 shows the election results and demographics from CA-34 runoff election between Jimmy Gomez and Robert Ahn. As expected, Ahn did better in the western part of the district that encompasses Koreatown and the parts of the district with greater AAPI composition. Gomez did better in the eastern and northern parts of the district, which include Highland Park and Boyle Heights, predominantly Latino areas. In general, the areas of CA-34 where Gomez did well have higher concentrations of Latinos and the areas where Ahn did well are near areas with more APPI. However, a simple ocular regression shows that Ahn, in particular, did better in areas near Koreatown, even though those areas have higher



Table 4.7: U.S. House, California District 44, Primary and Runoff Results

<b>Runoff</b>				
<b>Party</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Vote Share</b>	<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>Racial/Ethnic Group</b>
Democratic	Nanette Barragan	52.2%	93,124	Latino
Democratic	Isadore Hall	47.8%	85,289	Black
<b>Primary</b>				
<b>Party</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Vote Share</b>	<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>Racial/Ethnic Group</b>
Democratic	Isadore Hall	40.1%	40,200	Black
Democratic	Nanette Barragan	22.0%	22,031	Latino
Democratic	Armando Sotomayor	10.1%	10,087	Latino
Democratic	Sylvia Ortiz	6.0%	6,062	Latino
Democratic	Martha DelGadillo	5.8%	5,771	Latino
Republican	Ronald Siegel	5.5%	5,565	White
Republican	Christopher Castillo	3.6%	3,651	Latino
Democratic	Morris Griffin	3.6%	3,624	White
Democratic	Marcus Musante	2.4%	2,366	Latino
Independent	Michael De Mauricio	0.9%	919	Other

Figure 4.1: Precinct Level Demographics and Election Results in CA 34



Notes: This figure shows the precinct level vote share and precinct level demographics for CA 34. The demographics shown here are the proportion of registered voters. The demographic data were obtained from Catalist.

Latino composition.

Like CA-34, CA-44 recently underwent an open seat election following Congresswoman Janice Hahns retirement in 2016. State Senator Isadore Hall was seen as the front runner and endorsed by the California Democratic Party. However, the historically African American district was about 15.88% Black and 70.02% Latino. Nanette Barragán, a city councilwoman from Hermosa Beach was the most prominent challenger to Hall, and came in second during the primary with 22% of the vote, to 40% for Hall.

Figure 4.2 shows the precinct level election results and demographics from CA-44 runoff election between Nanette Barragán and Isadore Hall. Again, similar to CA-34, in areas with higher proportions of the population Latino, Barragán did better and in areas where a greater share of the residents are Black, Hall did much better.

## **4.3 Methods and Materials**

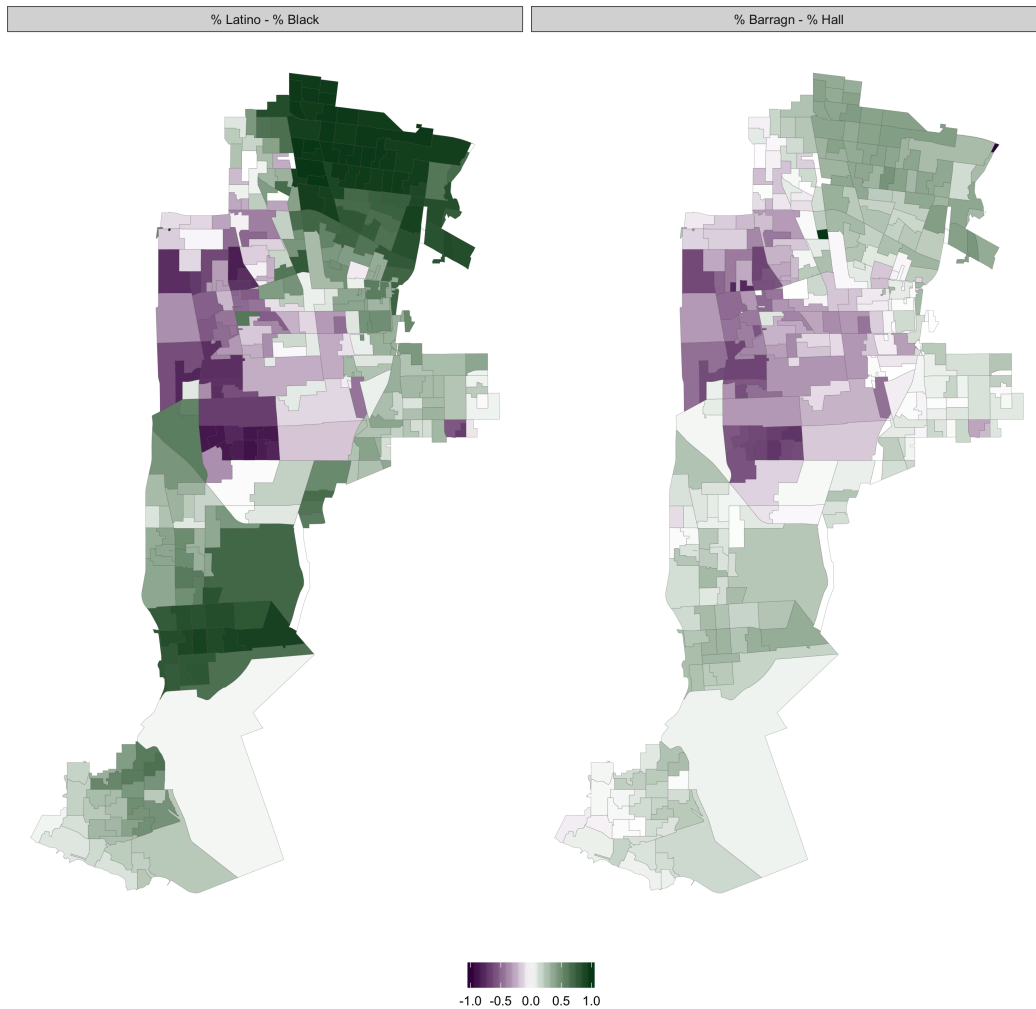
### **4.3.1 Research Design**

To test the relationship between ethnic visibility, I employ a mixed-methods research design. First, I use neighborhood-level streetview images to measure a neighborhood's ethnic visibility. I use a mix of undergraduate students and MTurk online workers to code and classify the ethnic visibility of thousands of streetview images.

### **4.3.2 A measure of ethnic visibility**

One of the critical contributions of this chapter is the advent of a novel measure of ethnic visibility that goes beyond much of the traditional demographic information that has been commonly used in existing research to understand co-ethnic voting behaviors (Barreto 2007; Wolfinger 1965; Huckfeldt 1979). Images of the neighborhood, I show, capture an untapped source of variation in the neighborhood's environmental context. While prior research has identified correlates of ethnic visibility, none of these efforts have resulted in a systematic and scalable solution to capture these important dimensions. Jimenez (2010), who talks

Figure 4.2: Precinct Level Demographics and Election Results in CA 44



*Notes: This figure shows the precinct level vote share and precinct level demographics for CA 44. The demographics shown here are the proportion of registered voters. The demographic data were obtained from Catalist.*

extensively about the role of *co-ethnic raw materials* in linking individuals to a group, provides a detailed account of the co-ethnic raw materials, but only for two cities. Lisa Garcia Bedolla discusses the XYZ , but does so for two adjacent areas in East Los Angeles. While Bedolla's theory is undoubtedly compelling, without a research design that can offer some leverage over concerns of generalizability, it remains tough to know whether her findings are idiosyncratic to the East Los Angeles area, or are reproducible in different areas or for different groups.

Valenzuela and Michelson (2016) speak to the differences in identity commitments (Ethnic vs. National) between two communities in East Los Angeles and replicate their findings in two Texas communities. However, Valenzuela and Michelson (2016) roughly *proxy* the contextual features of the locale, which they argue correlates with identity attachment, using demographic data from the U.S. census. They write, “we argue that socioeconomic status at the individual level and economic resources at the community level are effective proxies for the strength of Latinos ethnic and national identity attachments” (Valenzuela and Michelson 2016, 619). While systematic, there are several limitations with this type of research design. Economic and class-based concerns, while predictive of ethnic attachments, may be more closely linked to measures of integration, incorporation, and assimilation. In other words, Latinos who have achieved higher socio-economic status may be more integrated into the U.S. system. They could be less likely to be foreign-born, have stronger English language proficiency, etc. While this may be true, it fails to consider the puzzle explained by Jimenez (2010), who shows the relevance of co-ethnic raw materials *among those who are more integrated into the system*. The ethnic cues and stimuli in one’s environmental context are important even among more integrated individuals (Alba 1992; Waters 1990; 1999; Negrón 2011).

In this chapter, I propose a new way to better understand the connections between the environmental context and political outcomes. The previous chapter provided evidence that variation in the ethnic cues and stimuli in one’s environmental context is linked to variation in group-based attachments, suggesting that individuals in locales with greater ethnic cues and stimuli are more likely to develop and maintain stronger group based attachments than those in areas lacking the rich ethnic cues.

To create a novel measure of ethnic visibility, one that captures the micro-level variation in the ethnic-based cues and stimuli across local level contexts, I built a catalog of images associated with each neighborhood boundary. For most of this chapter, this is measured at the precinct level since the two elections are for U.S. Congress. While I use the precinct as

the geographic boundary, any geographic boundary could be used.<sup>1</sup>

I implemented a multi-stage data gathering process that begins with identifying the geographic boundaries and centroid of each unique precinct in the congressional district. Once I know the geographic coordinates associated with the polygon; I calculate the centroid of the precinct. This is the geographic center of the precinct or as close to what the geographic center would be if the precinct were a perfect circle.

Next, I calculate the distance from the center of the centroid that approximates a buffer around the precinct.<sup>2</sup> I use the following formula to calculate the buffer so that the buffer will contain most of the area of the precinct.

$$R = \sqrt{\frac{A}{\pi}} \quad (4.1)$$

Next, I use a prominent internet business review company's API to gather business listings for a set of businesses that are within the specified buffer. This process pings the API and records the returned business listings from the API. The API returns business listings in sets of 20, but the API allows users to offset the page and obtain a new set of 20 listings. I recover up to 100 business listings per precinct.<sup>3</sup> For each business listing, I obtain the business name and street address of the business.

After collecting this information, I used a second prominent internet search company's streetview image API to collect an exterior panoramic image of the exact address. The API returns an image that is the exterior image of the business taken perpendicular to the street as you would expect to see if you were standing in the street and looking directly at the business. This process returns one image for each address returned from the first process.

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<sup>1</sup>In other work not presented here, I have explored this method at census tracts and zip code measures. As I explain below, all that is needed is a single coordinate (usually a centroid) and an approximate area of the unit in order to approximate the buffer.

<sup>2</sup>To calculate the radius, I used the formula where the radius is equal to the square root of the area of the precinct divided by  $\pi$ .

<sup>3</sup>While some precincts have more than 100 business listings; there are some that have less. I gather the first 100 business listings. If a precinct had fewer than 100, I collected the entire set of business listings.

If a precinct had 100 unique business listings, I collected 100 streetview images for each precinct.<sup>4</sup>

Following the collection of the images, I developed a coding scheme to classify the ethnic visibility of each image.<sup>5</sup> Images were classified as non-ethnic, Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Asian American, and Black/African-American (CA-44 only). I worked with a small team of undergraduate students to classify the images. Coders examined each image and identified whether the image contained visible ethnic content and the racial/ethnic group associated with that content. I met regularly with coders over a few months to answer questions and ensure consistency.

I also used Amazon's MTurk to code the entire corpus of images after undergraduate research assistants had coded the images. MTurk workers were hired and paid \$0.01 per image (plus \$0.01 MTurk fees) and given a very similar set of instructions that the student coders received. Given the size of MTurk and the number of works, this process is much quicker. It takes about ten days to categorize 10,000 images for a cost of \$200.00.

In CA 34, the correlation between MTurk workers and student coders was .969 for AAPI influence and .924 for Latino influence. A correlation of 1 would mean that each group agreed on whether an image was Latino or non-Latino and so on.

To calculate the ethnic visibility of a precinct, I summed the number of images associated with each ethnic category and divided it by the total number of images from the precinct. For example, in a hypothetical precinct 123456A contains 100 images recovered from 100 business listings. Of those 100 images, 14 are categorized as AAPI visibility, 17 are categorized as Latino visibility, 3 are categorized as both AAPI and Latino visibility, and the

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<sup>4</sup>Sometimes the resulting image was null since the API did not have an image that corresponded to the street addresses that was collected. Other times the image returned just took a picture of the street. I removed these images from the analysis. In a later section, I discuss other image collection procedures and discuss how to de-duplicate, clean, and categorize images, such that the ethnic visibility classification algorithms can perform as well as possible. One of the significant limitations with the API is that each unique address is not associated with a unique image. Instead, one streetview image might serve as the image for multiple addresses. In the Supporting Information section, I document this more and show better examples.

<sup>5</sup>Full details in Supporting Information.

remaining 66 are categorized as non-ethnic visibility. Precinct 123456As Latino influence =  $\frac{17+3}{100} = .20$  ; AAPI influence =  $\frac{14+3}{100} = .17$ ; non-ethnic =  $\frac{66}{100} = .66$ .

### 4.3.3 Ethnic Visibility in Images

### 4.3.4 Survey

While the aggregate data are certainly helpful to understand the relevance of ethnic voting patterns across two multi-ethnic congressional districts and to correlate the variation in ethnic visibility to support for ethnic candidates, the data are not able to fully explore the mechanism of interest behind ethnic voting and whether increased ethnic visibility is linked to ethnic voting through the increased accessibility and salience of ethnic attachments of the voters in the precinct. Again, my argument is that ethnic visibility is linked to ethnic voting behaviors as a function individual group based attachments. In other words, the variation in ethnic visibility in the neighborhood serves a proxy for the ethnic attachment of those living in the neighborhoods. In most existing work, this was assumed but never tested directly.

To test this, I designed and distributed an original survey to voters in CA-34. To distribute the survey, I used publicly available email addresses from the Los Angeles County voter file. After geocoding all the voters in the voter file, I removed all of those that lived outside the CA-34. This resulted in 290,388 registered voters. Of those, 85,401 had valid email addresses. Because the number of registered voters with emails is relatively small and previous work of mine has consistently shown between a 1-3 percent response rate, I distributed to survey to all registered voters in CA-34 with valid emails. The distribution of the survey began one week before the 2018 California midterm primary election. While both Jimmy Gomez ran unopposed after defeating Robert AHH in the 2017 runoff, the California governor race featured a diverse slate of candidates. On the Democratic side, former Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa (Latino), current California State Treasurer John Chiang (AAPI), and current Lieutenant Governor Gavin Newsom (White) were the leading Democratic candidates. On the Republican side, John Fox (White) was the clear front runner.

Given the racial and ethnic composition of CA-34 as well as the variation in ethnic visibility across the congressional district, a representative survey of voters in CA-34 would provide many important tests. These include the correlation between ethnic visibility and group attachment and the correlation between vote choice and ethnic identity conditional on ethnic visibility.

I sent the survey via email to every registered voter on the voter file with a valid email address one week before the June 2018 primary election ( $N = 85,401$ ). I redistributed the survey every two days for those that did not respond, did not unsubscribe, or were not removed because of a bounce back. I distributed the survey a total of four times across eight days.<sup>6</sup> Figure 4.3 shows the location and race/ethnicity of each voter who responded to the survey. In all, I collected responses from 1,742 respondents made up of 315 AAPI, 81 Blacks, 683 Latinos, 11 American Indians, and 652 Whites. I calibrated the sample back to the population of registered voters in the district.<sup>7</sup>

The overarching goal of the survey helps elucidate the links between the streetview measures of ethnic visibility, perceived ethnic visibility (self-reported), and perceptions of group identity among Latinos and Asian Americans in the district. In other words, are the patterns between ethnic visibility and ethnic voting in the aggregate data supported in the individual level data?

#### **4.4 The Role of Ethnic Visibility in Co-Ethnic Voting: Evidence From Los Angeles County**

Two U.S. Congressional elections that took place in 2017 provide the ideal scenario to understand and unpack the mechanism behind ethnic voting. The elections took place in two of the most racially/ethnically diverse U.S. Congressional districts in the U.S., and both featured all non-white candidates in the runoff election. Changes to California's make these

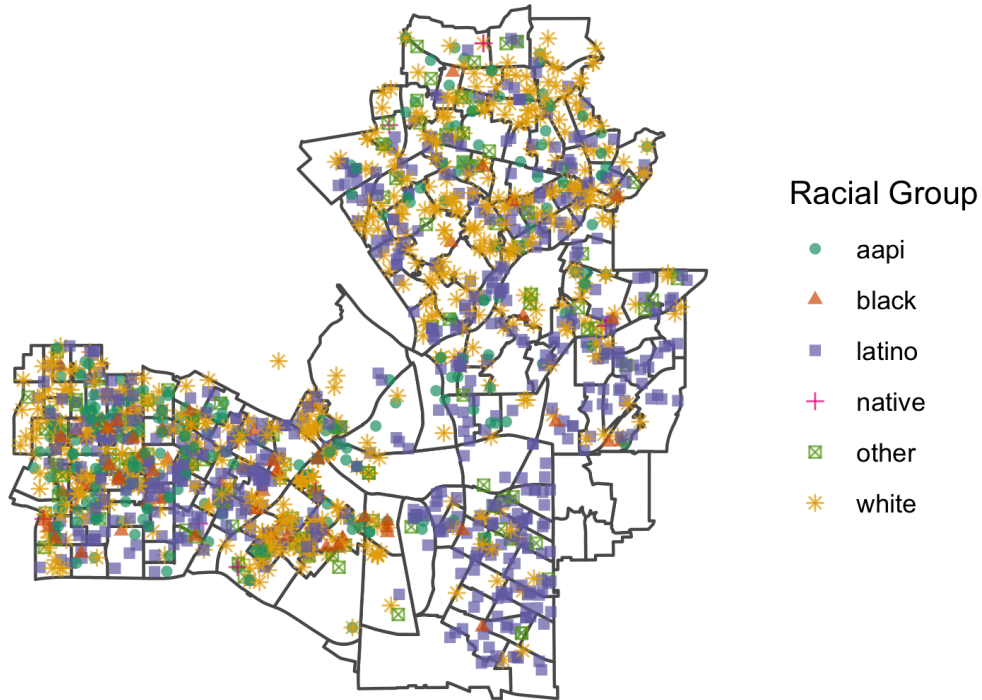
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<sup>6</sup>Full details are available in the Supporting Info.

<sup>7</sup>Full details are available in the Supporting Information.



Figure 4.3: Location of Survey Respondents in CA-34



*Notes: This map shows the location of each registered voters who responded to my original survey across CA-34. Each point represents 1 voter and the color and shape shows the race/ethnicity of the voter.*

elections particularly useful since both featured two Democratic candidates, a features not seen in such high profile federal races. Using these elections with my new measure of ethnic visibility, which developed by examining precinct level streetview images, allows me to understand the mechanisms behind ethnic voting better.

I begin with a discussion of the results from the aggregate data before turning to the survey data. I first examine the direct relationship between AAPI ethnic visibility and support for Robert Ahn across the primary and runoff elections. Table 4.8 shows a series of OLS regressions with robust standard errors where I regress Ahn's primary vote share on

Table 4.8: Relationship Between AAPI Visibility and Support for Ahn (Primary)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	-0.13*** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.02)	-0.12** (0.04)
AAPI Visibility	1.54*** (0.15)		1.26*** (0.13)	1.21*** (0.15)
Pct AAPI (pop)		0.64*** (0.11)	0.47*** (0.08)	0.30** (0.10)
Pct Over 65				0.11 (0.07)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.10*** (0.03)
Median HH Income				-0.00*** (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.39	0.29	0.53	0.59
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.39	0.29	0.52	0.58
Num. obs.	188	189	188	188
RMSE	6.84	7.39	6.03	5.70

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

a set of covariates. Model 1 is the model that only includes AAPI visibility as a regressor, the new measure I developed from the streetview images. Here we see a strong positive and statistically significant result between AAPI visibility and Ahn’s vote share.

Column 2 of Table 4.8 (Model 2) shows the model where I regress Ahn’s vote share on the percentage of AAPI (population) in the precinct.<sup>8</sup> As expected and in line with decades of research, the underlying population is a positive and significant predictor of Ahn’s vote share.

The model in column 3 shows the results when both AAPI visibility and AAPI composition are included in the same model. Here we see that both measures remain positive and statistically significant predictors of Ahn’s vote share in the primary. There are several ways to interpret this finding. Most importantly, it suggests that even after controlling for co-ethnic composition, the variable that decades of literature has used to understand ethnic voting patterns in the U.S., my new measure of ethnic visibility remains a positive and statistically significant predictor of Ahn’s vote share. Substantively, this finding supports one of my central claims of this chapter that neighborhood-level contextual features are related

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<sup>8</sup>In some ways, we can think of this regression as the standard Goodman’s regression where the coefficient represents the proportion of that ethnic group supporting the candidate.

Table 4.9: Relationship Between AAPI Visibility and Support for Ahn (General)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.07** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.09* (0.04)
AAPI Visibility	1.36*** (0.11)		1.02*** (0.11)	0.96*** (0.12)
Pct AAPI (pop)		0.72*** (0.07)	0.58*** (0.06)	0.35*** (0.07)
Pct Over 65				0.09 (0.07)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.14*** (0.02)
Median HH Income				-0.00*** (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.32	0.38	0.54	0.64
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.32	0.38	0.54	0.63
Num. obs.	188	189	188	188
RMSE	7.08	6.77	5.83	5.18

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

to the political behaviors of the residents of that neighborhood. The last column of Table 4.8 includes three contextual level covariates to help ensure the results are robust to alternative specifications. I include the proportion of the population over the age of 65, the percent over 25 with a bachelors degree, and the median household income. By including these variables, AAPI visibility remains a positive and significant predictor of Ahn’s vote share.

Next, I examine the relationship between AAPI visibility and Ahn’s vote share in the runoff election where Robert Ahn and Jimmy Gomez ran against each other. These results are shown in Table 4.9 and follow the same pattern as Table 4.8 regarding model specification. Column 1 shows that AAPI visibility is a positive and statistically significant predictor of Ahn’s vote share in the runoff election. As expected, the results in column 2 show that AAPI composition is a positive and statistically significant predictor of Ahn’s vote share. As I showed above in Table 4.8, even after including additional covariates, AAPI visibility remains a positive and significant predictor of Ahn’s vote share providing more support that ethnic visibility helps us better understand the political behaviors of neighborhood residents.

So far my results strongly support my hypothesis that ethnic visibility is vital for understanding co-ethnic voting behaviors. The results above link variation in AAPI visibility at the precinct level to levels of support for a co-ethnic candidate, even after controlling for

Table 4.10: Relationship Between Latino Visibility and Support for Gomez (Primary)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.15*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.05 (0.03)
Latino Visibility	1.81*** (0.30)		1.32*** (0.33)	0.94** (0.30)
Pct Latino (pop)		0.18*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.12** (0.04)
Pct Over 65				0.02 (0.03)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				-0.03 (0.02)
Median HH Income				0.00*** (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.17	0.25	0.43
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.16	0.25	0.41
Num. obs.	188	189	188	188
RMSE	4.16	4.22	4.01	3.55

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

the proportion of co-ethnic members, the prominent variable used in existing research. Next, I examine whether my measure of Latino visibility predicts support for Jimmy Gomez. As I did earlier, I start with the primary election and then move to the runoff election.

Table 4.10 shows the results for the primary election. In the bivariate model, column 1, Latino visibility is a positive and statistically significant predictor of Gomez's vote share in the primary election. Column 2 shows, as expected, the proportion of Latinos in the precinct is also a positive and statistically significant predictor of Gomez's vote share. In column 3, I include both Latino visibility and Latino composition. The results here show that even after including Latino composition, Latino visibility remains a positive and statistically significant predictor of Gomez's vote share. The positive and significant relationship between ethnic visibility and Gomez's vote share remains in column 4 after including additional controls. Table 4.11 shows the results for Gomez in the runoff election. Consistent with what I have shown so far, Latino visibility remains a positive and significant predictor across all model specifications. This means that my measure of ethnic voting is capturing a sizable part of the unexplained variation in the model.

The above results provide suggestive evidence that ethnic visibility undergirds ethnic voting practices and adds a new measure to understand the variation in ethnic voting prac-

Table 4.11: Relationship Between Latino Visibility and Support for Gomez (General)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.35*** (0.04)	0.38*** (0.03)	0.26*** (0.04)	0.26** (0.08)
Latino Visibility	4.07*** (0.49)		2.94*** (0.57)	2.55*** (0.51)
Pct Latino (pop)		0.41*** (0.05)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.21** (0.08)
Pct Over 65				-0.19** (0.07)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				-0.08* (0.04)
Median HH Income				0.00*** (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.29	0.26	0.38	0.51
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.26	0.37	0.50
Num. obs.	188	189	188	188
RMSE	7.26	7.38	6.79	6.05

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

tices better. Next, I consider the contests in CA 44 where Isadore Hall (Black) faced Nanette Barragán (Latina) following Janice Hahn stepping down to take a seat on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

#### 4.4.1 CA 44 Latino and Black Visibility

Table 4.12 shows the relationship between ethnic visibility and Barragán’s primary vote share in CA-44. The first column, where I regress Barragán’s vote share on the Latino visibility, shows that Latino visibility is a positive and statistically significant predictor, replicating the results from CA-34 in the context of a new multi-racial district. As I showed above, CA-44 is similar in that it has a large Latino population, but is distinct in that it also has a large African American population and covers historically Black areas of Los Angeles. Returning to the results in Table 4.12, column 2 shows that the underlying Latino composition is also related to Barragán’s vote share. Again, based on the results above and existing scholarship (Barreto 2007), this relationship is expected. Column 3 shows a model where both Latino visibility and Latino composition are included. Both variables in this model remain positive and statistically significant predictors of Barragán’s vote share. These relationships both hold in column 4 where I include additional control variables.

Table 4.12: Relationship Between Latino Visibility and Support for Barragan (Primary)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.18*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)
Latino Visibility	0.56*** (0.05)		0.26*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)
Pct Latino (pop)		0.19*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.23*** (0.03)
Pct Over 65				-0.05 (0.13)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.50*** (0.09)
Median HH Income				-0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.25	0.33	0.36	0.48
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.33	0.36	0.47
Num. obs.	288	286	286	286
RMSE	2.29	2.17	2.12	1.92

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 4.13 considers the results from the runoff election where Barragán faced Hall directly. Here we see identical results. In column 1, Latino visibility is a positive and statistically significant predictor of Barragán’s vote share in the bivariate case. Column 3 and column 4 both confirm this finding when additional controls are added to the model, including the proportion of Latinos in the precinct.

So far the results from CA 44 mirror those presented for CA-34. While existing explanations to understand co-ethnic voting behaviors are still relevant (co-ethnic population), my new measure of ethnic visibility is a reliable predictor of ethnic voting patterns. Next, I turn to results for Isidore Hall, who faced Barragán in the primary and the runoff. I begin with results for the primary election shown in Table 4.14. Examining column 1 shows that Black visibility is a positive and significant predictor of support for Hall.

Column 2 of Table 4.14, which shows the population model, shows as a positive and statistically significant relationship between the proportion of Black voters in a precinct and support for Hall in the primary. The conventional model used to detect ethnic voting reliably detects the presence of co-ethnic voting practices for Black voters in CA-44. However, in a model with both Blacks visibility and the Black population measure, only the population predictor is a positive and significant predictor. By including the proportion of Black resi-

Table 4.13: Relationship Between Latino Visibility and Support for Barragan (Runoff)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.45*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.02)	0.20*** (0.04)
Latino Visibility	0.96*** (0.09)		0.17* (0.08)	0.27*** (0.08)
Pct Latino (pop)		0.39*** (0.03)	0.36*** (0.03)	0.45*** (0.04)
Pct Over 65				-0.56* (0.24)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.82*** (0.13)
Median HH Income				-0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.48	0.48	0.55
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.48	0.48	0.54
Num. obs.	305	300	300	300
RMSE	3.95	3.25	3.24	3.03

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 4.14: Relationship Between Black Visibility and Support for Hall (Primary)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.39*** (0.01)	0.27*** (0.01)	0.27*** (0.01)	0.21*** (0.02)
Black Visibility	5.44** (1.98)		0.20 (0.83)	1.18 (0.81)
Pct Black (pop)		0.60*** (0.03)	0.60*** (0.03)	0.59*** (0.03)
Pct Over 65				0.15 (0.18)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				-0.06 (0.09)
Median HH Income				0.00* (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.74	0.74	0.75
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.74	0.74	0.75
Num. obs.	288	286	286	286
RMSE	4.92	2.53	2.54	2.48

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

dents in a precinct in the model, Black visibility does not significantly explain any additional variation in the outcome. If we look back to the goodness of fit measure in column 1, we see that the Black visibility does not explain very much of the variance in the outcome. The  $R^2$  for the Black visibility model is 0.01. Compared to the Black population model (column 2), which has an  $R^2 = 0.74$ , we can see that although significant in the bivariate case, Black visibility is a weak predictor of support for Hall in the primary.

Column 4 of Table 4.14 includes the demographic control variables. The results for ethnic visibility are inconclusive. The coefficient is positive, but the standard errors are large. The population coefficient is a statistically significant predictor of support for Hall, confirming the explanatory power of this variable for understanding ethnic voting among Black voters.

Table 4.14 shows the results for Hall in the runoff election. The results here mirror those presented in Table 4.14. Black visibility is a positive and statistically significant predictor of support, but only in the bivariate case (column 1). When I add the population measure, ethnic visibility has no predictive power and the population measure continues to be a reliable and statistically significant predictor of support for Hall. As column 1, column 3, and column 4 show, the proportion of Black residents in a precinct is positively and significantly related to Hall's vote share, suggesting that for Black voters, at least in the southern California context, the size of the Black community as measured by population is most important for understanding ethnic voting practices.

The descriptive statistics I presented above showed little presence of Black visibility in the area and greater presence and variation in terms of the size of the Black community as measured by the population of Black residents. These descriptive results, coupled with the findings presented above suggest that at least in Southern California, Black visibility is likely encoded in ways not detectable through streetview images. This is likely connected to the idea that Black identity is more ingrained, that is, more established and less reliant on variation in the racial and ethnic cues in the built environment. As Dawson (1994) points out, Black identity and Black linked fate mainly comes from socialization experience and the inter-generational transmission of Black identity and the realized links between group



Table 4.15: Relationship Between Black Visibility and Support for Hall (Runoff)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.48*** (0.01)	0.37*** (0.01)	0.37*** (0.01)	0.30*** (0.01)
Black Visibility	4.59** (1.38)		1.23 (1.58)	2.54 (1.60)
Pct Black (pop)		0.55*** (0.02)	0.55*** (0.02)	0.53*** (0.02)
Pct Over 65				0.18 (0.15)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.14 (0.08)
Median HH Income				0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.74	0.74	0.78
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.74	0.74	0.78
Num. obs.	305	300	300	300
RMSE	4.50	2.28	2.28	2.12

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

members beginning in the shared historical experience of slavery. Because of this, we may not expect to see such visible displays of Black identity or Black visibility in the built environment.

## 4.5 Goodness of Fit -

Above I showed strong evidence that Latino visibility and AAPI visibility reliably predicts co-ethnic voting patterns. Controlling for several factors, the variation in ethnic visibility in a precinct positively and significantly associates with support for a co-ethnic candidate. However, across all models, the population variable was a reliable and significant predictor of co-ethnic voting patterns as well. This is not surprising since it is the variable that has been used for decades in much of the scholarship on co-ethnic voting (Barreto 2007; Huckfeldt 1979; Wolfinger 1965).

Despite the statistically significant correlation between ethnic visibility and co-ethnic voting, it is unclear how much the additional variable and work associated with measuring ethnic visibility adds to our understanding of ethnic voting behaviors. In this section, I examine how the inclusion of these variables impacts the explanatory power of the model. Moving

past more traditional measures like  $R^2$ , which have their own set of issues, I use a set of simulations along with bootstrapping to determine whether or not the models with measures of ethnic visibility are any more predictive than models that rely solely on population-based measures. I also use these techniques to understand how much explanatory power is associated with the models.

To do this, I bootstrap a series of out of sample predictions and summarize the error across each of those predictions. The out of sample (leave one out) prediction concept is quite simple. I remove one of the precinct level observations from the dataset and then use the other precincts to build a model. I then use this model in conjunction with the original values of the left out precinct to predict the outcome (vote share) of the left out precinct. I recover the  $\beta$ s for the model and then multiply those  $\beta$ s by the correct values from the observed data to estimate the candidates vote share.

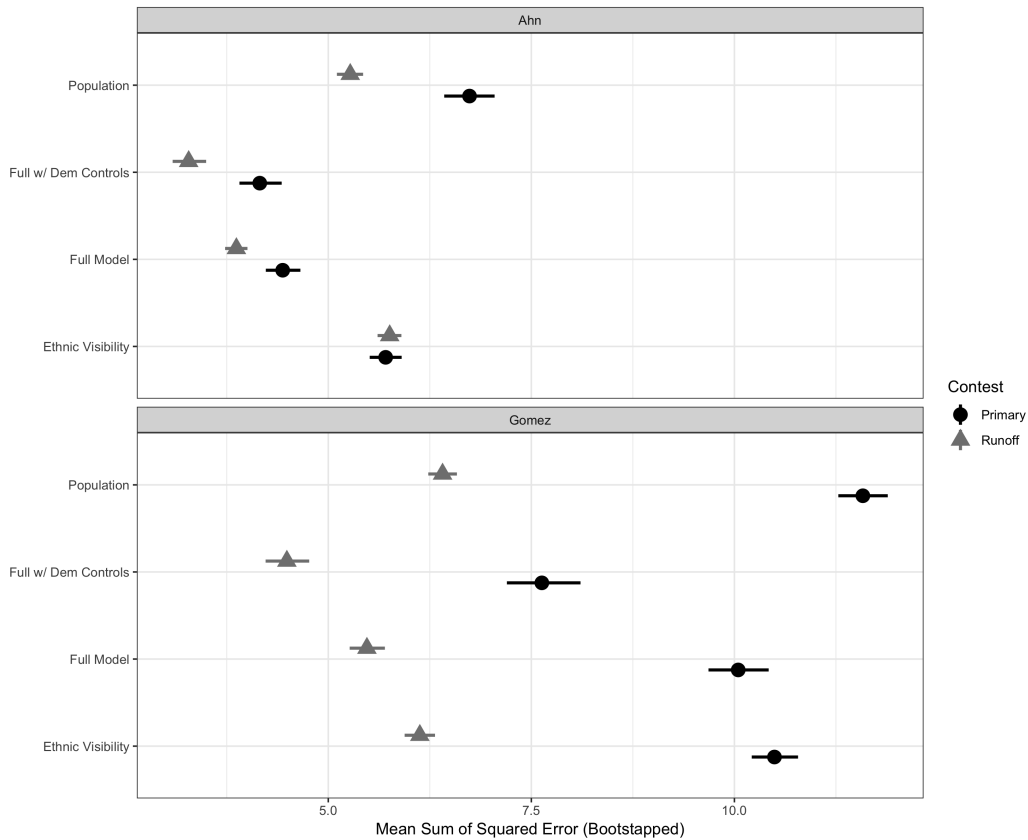
Because the model is not “trained” on the data associated with the outcome being predicted, overfitting the data is costly and thus model complexity is penalized because of the out of sample prediction. The goal of this section is to learn whether the inclusion of my ethnic visibility measure increases the predictive power of the model. In the standard linear regression, added covariates almost always increase the explanatory power of the model. However, by using out of sample prediction, there is no guarantee that more variables are better in terms of prediction when testing out of sample.

I then square the difference between the original vote share and the predicted vote share which provides a difference for each precinct  $error = (Vote_{predicted} - Vote_{observed})^2$ . To get a sense of variability with each difference, I run this process 10,000 times, randomly sampling a new dataset with replacement each time. I then sum the squared differences for each model. This leaves me with 10,000 sums of squared errors. I then take the mean value as well as the 2.5 percentile and the 97.5 percentile to get a sense of the variability in the distribution and report these values for each model in each election. This process is beneficial since it is predicting the value of the outcome based on data that is not used in the model, thus providing the power of out of sample prediction.

### 4.5.1 CA 34

I present the results from this process in Figure 4.4, which shows the sum of squared error across the simulations for the CA-34 races between Ahn and Gomez. Turning to Figure 4.4, there are a couple of clear patterns that come out of the analysis. The major takeaway from Figure 4.4 is the reduction of error as ethnic visibility is included in the model. By including the ethnic visibility measure in the model, there is a decrease in prediction error. Both the Full Model and Fully Model w/Controls are associated with less error than the population only model. This means that the additional explanatory power of the model associated with the positive and statistically significant predictors from the models presented above.

Figure 4.4: Out of Sample Sum of Squared Error for CA-34 (Bootstrapped)



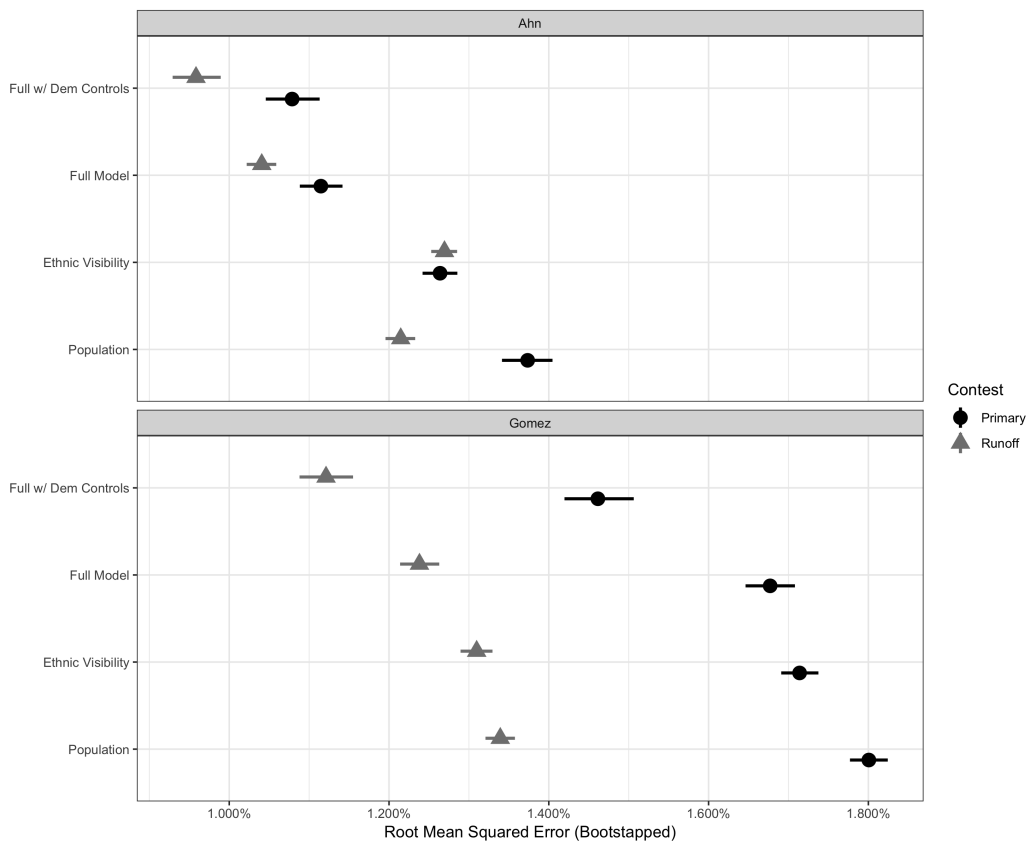
*Notes: This figure shows the global out of sample sum of squared error for all 189 precincts in CA 34. These results were obtained through a bootstrapped (10,000) leave one out simulation. 95% confidence intervals shown.*

For Gomez, the predictions were much better in the runoff election. This is likely the

case that the primary was a crowded space and Gomez, while the favorite and the front-runner, was not the only Latino running. There were multiple other Latino candidates in the primary, likely taking support from Gomez. However, in the runoff election, there was a significant decrease in the prediction error.

The results in Figure 4.4 represent the global error, that is the error summed across every 189 precincts in the model. In other words, we see that as a whole, the error ranges from 1.5 to 4, or 10.5 to 40 percentage points of the outcome. While it is good to understand the global error, Figure 4.5 divides the global error by the total number of precincts to get an idea how much on average each prediction is off compared to the true vote share.

Figure 4.5: Average Out of Sample Sum of Squared Error for CA-34 by Precinct (Bootstrapped)



Notes: This figure shows the average out of sample RMSE for each of the 189 precincts in CA 34. These results were obtained through a bootstrapped (10,000) leave one out simulation. 95% confidence intervals shown.

As the results in Figure 4.5 show, the average precinct level prediction error ranges

from 0.958, 95% CI[.929, 0.989] for Ahn in the runoff (Full Model with Controls), to 1.80, 95% CI[1.78, 1.82] for Gomez in the primary (Population Model). This means that our ability to predict the outcome based on the proportion of co-ethnics, ethnic visibility, and a handful of controls is quite small for any single precinct, but the error across all the precincts is large. This is not worrisome, however, since the goal of this section is to test whether the ethnic visibility measure increases the explanatory power and predictor error of the model.

#### 4.5.2 CA 44

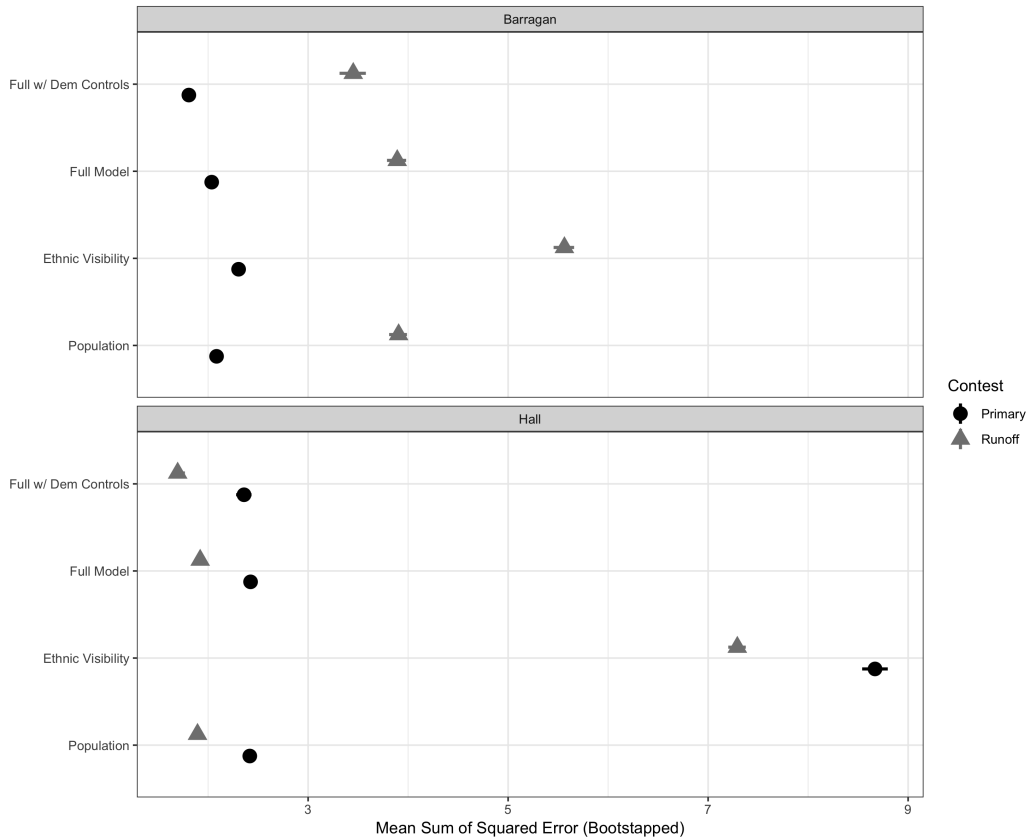
Next, I conducted the same set of tests for CA-44. In terms of the substantive results, ethnic visibility is a positive and statistically predictor of co-ethnic voting, but only for Barragán, the Latina candidate running in CA-44. As I showed above, Black visibility is not a reliable predictor of co-ethnic voting. Instead, the proportion of Black voters in a precinct is a strong predictor of ethnic voting.

Figure 4.6 shows the out of sample sum of squared error for the all precincts in CA-44. The findings here follow what I showed in the tables presented above. For Barragán, the top panel, two findings stand out. First, the while the population measure is a stronger model on its own (Table 4.12 and Table 4.13), when ethnic visibility is added to a model along with the population-based model, the prediction error reduced. In other words, in both the runoff and primary elections, knowing the proportion of Latinos in the precinct results in less prediction error than only knowing the Latino visibility. However, combining the two measures in the same model results in less prediction error than either variable on its own.

The second major takeaway from the top panel is the vast difference in prediction error between the primary and runoff elections. As in CA-34, this comes from the fact that there were other Latino candidates in the primary, making a prediction based on ethnic-based factors more challenging. As expected, the Full Model with Controls has the smallest prediction error.

The lower panel in Figure 4.6 shows the explanatory power of the models used to test how well Black visibility predicts support for Hall. Unlike most of the other models I

Figure 4.6: Out of Sample Sum of Squared Error for CA-44 (Bootstrapped)



Notes: This figure shows the global out of sample sum of squared error for all precincts in CA-44. These results were obtained through a bootstrapped (10,000) leave one out simulation. 95% confidence intervals shown.

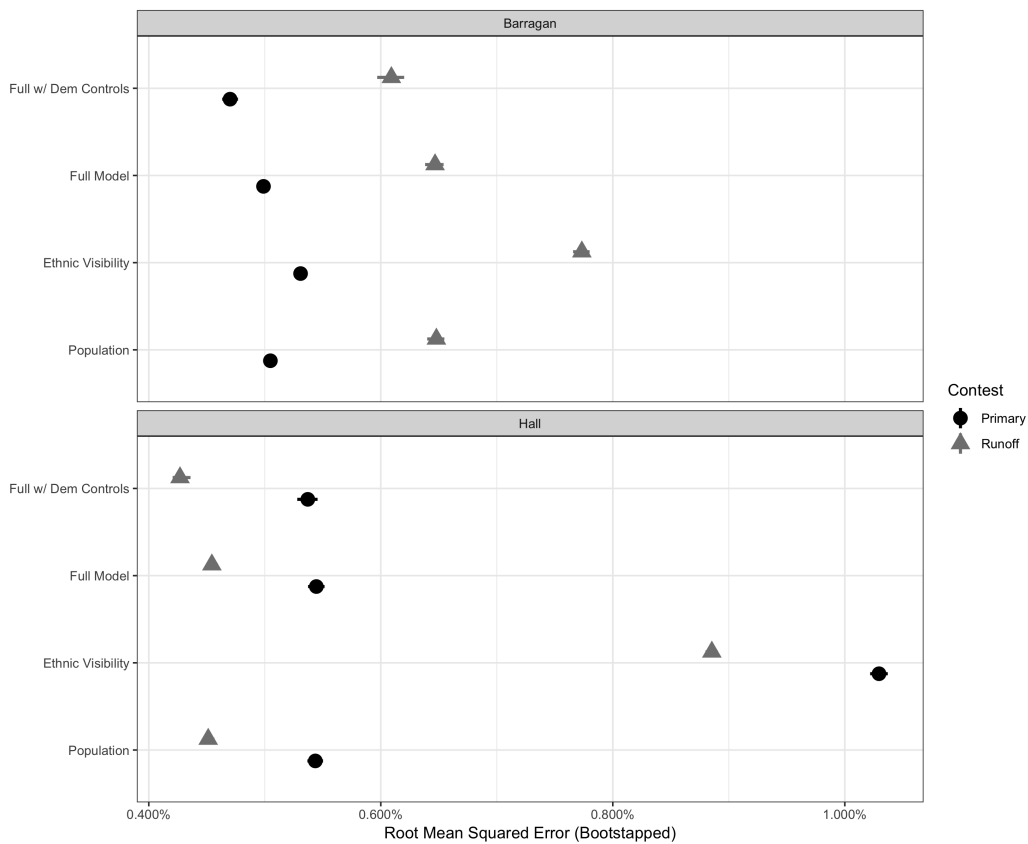
have discussed, the Black visibility is a weak predictor of support for Hall and corresponds to two empirical outcomes. First, the variable itself, Black visibility, does a poor job at prediction. This is evidenced by the large prediction errors in the lower panel of Figure 4.6. For the most part, the other results across both panels are near each other, suggesting that while the increase in prediction power is important, each of the ethnic-based variables help explain a significant portion of the variation in both support for Barragán and support for Hall. However, the ethnic visibility measure in the lower panel shows that this is not the case. Although the variable was statistically significant in some of the models, the variable provides little explanatory power as shown by the prediction error associated with these models.

To add to this, the results in Figure 4.6 show that adding the ethnic visibility variable

to the model does little in terms of the explanatory power. The sum of squared error for the population only model is 1.89, 95% CI[1.86,1.94] and the full model, where both population and ethnic visibility are both considered is 1.92, 95% CI[1.89,1.96]. While this is not a formal test to determine whether these difference are statistically significant, the estimates are nearly identical. The error associated with the full model is 0.03 points larger than the population model.

Figure 4.7 shows the precinct level error of the model, which was obtained by dividing the total error by the total number of precincts in each election. Again, this gives an idea of the average error associated with predicting one precinct. As the figure shows, the error range from about 0.4% to 1%. Interestingly, these precinct level errors are smaller than those in CA-34 models.

Figure 4.7: Average Out of Sample Sum of Squared Error for CA-44 by Precinct (Bootstrapped)



Notes: This figure shows the average out of sample RMSE for each of the precincts in CA 44. These results were obtained through a bootstrapped (10,000) leave one out simulation. 95% confidence intervals shown.

There are several reasons for this. One could be that the areas in South LA where CA-44 exists have slightly higher foreign-born Latino populations, where we should expect co-ethnic voting to be a more critical factor. Another reason could be that Janice Hahn was the former representative of the district. The possibility that a co-ethnic could represent the district likely increased turnout and co-ethnic voting among both Latinos and Black voters as Barreto (2007) showed that a co-ethnic candidate on the ballot also has a mobilizing effect.

## **4.6 Mechanism Check - An Original Survey of CA-34 Voters**

The results above demonstrate a convincing link between neighborhood-level ethnic visibility as measured with streetview images and co-ethnic voting behaviors. To review, precincts with higher levels of ethnic visibility are more supportive of ethnic candidates. This relationship holds when adjusting for the proportion of co-ethnic members in the district, the conventional standard used to assess ethnic voting practices. The relationship between ethnic visibility also holds when adjusting for other demographic measures including the % of the population over 65, the % of the population over 25 with a bachelors degree, and the median household income.

I theorized that ethnic visibility is a proxy for the ethnic commitments and attachments of the neighborhood members. In earlier chapters, I showed that ethnic visibility is related to ethnic attachments. I did this both in an observational context, using the proportion of ethnic businesses (an early version of ethnic visibility). I also developed and implemented an experiment where I tested the causal relationship, showing that variation in context causes changes in the ethnic attachment at least among Latinos.

In this section, I provide more evidence of the link between environmental context and group attachment by examining an original survey that I conducted in Summer 2018 during the primary election season. This survey allows me to test two crucial questions. First, are registered voters in CA-34 even aware of the variation in ethnic visibility in their neighborhood. Second, I test the extent that ethnic visibility is related to group attachment



among Latinos and Asian Americans.

#### 4.6.1 Conducting Surveys from Voters Files: Promises and Perils

In late May 2018, I began sending emails with survey links to every registered voter in CA-34 with a valid email address. Of the 290,314 registered voters at the time, 86,021 had valid email addresses listed. Because of the relatively small number and known low response rates from existing studies, I distributed the survey to all available email addresses, thus creating a census rather than a sample.<sup>9</sup>

I begin by discussing the characteristics of the sample and providing some basic descriptive statistics.<sup>10</sup> I then briefly discuss the responses rates and think about the feasibility of using publicly available emails to conduct research, opening the door for future research. Following this discussion, I turn to the results from the survey.

Table 4.16 shows the results from a model predicting who has the email on the voter file from the auxiliary information. Predicted race/ethnicity was computed using (Imai and Khanna 2016) after geocoding. These results are presented visually in Figure 4.8, which shows coefficients along with 95% confidence intervals. In general, the voters with email addresses are much younger, less likely to be Latino, and more likely to have voted in the general election. Examining the f-statistic as a joint test of statistical difference in Table 4.16 shows a value of 29031. In general, this value must be less than 10 to conclude that there is no joint statistical difference between the two groups. Here that is not the case and those with email addresses on the voter file are very different from those without emails on the

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<sup>9</sup>While the target population is all registered voters; the sampling frame only contains those registered voters with emails. Because of this, there are issues with undercoverage. In other words, there are units in the target population that are not (by design) included in the sampling frame. Threats of undercoverage cause coverage error and are a function of how different the two groups are. In other words, are there major differences between those with emails and those without email. In the Appendix for this chapter, I discuss the differences and some steps to minimize coverage error.

<sup>10</sup>Due to issues of undercoverage and non-response, I calibrate responses back to the population using raking. This process provides a set of weights (one weight for each respondent). As such all the results discussed below use the weighted sample to reflect the population totals best. I show the results and breakdown form the calibration in the Appendix.

Table 4.16: Predicting Who Has Email in CA 34

	Email on File
(Intercept)	0.31*** (0.00)
30-44	-0.11*** (0.00)
45-64	-0.28*** (0.00)
65+	-0.43*** (0.00)
Black	0.06*** (0.00)
White	0.13*** (0.00)
AAPI	0.10*** (0.00)
Other	0.11*** (0.00)
Voted (2016 General)	0.19*** (0.00)
Voted (2016 Primary)	0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.15
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.15
Num. obs.	290314
F statistic	7058.56
RMSE	0.42

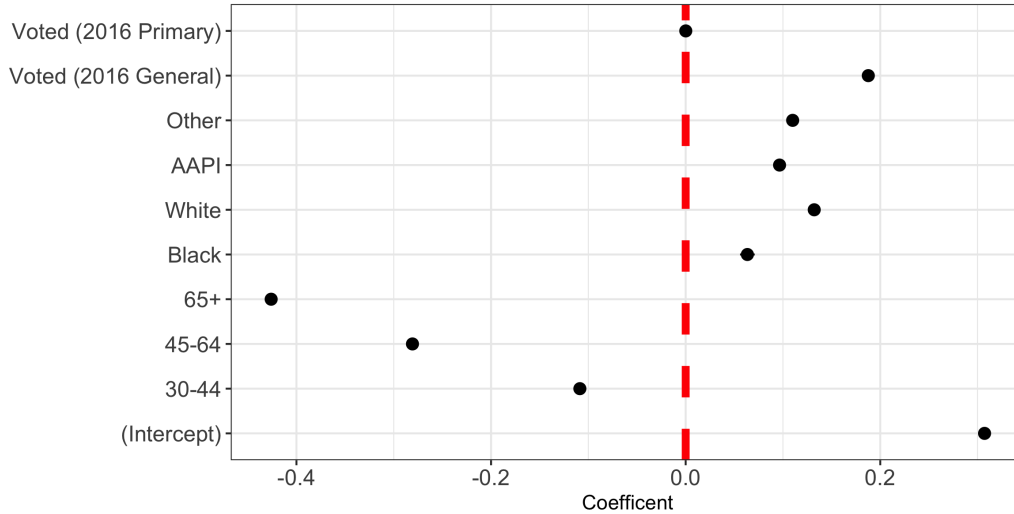
\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

voter file.

While the emails were sent out 86,021 registered voters in CA-34, many fewer responded to the survey. In total, 1,916 responded to the survey for an effective response rate of 1.5%. 1,253 respondents completed the survey and a remaining 663 started but did not fully complete the survey.<sup>11</sup> I then weighted the respondents back to overall population raking on age and race. The results from this procedure are shown in Table 4.17. As the table shows, on these two dimensions, I can calibrate the proportions back to the population, ideally accounting for some of the non-response and undercoverage.

<sup>11</sup>I do not remove respondents who did not complete the survey. Instead, use listwise deletion based on the last question answered for inclusion.

Figure 4.8: Who Has an Email Address in CA 34



Notes: This figure shows the coefficients from a model predicting who has an email address on the voter file in Los Angeles County, CA. 95% confidence intervals are shown, but are very small due large  $N$  ( $N = 290,314$ ).

Table 4.17: Calibration Table for CA 34

Variables	Population	Sample	Weighted
Latino	0.43	0.36	0.43
Black	0.03	0.04	0.03
White	0.20	0.34	0.20
AAPI	0.13	0.16	0.13
Other	0.21	0.10	0.21
18-29	0.35	0.25	0.35
30-44	0.40	0.36	0.40
45-64	0.20	0.30	0.20
65+	0.05	0.09	0.05

#### 4.6.2 Do Residents Perceive Ethnic Visibility?

I begin by examining whether the voters in CA 34 understood their surroundings and were able to perceive the variation in ethnic visibility across precincts. Existing work shows that residents are responsive to neighborhood level factors (Wilcox-Archuleta 2018b; Velez and Wong 2017; Newman et al. 2015). To test this, I asked respondents three self-reported questions about their local context. I did not ask for direct percentages as issues with proportion and innumeracy bias can be challenging for respondents (Nadeau et al. 1993). Instead, I asked respondents to think about their context in a rough, but still ordered way (Wilcox-Archuleta 2018b; Newman et al. 2015). I first asked them to report the racial and

ethnic composition with the following question: *Would you describe the neighborhood where you live as mostly black, mostly white, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, or mixed?*. Following this question, I asked a direct follow-up, *Is it almost entirely [TYPE], or is it mostly [TYPE]?*.

I then asked about the businesses and restaurants in the area with: *Here in your neighborhood, how many of the businesses or restaurants are:*. The categories were: “Mexican or Latino”, “Korean or Asian”, “Black or African American”, and “Generic Americans or Non-Ethnic” in a grid format so each respondent could respond “None”, “A few”, “Some”, “A lot” for each category. Lastly, I asked about the signs in the area with: *Here in your neighborhood, how many of the signs are in:*. The categories here were “Spanish”, “Korean or other Asian language”, and “English” with “None”, “A few”, “Some”, “A lot” possible respondents for each category. Table 4.18 shows the correlations between each of self-reported ethnic visibility variables as well as the image based measure of ethnic visibility.

Table 4.18: Ethnic Visibility Correlation

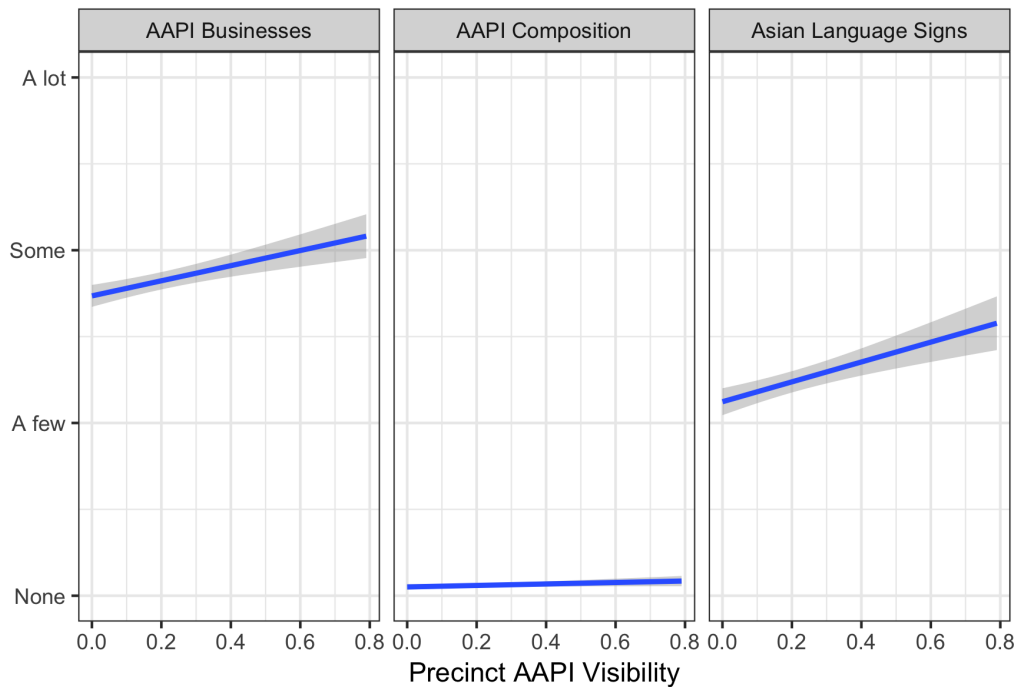
	Business (AAPI)	Composition (AAPI)	Signs (Asian Language)	Visibility (AAPI)	Business (Latino)	Composition (Latino)	Signs (Spanish)	Visibility (Latino)
Business (AAPI)	1.00	0.27	0.68	0.12	-0.02	-0.30	0.07	-0.04
Composition (AAPI)	0.27	1.00	0.29	0.06	-0.24	-0.20	-0.09	-0.05
Signs (Asian Language)	0.68	0.29	1.00	0.13	-0.05	-0.21	0.26	-0.02
Visibility (AAPI)	0.12	0.06	0.13	1.00	-0.09	-0.07	-0.05	-0.37
Business (Latino)	-0.02	-0.24	-0.05	-0.09	1.00	0.33	0.44	0.07
Composition (Latino)	-0.30	-0.20	-0.21	-0.07	0.33	1.00	0.27	0.11
Signs (Spanish)	0.07	-0.09	0.26	-0.05	0.44	0.27	1.00	0.09
Visibility (Latino)	-0.04	-0.05	-0.02	-0.37	0.07	0.11	0.09	1.00

As expected, the results in Table 4.18 confirm the relationships are in the expected direction. The perceived and image measured variables for AAPI visibility and Latino visibility are positively correlated with one another but negatively correlated between the two types. The correlations, however, are not super strong. To better understand this relationship, I conducted a series of linear models where I regressed each of the perceived outcomes (businesses, composition, and signs) on the image based measure of ethnic visibility.

Figure 4.9 shows the results for each linear model. The x-axis shows the imaged based precinct level AAPI visibility. The y-axis is the responses from the self-reported questions. Each panel shows one of the three self-reported measures. The left panel shows a positive relationship between AAPI businesses and AAPI visibility, suggesting that as areas

increase in AAPI visibility, respondents are more likely to report more Asian businesses and restaurants. Interestingly, there is no relationship between visibility and AAPI composition. In the context of CA-34, this makes sense since even areas like Koreatown, which is rich in AAPI visibility are mostly composed of Latino residents. This shows the precision of residents to estimate their surroundings accurately. Finally, the last panel shows a positive relationship between AAPI visibility and Asian language signs. In general, these results suggest that residents are responsive to ethnic visibility in the environmental context.

Figure 4.9: Perception of AAPI Ethnic Visibility in CA 34

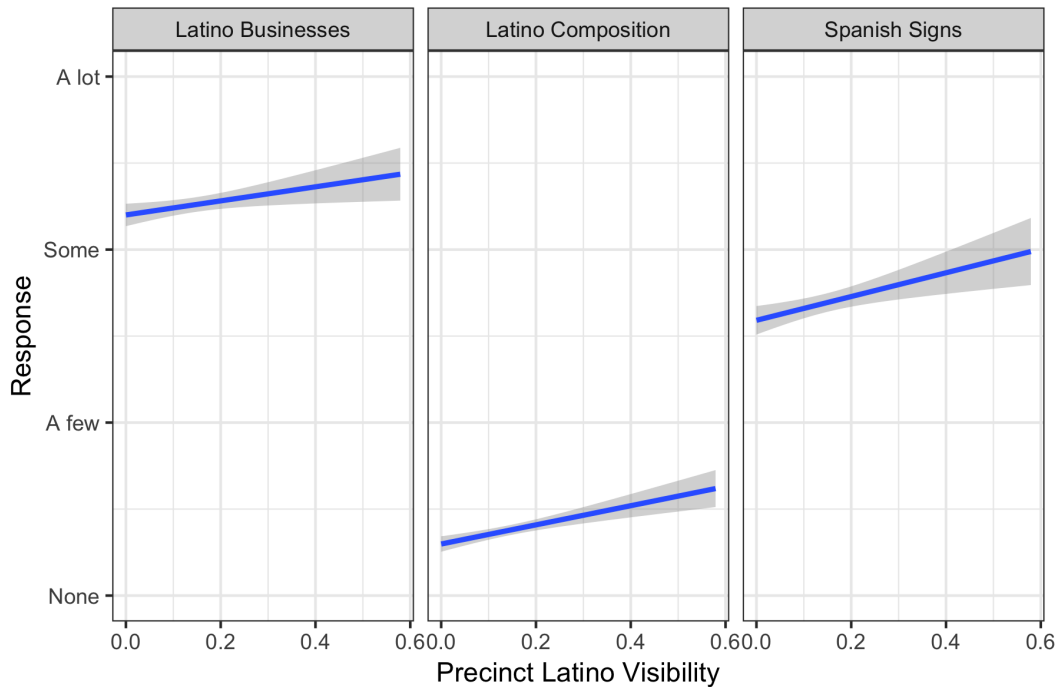


*Notes: This figure shows a bivariate model predicting three self-reported ethnic visibility measures (AAPI businesses, AAPI composition, and Asian language signs) based on the image based measure of precinct AAPI visibility obtained from the streetview images. Source: CA 34 Voter Survey.*

Figure 4.10 shows the relationship between my image based measure of Latino visibility and the self-reported components. The first panel shows a weak but positive association between Latino businesses and restaurants and Latino visibility. Unlike Figure 4.9, there is a positive association with Latino visibility and Latino composition, suggesting that people who live in areas with greater visibility also report more Latinos living in the area. The last panel shows a positive association between Latino visibility and signs in Spanish, one of the

key parts of Latino visibility.

Figure 4.10: Perception of Latino Ethnic Visibility in CA 34



*Notes: This figure shows a bivariate model predicting three self-reported ethnic visibility measures (Latino businesses, Latino composition, and Spanish language signs) based on the image based measure of precinct Latino visibility obtained from the streetview images. Source: CA 34 Voter Survey.*

The results in Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 show that residents are responsive to ethnic visibility across the environmental context. In areas with greater ethnic visibility, respondents are more likely to report exposure to aspects of ethnic visibility such as foreign language signs and ethnic businesses. These findings provide strong evidence of a critical underlying assumption.

### 4.6.3 Is Ethnic Visibility Related to Group Attachment

Above, I showed that neighborhood voters are responsive to the variation in neighborhood-level ethnic visibility. While I had confirmed that respondents could detect the ethnic cues and stimuli of neighborhoods in the last chapter, the test above showed that variation in perceptions of several factors that undergird ethnic visibility are positively related to the measure I created. In other words, those results show that residents are aware of their

surroundings and they can recall information about those surroundings by likely changing the associative link that individuals use when making decisions and engaging in categorization.

In this section, I conduct a second test linking ethnic visibility to group attachment, building off work in an earlier chapter. Here, however, I use the original survey data I collected in CA-34 to test these links. In the survey, I asked each Latino and AAPI respondent eight identity questions. In the first block, I asked respondents about their pan-ethnic/pan-racial identity with the following questions:

- **Question 1:** How much is being [GROUP] an important part of how you see yourself?
- **Question 2:** How much does your doing well have to do with other [GROUP] also doing well?
- **Question 3:** How much of a problem is discrimination against [GROUP] in today's society?
- **Question 4:** How important do you think it is for [GROUP] in the United States to work together politically in order to increase their status in society?

I also asked a national origin component, where I replaced the pan-ethnic/pan-racial group with one's self-reported national origin group. Here I used the following questions:

- **Question 1 (National Origin):** How much is being [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] an important part of how you see yourself?
- **Question 2 (National Origin):** How much does your doing well have to do with other [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] also doing well?
- **Question 3 (National Origin):** How much of a problem is discrimination against [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] in today's society?
- **Question 4 (National Origin):** How important do you think it is for [NAT ORIGIN/NAT ORIGIN-AMERICAN] in the United States to work together politically in order to increase their status in society?

The order of these two questions blocks was randomized. 50% of the respondents answered the pan-ethnic/pan-racial questions first followed by the national origin question. The other half answered the blocks in the reverse order. Each of these is coded such that higher values indicate stronger group attachment.

I used the image based measure of ethnic visibility that I had gathered earlier from each electoral precinct and merged it in with the individual respondent information.<sup>12</sup> Ethnic visibility is the key independent variable of interest. I also adjust for age, education (college), U.S. Born, female, Democrat, and conservative ideology. I modeled the identity outcome using a linear model with robust standard errors. Instead of presenting tables for each outcome (16 tables), Figure 4.11 which shows the marginal effect of a min to max change in the ethnic visibility for each of the eight outcomes. These estimates were obtained through bootstrap where I re-sampled the data with replacement (number of boots = 10,000).

The results in Figure 4.11 show supportive but weak findings for an association between ethnic visibility and group-based attachments. For AAPI, shown in the top panel, all but one of the results is in the expected direction (perceived national origin discrimination). Measures like identity centrality, both in terms of pan-racial and national origin are positively related, suggesting that living in precincts with more AAPI ethnic visibility is associated with feeling that being AAPI and one's national origin is an integral part of how they see themselves. For AAPI, many of the other outcomes are positively related to variation in ethnic visibility.

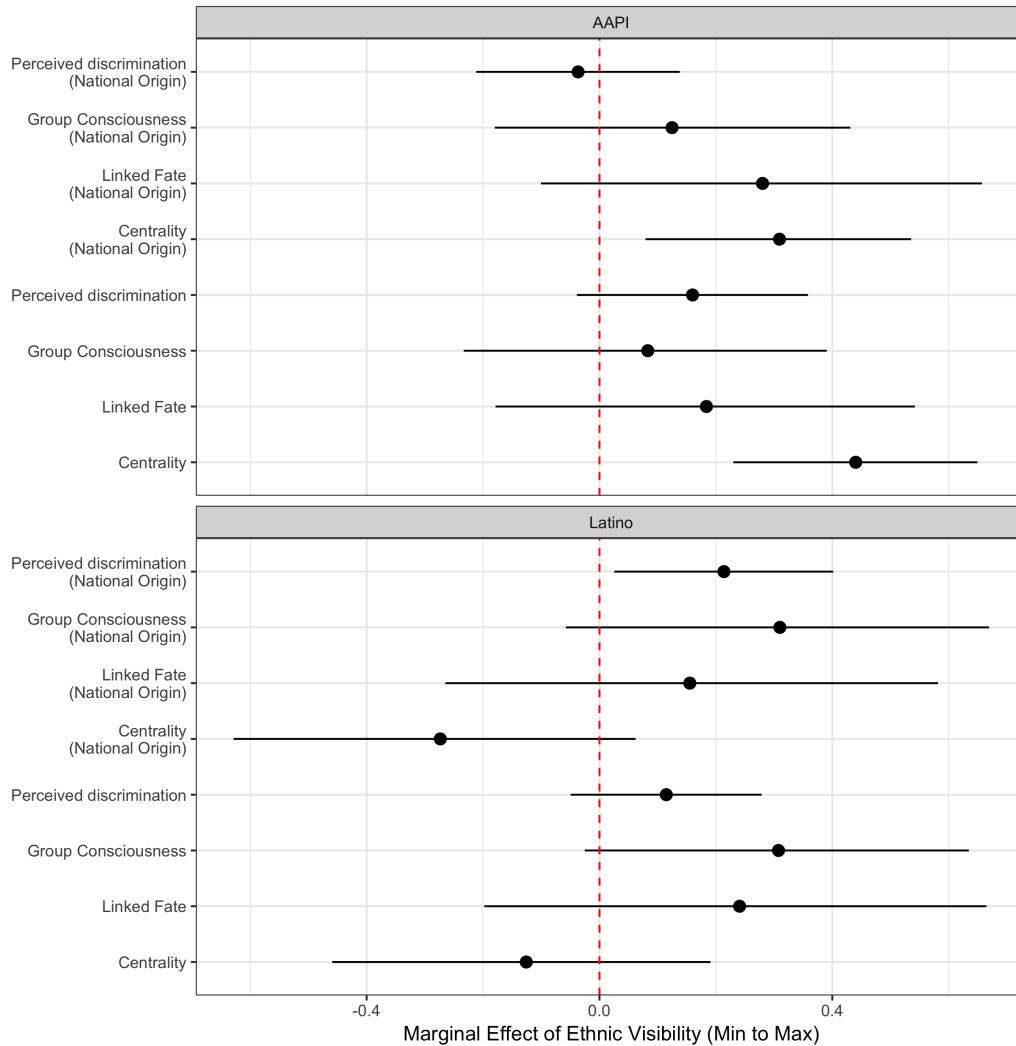
In the second panel of Figure 4.11, I show the results among Latinos. Here we see a similar pattern. In general, most of the identity-based outcomes are positively related to ethnic visibility as predicted by the theory. There are two outcomes, pan-ethnic centrality and national origin centrality, which are both negatively related to Latino ethnic visibility. This result is particularly surprising since the identity centrality variable is the most “social psychology” based measure of attachment that I examine. However, in CA-34, registered voters in areas with denser Latino visibility are less likely to perceive a group based attach-

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<sup>12</sup>All precincts were collapsed such that partial (split) precincts, those with alphabetic characters after the precincts were removed and collapsed. This is consistent with the approach that I used in the data gathering process to collect the images as well.



Figure 4.11: Marginal Effect of Ethnic Visibility in CA 34



*This figure shows the marginal effect of ethnic visibility on different measures of group attachment for registered voters in CA-34. I obtained the results by taking a min to max change in ethnic visibility across 10,000 bootstrapped samples. The bands show 90% confidence intervals. Source: CA 34 Voter Survey*

ment. I consider this finding in detail shortly, but before that, I consider the remainder of the results. Aside from the two negative results, the remainder of the identity-based outcomes are positively related to ethnic visibility. Exposure to ethnic visibility is positively related to both group consciousness and linked fate, two important measures of group attachment that are associated with more political outcomes as much of the work in political science shows (Dawson 1994; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Sanchez 2006b;a).

Above, I showed that there was a negative relationship between ethnic visibility and

identity centrality for Latinos living in CA-34 and that this was surprising as it went against the expected predictions. This finding is the opposite of what I showed in Chapter 3, where I showed that the ethnic visibility treatment conditions caused an increase in group attachment among Latinos. In that chapter, both linked fate and identity centrality increased the strength of group attachment. These mixed results across the two studies should not be interpreted as conflicting, however. For one, voters in CA-34 are in a unique context, as Los Angeles is home to one of the largest Latino populations in the U.S. Because of this, residents have created an entire city richly infused with a wide variety of ethnic stimuli and cues across the cityscape. Because of this and consistent with my theory that continued exposure to ethnically rich environments is related to group attachment.

## 4.7 Conclusion

This chapter began to structure the connection between identity and politics, a link that is critically important in understanding the conditions under which context, identity, and politics are all connected. In this chapter, I showed that group identities are connected to politics through one's environmental context. I did this by returning to a canonical political science question about ethnic voting. Much of this literature has shown that co-ethnic voters are often supportive of co-ethnic candidates. This result suggests that the link between voter and candidate is often structured around the importance of the ethnic group and how ethnic candidates are intimately linked with ethnic voters. Yet, to show the relationship, the majority of the work has been confronted with three major limitations.

First, much of the work has been limited in types of elections analyzed. Because partisanship is such a pervasive factor in vote choice, scholars have been forced to examine either non-partisan elections or partisan primaries as a way to “control” for partisanship. Non-partisans elections are generally municipal or local level. This means that general elections for Congress, Senate, and other statewide officers have been outside of the possible universe of elections to study. Second, most of the elections used to analyze ethnic voting have been mono-ethnic, meaning that one ethnic candidate faces a non-ethnic candidate.

Besides, the electoral contexts are also bifurcated along similar lines. What is missing from this work are electoral contests that feature multi-ethnic candidates in multi-ethnic contexts. Finally, the operationalization of ethnic commitment has been structured along a sense of group-based attachment, yet the measure used since Goodman and Arrow (1953) has been to use the proportion of ethnic members within a district to understand ethnic voting behaviors.

This chapter studies two electoral contests that overcome all three of these limitations by examining two recent U.S. House races where both candidates in the general election were non-white. Furthermore, the racial and ethnic composition of the district had large areas with a sizable number of non-white, co-ethnic voters. The most important contribution of this chapter, however, comes from the development and measurement of ethnic visibility, a measure that I created that helps us better understand the ethnic attachment at the local level. Chapter 3 showed that environment context was important in structuring perceptions of group attachment. In this chapter, I take that logic one step further and develop a novel measure of ethnic visibility within the environmental context.

This new measure is developed by gathering and classifying thousands of neighborhood-level streetview images. I then use these neighborhood-level images to develop an ethnic visibility score for each precinct in the two congressional districts I examine. I use this measure as a predictor of candidate support, suggesting that the measure of ethnic visibility helps explain unexplained variation in typical ethnic voting models, which rely on the proportion of co-ethnics in the district to model the ethnic voting behaviors. My measure of ethnic visibility, which I argue helps us better understand the mechanism behind ethnic voting, is a statistically significant predictor of ethnic voting. I show that areas high in Latino visibility are more supportive of Latino candidates and areas high in AAPI visibility are more supportive of AAPI candidates. Black visibility, however, is not linked to ethnic voting, for African American candidates.

The importance of ethnic visibility cannot be overstated. For nearly 60 years, scholars have relied entirely on the proportion of co-ethnics within a district to understand ethnic voting behavior. Instead, scholars have worked to use better models and advancements in modeling to better understand ethnic voting behaviors (King et al. 2004; King 1997). While these

advancements have helped understand this important phenomenon, these advancements have offered little in terms of advancing the theoretical aspects of ethnic voting, which often discuss the importance of attachment and identity (Parenti 1967; Wolfinger 1965; Barreto 2007). My approach presented in this chapter pushes a novel method to better understand ethnic voting is theoretically motivated and methodologically sophisticated.

The findings in this chapter also begin to shed light on the identity to politics link, which shows the conditions under which group based attachments are meaningfully connected to political outcomes. In the next chapter, I continue this discussion and I develop and test a theoretical framework for understanding when, where, and why identities matter for politics. In the chapter, I show that the *identity portfolio* framework provides a robust way to understand and unpack the identity to politics.

## Supporting Information

Table 4.19: Relationship Between Latino Visibility and Support for Barragan (Primary)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.18*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)
Latino Visibility	0.42*** (0.05)		0.21*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)
Pct Latino (pop)		0.19*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.23*** (0.03)
Pct Over 65				-0.05 (0.14)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.47*** (0.09)
Median HH Income				-0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.25	0.33	0.37	0.48
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.25	0.33	0.36	0.47
Num. obs.	288	286	286	286
RMSE	2.29	2.17	2.11	1.92

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 4.20: Relationship Between Latino Visibility and Support for Barragan (Runoff)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.45*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.04)
Latino Visibility	0.71*** (0.07)		0.17** (0.06)	0.20** (0.06)
Pct Latino (pop)		0.39*** (0.03)	0.35*** (0.03)	0.45*** (0.04)
Pct Over 65				-0.56* (0.24)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.80*** (0.13)
Median HH Income				-0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.48	0.49	0.55
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.48	0.48	0.55
Num. obs.	305	300	300	300
RMSE	3.95	3.25	3.23	3.03

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 4.21: Relationship Between Black Visibility and Support for Hall (Primary)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.40*** (0.01)	0.27*** (0.01)	0.27*** (0.01)	0.21*** (0.02)
Black Visibility	0.01 (0.05)		0.09* (0.04)	0.08*** (0.02)
Pct Black (pop)		0.60*** (0.03)	0.60*** (0.03)	0.60*** (0.03)
Pct Over 65				0.13 (0.18)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				-0.08 (0.09)
Median HH Income				0.00** (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.74	0.74	0.76
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.00	0.74	0.74	0.75
Num. obs.	288	286	286	286
RMSE	4.94	2.53	2.52	2.47

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 4.22: Relationship Between Black Visibility and Support for Hall (Runoff)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.48*** (0.01)	0.37*** (0.01)	0.36*** (0.01)	0.30*** (0.01)
Black Visibility	-0.01 (0.05)		0.06 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)
Pct Black (pop)		0.55*** (0.02)	0.55*** (0.02)	0.53*** (0.02)
Pct Over 65				0.17 (0.15)
Pct Over 25 w/ Degree				0.12 (0.08)
Median HH Income				0.00 (0.00)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.74	0.75	0.78
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-0.00	0.74	0.74	0.78
Num. obs.	305	300	300	300
RMSE	4.52	2.28	2.27	2.13

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

## CHAPTER 5

### How and Why Identities Matter for Politics: Unpacking The Identity Portfolio Theory

Group-based social identities are the result of a dynamic process that connects social and environmental contextual features with a set of beliefs and attitudes about oneself. Early adolescent experiences and family practices imprint a set of social identities that individuals remain linked to throughout life. Those identities, while not fixed or crystallized, continue to have impact on the maintenance of identity into one's later years, especially as the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli within one's environmental context change. Depending on the environmental context, the salience of groups and categories varies across space and across time. Environmental context provides a set of cues and stimuli that reinforce existing categorizations and sometimes highlights new categorizations. The interplay between early socialization experiences and contemporary environmental contextual cues structures the organization and strength of attachments to such groups throughout one's life. The collection of these identity categories is what I call one's *identity portfolio*.

While the idea of some collection of social identities is not new in political science or social psychology, existing work in political science in particular has struggled to map the identity to politics link across multiple identity categories. The identity portfolio theory and framework provides the missing link between a variety of social identity attachments and politics. The *identity portfolio* framework, first developed in Garcia-Rios et al. (2018) based of existing work in social psychology (Roccas and Brewer 2002) and comparative politics (Chandra 2012), provides a framework to understand the conditions under which identities will matter for politics. Identity politics and the construction of links between salient social identities and political behaviors and attitudes are not new in political science, however, most



of the work falls in the race and ethnic politics field (Dawson 1994; Gurin et al. 1980; Tate 1993; Sanchez 2006b;a) or in comparative politics (Posner 2005; Chandra 2012; Wimmer 2008).

More recently, the “identity politics” framework has been discussed a common feature of the American political system and mapped onto the polity as a whole rather than a way to understand the preferences and behaviors of minority groups (Green et al. 2004; Achen and Bartels 2016). What’s missing from all this work, and the key goal of this chapter, is a simple and parsimonious framework that provides a theoretical foundation and testable implications to understand a simple question: under what conditions do social identities matter for politics? More specifically, I am interested in the conditions under which racial and ethnic identities matter for politics. The goal of this chapter and the identity portfolio framework is around identities rather than a single identity. In fact, one of key contributions of this framework is how it does not privilege one social identity category, but rather considers *multiple social identity categories*. Considering multiple social identity categories is also not an afterthought or second order consideration, it is a key feature of the theoretical framework. This makes the identity portfolio framework very powerful and while I focus mostly on identity categories associated with racial and ethnic groups in the U.S., any such possible configuration of social categories can be considered.

As I have shown throughout this dissertation (and decades of work in social psychology shows), what matters most in linking social identities to outcomes of interest is the strength of the attachment to a social category rather than membership alone. Membership alone does not account for many of the group based behaviors such as in-group favoritism and out-group bias. For Asian Americans and Latinos, it is the strength of attachment to those groups rather than the membership in those groups that helps connect these identities to political outcomes (Pérez 2015b; Lee 2008; Dawson 1994). Despite this established link and the excellent work in the field, one puzzle still remains. How do other social identities or combinations of social identities matter for politics? Much of the existing work has focused on one identity at a time. This conceptualization of identity does not seem to fit the lived experiences of many individuals, especially racial and ethnic minority members who are not

only members of multiple groups but also exhibit considerable variation in attachment to other groups.

In this chapter, I develop the identity portfolio framework to help us understand this puzzle. While Garcia-Rios et al. (2018) outlined the initial points of this theory, I spend some time developing the framework to provide a tractable way to think about the role of social identities in politics. As I will show, the framework is not organized solely around racial and ethnic identities, however, racial and ethnic identities work well within the framework and remain the focus of the current project.

While I already touched on the identity portfolio theory in the first chapter, I begin with a more detailed theoretical development, drawing extensively from Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory. I then discuss some theoretical implications from the theory. I test these implications using recently collected public opinion survey data. However, as I show, the observational data is unable to provide compelling evidence regarding the mechanisms at work. To better understand the mechanisms, I design and develop a survey experiment, which allows me to test some observable implications. I analyze the results from the survey experiment to flush out the mechanisms behind the identity portfolio theory.

Using the findings from a large scale survey and experimental evidence, I show that the identity portfolio framework offers important insights into understanding the conditions under which identities matter for politics. During the 2016 election, I show that high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos were much less supportive of Donald Trump than similarly situated high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos. I argue that Trump's threatening rhetoric during the 2016 election focused on Mexico and Mexicans. Because of this, non-Mexican heritage Latinos worked to distance themselves from their Mexican counterparts. This distancing, however, was minimized by those who had a strong pan-ethnic attachment. I suggest that indirect threats have the potential to incite backlash among those highly identified in robustly related, but distinct social categories.

Using the experimental data from an original survey experiment, I find evidence that under threatening xenophobic conditions, high identifying Latinos evaluate political choices

very differently depending on the target of the threat. High identifying Latinos outside of direct threat will seek positive distinctiveness in a related but non-threatened identity category (usually one's national origin). However, under direct threat, high identifying Latinos maintain positive distinctiveness by working harder to maintain the positive status of the group under threat. The experimental evidence corroborates the findings from the survey data and provides a better test of the mechanisms at play. While these mechanisms have long been hypothesized in social psychology, they have not been tested within a political science framework where the source of the threat is a political elite. One reason for this is likely because no framework has existed that provides a tractable way to think about the entire operative set of social identity categories and how these identities can interact with one another, which is provided by the identity portfolio theory. I conclude the chapter by discussing the importance of and the consequences of the identity portfolio framework for contemporary politics in the United States.

## **5.1 Identity Portfolio Theory**

I use the term identity portfolio to refer to the collection of operative social identity categories that an individual can call upon. As social identity complexity teaches us, individuals hold many social identities and those identities change over time and across contexts (Roccas and Brewer 2002). Self-categorization, or the process by which people categorize themselves as parts of social identity categories (Turner et al. 1987), is not limited to one or two possible categories, but instead happens around any set of salient social identity categories confronted throughout one's life. These categorizations are part of an ongoing process that for most people is constantly updating and changing. Individuals grow out of some categorizations (little league player, student) and grow into others (spouse, partner, parent) depending on one's life experiences. The reason humans categorize is to make sense of the world, archive a sense of positive self-worth, and develop useful heuristics about the world that reduce the cognitive complexity that day-to-day life can bring (Kahneman 2011; Tajfel and Turner 1979)

Because of the vast possible identity configurations that can take place and that people can hold, many of which are distinct, yet can be robustly related, we need a tractable and structured framework to understand the political consequences of these identities and the corresponding identity configurations (Chandra 2012). Identity portfolio theory provides a straightforward way to theorize about the identity based political responses for individuals who identify with more than one social category. Latinos and Asian Americans, who both can possess and call on distinct yet robustly related social identity categories to make political decisions, are an ideal group to test this framework given the extensive variation of identity attachments within each of these groups. For Latinos and Asian Americans, the degree of identification to American, national origin, and pan-ethnic categories vary extensively as does the political importance of these categories in political decision making processes. In some cases, it could be one's national origin group and their identity attachment with that group that informs the response to a group based slight. Other times, it could be a shared pan-ethnic identity, that informs who they vote for when they cast a ballot. While the configurations are nearly indefinite, since other social categories such as gender, sexuality, profession, religious, partisanship, etc. can be salient social categories by which individuals make important decisions, the identity portfolio framework can be applied to understand under what conditions identities within a portfolio matter for political outcomes. I focus on ethnic and racial identities in this dissertation, but this framework can be expanded applied to include other areas.

An identity portfolio is very similar to a financial portfolio and thinking through a toy example about a financial portfolio is helpful for understanding this concept. First, a portfolio belongs to the individual and no two portfolios are exactly alike. Social identity categories are similar to the common stock of a publicly traded company. The salience of an identity category is proportional to its weight held in the portfolio, just like we would see in a financial portfolio.

Let's say individual A has a financial portfolio which only contains 10,000 shares of stock XYZ and each share is valued at \$1.00. Individual B has a portfolio with 50 different companies and owns 200 shares of each company (which are also valued at \$1.00 each for

simplicity). One of those 50 companies, one is XYZ. So we have two individuals: A has \$10,000.00 in XYZ and B as \$200.00 in XYZ. For some reason, XYZ loses 4% of its value in a trading day. With all their investments XYZ, person A loses \$400.00, 4% of their total assets under investment. On the other hand, person B, who only had \$200.00 in XYZ loses \$3.00 and if we assume for simplicity that all other 49 stocks remain the same, their overall value has been reduced to \$9,994.00 as opposed to person A whose portfolio is now at \$9,600.00. Person B's portfolio has only decreased 0.06%, hardly noticeable overall despite an identical shock to company XYZ.

My contention is that person A will be a lot more aware of the shock to the overall value of the portfolio compared to person B. If we replaced companies with an identity category, we can quickly see how person A's self-worth is much more connected to their sole identity category and thus should be much more reactive to the shock than person B, whose identity was much less connected to XYZ (Ellemers et al. 1999; 2002; Pérez 2015b). Assuming both person A and person B are Latino and the shock is not a loss in value to stock, but the devaluing of the group from a political elite, it is easy to see how person A would be much more likely to follow the political response predicted by social psychology and work to better the group since that group is valuable to their self-image (Ellemers et al. 1999; Pérez 2015b). As an almost non-identifier, person B's response would be to disassociate from the group, or perhaps close the XYZ position and expand positions in other holdings since their derive relatively little self-worth from the identity. So it is not to say that the shock does not impact both individuals, but rather to think about the predicted response from the individual conditional on the shock and the attachment to the underlying group.

The identity portfolio framework is adapted from the social identity complexity work in social psychology (Roccas and Brewer 2002) as well as work in comparative politics that has examined identity repertoires (Posner 2004; 2005; Chandra 2012). The work in social identity complexity maps out the possible identity configurations and demonstrates that individuals possess multiple social identities. In practical application, especially with Latinos and Asian Americans, we know this is the case. For Latinos and Asian Americans, national origin, American, and pan-ethnic identities have always been part of the American social

and political landscape, and they are increasingly common and important in a multicultural America. Political science, however, has yet to fully map out the identity-to-politics link for such complex identity structures, which constantly vary across time (Garcia-Rios 2015) and contexts (Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a). Most of the existing work tends to focus on a single identity within one's portfolio at a time. I suggest that the identity portfolio framework can help link identities to politics in a systematic way.

The key test of the identity portfolio theory that I present in this chapter is based on how individuals respond to instances of threatening rhetoric from political elites to one of the social identity categories held in their identity portfolio conditional on their attachment to the various social identity categories. As I noted earlier, the response to this elite-driven threat is conditioned by two factors: 1) the target of the threat and 2) the configuration of one's social identities within their identity portfolio.

Elite driven threats, under this framework, can either be direct, indirect, or unrelated. Direct threats are those threats targeted directly at a social identity category within one's identity portfolio. These threats are called out and focused directly on one social identity category. Trump's threats towards Mexico and Mexican heritage Latinos are an example of a direct threat. Calling out Mexico and Mexicans directly targeted those of Mexican heritage and Mexican nationality.

On the other hand, indirect threats are directed towards social identity categories that are not necessarily within one's identity portfolio but are towards a category that is shared between the group threatened and the group not threatened. In the current example, Latinos and the Latino social identity category consists of a diverse group of individuals who trace their origin to Spain and/or a number of Latin American countries. Asian Americans are very similar in this regard. The social category of Mexican is part of the larger Latino category, but not all Latinos are of Mexican heritage. It is within this intra-ethnic space that I expect to see and predict variation in how an individual responds to indirect threatening discourse. In other words, Trump's threatening rhetoric towards Mexicans was not directly targeting Latinos, but rather this was indirect as Mexicans living in the U.S. are also Latinos. Other non-Mexican heritage Latinos, were not directly threatened, but indirectly threatened. Of

course, the response to the indirect threat is conditional on the attachment to the shared category, in this case Latino. Unrelated threats are those that have no effect on an individual since the social identity category under threat does not exist within one's portfolio.

The second important point relates to the configuration of one's identity portfolio and the ways in which attachments to social categories are already structured. Those with high levels of attachment will behave differently than those with low levels of attachment (Ellemers et al. 1999). However, using the identity portfolio framework, we can consider the attachment to multiple social identity categories at the same time. This is especially important for Latinos, who have complex identity portfolios given that variation in attachment on at least two axes: 1) the pan-ethnic group and 2) one's national origin group. Because of this, responses to xenophobic threat do not follow a simple two outcome path, but instead are the result of many working pieces. Fortunately, the identity portfolio framework will help us consider these working pieces.

In terms of threat, whether indirect or direct, in this dissertation, I focus on a specific type of threat: xenophobic threat from political elites. Although the identity portfolio theory is broad and can accommodate any group based devaluation (Ellemers et al. 1999; 2002; 1997; Branscombe et al. 1999; Tajfel and Turner 1979), my focus here is on mapping the link between multiple social identity categories and politics. This means that I focus my attention on threatening discourse and rhetoric from political elites since I am interested in how identity attachment are connected to political responses. Since I am focused on Latinos and Asian Americans, I also focus specifically on xenophobic based threats, those that are often directed at Latinos, Asian Americans, other other minority community members. These identities and the threats from xenophobic rhetoric are already linked to various political outcomes and behaviors (Pérez 2015a;b; Dawson 1994; Sanchez 2006a;b; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Masuoka 2006).

I also focus on one's attachment to the pan-ethnic group and one's attachment to their national origin group. While these are only two of the many possible salient social categories in one's identity portfolio, the focus of this dissertation is on racial and ethnic identities and existing work has highlighted the role of racial and ethnic identities in understanding

Table 5.1: Identity Portfolio Dimensions Among Latinos

	Weak Nat-Origin	Strong Nat-Origin
Weak Pan-Ethnic	?	?
Strong Pan-Ethnic	?	?

political behaviors and attitudes. Focusing on these two social categories instantly doubles the number of possible attachments under consideration. While existing work has focused on one dimension, here I focus on two dimensions that may be robustly related, but are distinct social categories in one’s identity portfolio. Table 5.1 shows a simple  $2 \times 2$  table of the cells that must be considered when thinking about how social identity categories are related.

Existing work tells us that while the variation in attachment is important, what matters most in understanding the conditions under which identities matter for politics is whether someone has a strong or weak attachment to a social category. The point of this chapter, and dissertation as a whole, is not to determine the cut-point at which a weak attachment is no longer weak or the cut-point at which one has a strong attachment. Assuming that these variations measured on an ordered scale are truly represented by an underlying latent attachment say,  $y^*$ , to a social identity category is all that is needed. For both theoretical purposes and ease of presentation/analyses, I separate individuals into those who are strongly attached and those who are weakly attached.

This brings us back to Table 5.1, which shows the  $2 \times 2$  of possible configuration on each dimension. Along the rows, I consider one’s pan-ethnic attachment, which is how strongly they are connected to the larger pan-ethnic group. This is generally measured with a linked fate type variable, but newer work is considering centrality of identity measures towards the pan-ethnic group. The columns show one’s national origin attachment. Again the linked fate measure has been adapted to fit this, but sometimes scholars use a centrality based identity measure. Regardless of the exact measures, this table outlines simple configuration of possible identity categorizations in one’s identity portfolio. The cells are now filled with question marks because it’s not immediately clear what the predicted political outcomes in the light of xenophobic rhetoric would be given the different possible configurations.



Table 5.2: One Dimension of Identity Predictions Given Xenophobic Rhetoric

	Response
Weak Identity	<i>Disengaged</i>
Strong Identity	<i>Work to maintain</i>

Compared to Table 5.2, which shows the political response in light of xenophobic rhetoric given the strength of one’s group based attachment (Pérez 2015b; Ellemers et al. 1997).

Between Tables 5.1 and 5.2, the only obvious prediction from one dimension to two dimension is those in the *weak national origin* and *weak pan-ethnic* cell, where I expect this group to be the most disengaged in the face of xenophobic threat, regardless of the target. Other than that, it is not immediately clear how individuals with different possible configuration will respond to xenophobic rhetoric, especially since the remaining cells each contain *at least one strong attachment*, which we know is linked to predictable political behaviors in the face of threat.

With the added social category dimension, we are also forced to now consider the target of the threat. In the existing work, threat or group devaluation was usually thought of in the same dimension as the identity category and thus a threat to that category would be evaluated conditional on the strength of attachment to that category. With the added social category dimension, the target of the threat must be considered along with the social categories under consideration. In some ways, this feature was implicit in the single dimension designs as they assumed that other identities were likely orthogonal to the one under interested and thus have no bearing on whether or not an individual was strongly or weakly identified on the category of interest. Instead, the identity portfolio framework I present considers other social identity categories explicitly. It also considers the responses given variation in attachment (between Table 5.1) and the direction or target of the threats.

The identity portfolio theory holds that responses to instances of group devaluation are conditional on target of the group devaluation, the strength of attachment to that category, the strength of attachment to other social identity categories, and the relationship between those other categories not directly threatened. If, as assumed in the one dimensional frame-

work, other social identity categories are indeed orthogonal to the category under threat, the attachment to those groups has little or no bearing on the attachment to group under threat. While this could be true, it does not seem to be the case often, especially in the case of Latinos and AAPI, where one's pan-ethnic group and one's national origin group are so robustly related. Sure these social identity categories may be distinct, but they are very closely related and the boundaries of the categories often blur. It would be naive to think or say otherwise. Fortunately, the identity portfolio considers this, given its attention to the relationship between the two categories.

In terms of theoretical implications, I predict that the political response given xenophobic threat is condition on the target of the threat and one's identity portfolio configuration. Among those directly threatened, I expect to see high identifiers (those who are strongly attached to the group being threatened) work to maintain a positive self image by maintaining the positive distinctiveness of the group (Pérez 2015b; Ellemers et al. 1997). However, for those outside of the direct threat, I expect their reaction to be moderated by the strength of attachment to the robustly related group. Those who are not faced with direct group based slight but are strongly identified with a group that is robustly related to the group under direct threat will engage in behaviors that work to maintain the positive distinctiveness of the group outside of direct threat. However, these engagements are unlikely to be as strong as those who are directly threatened with a strong attachment to the group. For those under indirect threat with a weak sense of attachment to the robustly related group but a strong attachment to another group, I expect them to double down on their attachment to the other group as the way of maintaining a positive self image. Finally, those who have weak attachment across the categories are predicted to be disengaged since these individuals do not derive any sense of self-worth or positive self-image from these groups.

To test the identity portfolio framework, I rely on two empirical tests. The first comes a large-N public opinion survey fielded in 2016/2017 following the 2016 election. The second comes from a survey experiment I conducted where I aimed to test some of the key implications of social identity theory. Using specific examples helps to better understand the moving parts of the theory. As such, I make a concerted effort to walk the reader through

identity portfolio framework continuously since some of the empirical implications are not immediately clear from the description above and work best in the context of a real-world example.

## **5.2 Identity Portfolios in the 2016 Election**

On June 16, 2015, Donald J. Trump announced his presidential candidacy. In his speech, Trump said, “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists.” This incendiary and xenophobic rhetoric surrounding Mexicans, in particular, continued throughout the campaign. Because much of Trump’s rhetoric was specifically anti-Mexican rather than anti-immigrant or anti-Latino, I sought to understand the political impact of this rhetoric on the Latino community as a whole, focusing on the distinction between Mexican heritage Latinos and non-Mexican heritage Latinos. In other words, was the political response different among Latinos who trace their heritage to different national origin identities as I would expect from the identity portfolio framework.

Whether or not Trump meant Latinos and Latino immigrants as a whole, his language repeatedly focused on Mexico and Mexican heritage Latinos. Given the explicit anti-Mexican nature of Trump’s rhetoric in the context of the 2016 election, I expect non-Mexican Latinos to distance themselves from their Mexican heritage counterparts as a way of maintaining positive self-worth. This process of movement is a classic tenet within social identity theory. As Tajfel and Turner (1979) write, “low status may tend, in conditions of unsatisfactory social identity, to promote the widespread adoption of individual mobility strategies, or at least initial attempts to make use of these strategies” (44). In other words, non-Mexican heritage Latinos, who have a connection Mexican heritage Latinos through being Latino, could diminish the strength of attachment towards other Latinos and Mexican heritage Latinos in the wake of the attacks by focusing their attention to their national origin identity, which is not Mexican and not Latino per se. This individual act of movement has been

overlooked in the literature because racial and ethnic boundaries are quite rigid and would not allow movement between groups. However, the identity portfolio framework allows us to envision conditions where intra-group movement is possible and consistent with the basic tenets of the social identity perspective. Unable to move to higher status groups, Mexican heritage Latinos, as the direct recipients of the threat, could not escape the attack as easily. Among this group, we should expect to see a strong pro-group response pushing back against the divisive rhetoric (Pérez 2015b). For some, mainly more acculturated (i.e., third and greater generation), individual movement to protect one's self-worth would show up in the case of adoption of an American identity. While this identity is not excluded to immigrants, those who feel like they belong more to the American polity should be more likely to maintain positive self-worth by distancing from an immigrant and/or ethnic identity and cultivating a more American based central identity (Ocampo, nd).

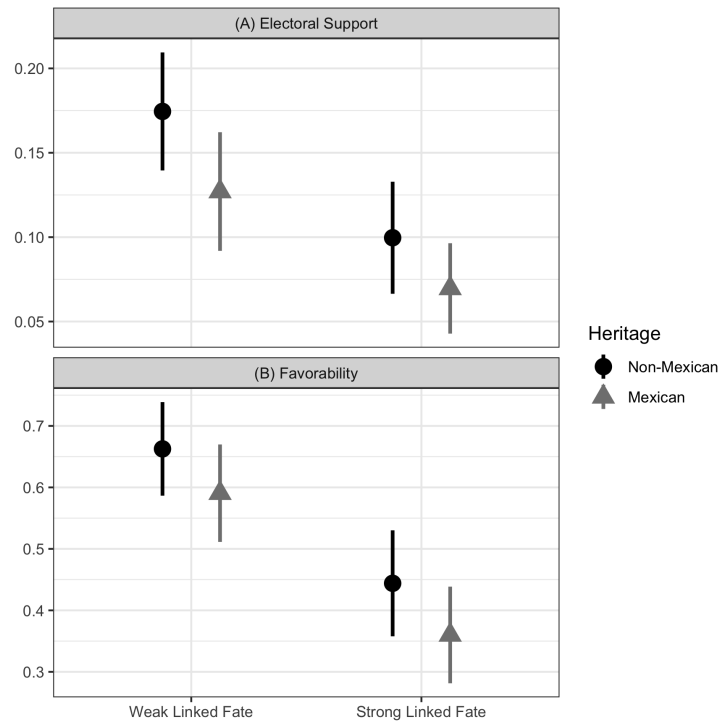
Trump directly threatened Mexican heritage Latinos by calling out Mexicans heritage Latinos and Latinos during many of his campaign events and through his rhetorical appeals. In particular, the focus on the wall between Mexico and the United States, brought constant attention during the campaign to Mexico. While it is entirely possible and even likely that Trump's rhetoric and xenophobic appeals were directed towards immigrants and Latinos as a whole, the specific appeals focused on Mexico and Mexicans.

Because Trump's xenophobic rhetoric was directed towards Mexico and Mexican heritage Latinos, I predict that the electoral support and favorability towards Trump will be moderated by Mexican heritage and strength of group attachment. I expect high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos to more forcefully reject Trump compared to high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos. But, I also expect this relationship to be moderated by strength of attachment to the Latino category, especially for non-Mexican heritage Latinos.

### **5.2.1 How Identity Portfolios Matter in 2016: Results from the CMPS**

I first examine the results in Figure 5.2, which shows the predicted probability of electoral support and favorability for Trump between Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Lati-

Figure 5.1: Predicted Probability of Trump Electoral Support and Favorability Given Strength of Group Identity



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted probability of reporting a very unfavorable view towards Trump (Panel B) or the probability of electoral support for Trump (Panel A). All control variables are at the mean value. 95% confidence intervals. Source: 2016 CMPS.*

nos across weak and strong perceptions of group identity. The results in figure suggest that Mexican heritage Latinos had lower levels of electoral support and favorability towards Trump. Even Mexican heritage Latinos those with weak linked fate still showed lower levels of support and favorability towards Trump, which also suggest that the xenophobic appeals towards Mexican during Trump’s campaign were particularly salient among the Mexican heritage Latinos.

Given the focus on Mexico and Mexicans, the identity portfolio framework would suggest that Mexican heritage Latinos should be more forceful opponents against Trump than non-Mexican heritage Latinos, but this should only matter among those who are strongly identified (Pérez 2015b). This is because one of the ways to maintain a positive self worth when one’s group worth is impugned is to move to a higher status group, something that

is more “possible” for non-Mexican heritage Latinos. Within the U.S., racial and ethnic group boundaries are quite rigid, meaning that intra-group movement is outside the realm of possibilities. However, inter-group movement is less constrained, suggesting that under the Latino umbrella, attachment to one’s national origin group versus the pan-ethnic groups is not heavily policed.

To test this, I specify a model where I regress attitudes towards Trump on an interaction between one’s heritage (Mexican = 1, else = 0) and strength of national origin identity (1 - 4). This is slightly different than the model above and is a better test of the identity portfolio theory. Above, I simply used linked fate, or a measure of a pan-ethnic attachment (Sanchez and Masuoka 2010; Wilcox-Archuleta 2018a). However, I argued earlier that individuals have multiple attachments and given the nature Trump’s directed xenophobic rhetoric, the attachment to one’s national origin offers a stronger way to test the identity portfolio framework, especially since this model controls for linked fate since it is included as a covariate. The results from the regression are in Table 5.3 which also shows the other control variables in the model.

I present these results in Figure 5.2. In Panel (A) I show the predicted level of electoral support, which was asked to registered voters and non-registered as well. On the x-axis is the strength of national origin identity, separating those with strong attachment to their national origin group with those with a weak attachment. As predicted, Figure 5.2, Panel (A) shows that strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos are much less likely to support Trump than their non-Mexican heritage counterparts. Panel (B) shows the predicted level of favorability towards Trump from the CMPS respondents. Mirroring the results in Panel (A), the results show that strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos (gray triangles) are predicted to have lower levels of favorability towards Trump than non-Mexican heritage Latinos.

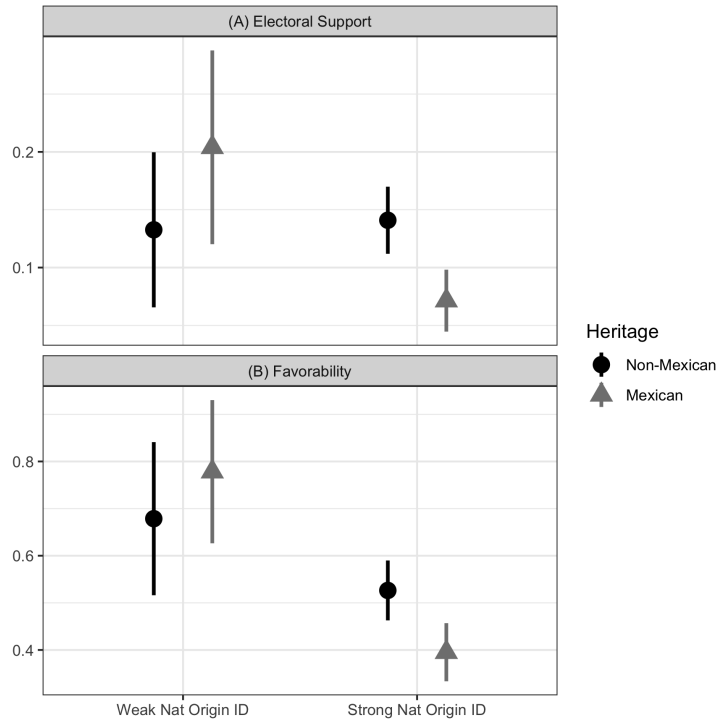
This is strong observational evidence showing that there is a distinct difference in how Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos assessed and supported Trump in the 2016 election. The results here are also consistent with the identity portfolio framework as I had predicted that Trump’s attention towards Mexico and Mexicans in many of his campaign appeals and speeches had a differential impact on Latinos conditional on their national origin

Table 5.3: The Relationship Between Identity Portfolios and Attitudes/Support Toward Trump

	Electoral Support For Trump	Trump Favorability
(Intercept)	0.34*** (0.07)	1.65*** (0.16)
National Origin ID	0.00 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.03)
Mexican	0.12 (0.08)	0.18 (0.15)
Generation	0.04*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Cuban	0.12* (0.05)	0.25** (0.09)
Light Skin Color	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.05)
Linked Fate	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.02)
Liberal Scale	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.18*** (0.02)
Political Interest	0.03** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)
Age	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Female	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.09* (0.04)
Low-Income	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.05)
Medium-Income	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.05)
Missing-Income	0.01 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.07)
College	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.11** (0.04)
National ID X Mexican	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.44*** (0.04)
Democrat	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.08 (0.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.17
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.16
Num. obs.	2512	2431
RMSE	0.26	0.79

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Figure 5.2: Predicted Probability of Trump Electoral Support and Favorability given Identity Strength and National Origin Heritage



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted probability of reporting a very unfavorable view towards Trump (Panel B) and the probability of electoral support for Trump (Panel A) based on model including an interaction between national origin heritage and strength of group attachment. All control variables are at the mean value. Predictions are based on regressions from the models presented in Table 5.3. 95% confidence intervals. Source: 2016 CMPS.*

heritage.

Continuing with the observational data, I now consider the role of linked fate explicitly within the identity portfolio framework. Looking at the regression results in Table 5.3, we see that linked fate is negatively associated with support for Trump and favorability towards Trump, even when considering the one's national origin heritage and strength of national origin attachment. In earlier models, I included linked fate, but set the level at mean value during the post estimation prediction, which does not allow me to understand how variation in linked fate is related to outcome conditional on the other variables in the model. Figure 5.1 shows how variation in pan-ethnic identity (as measured by linked fate) impacts attitudes and support towards Trump. Figure 5.1 is four small multiples. The columns split the



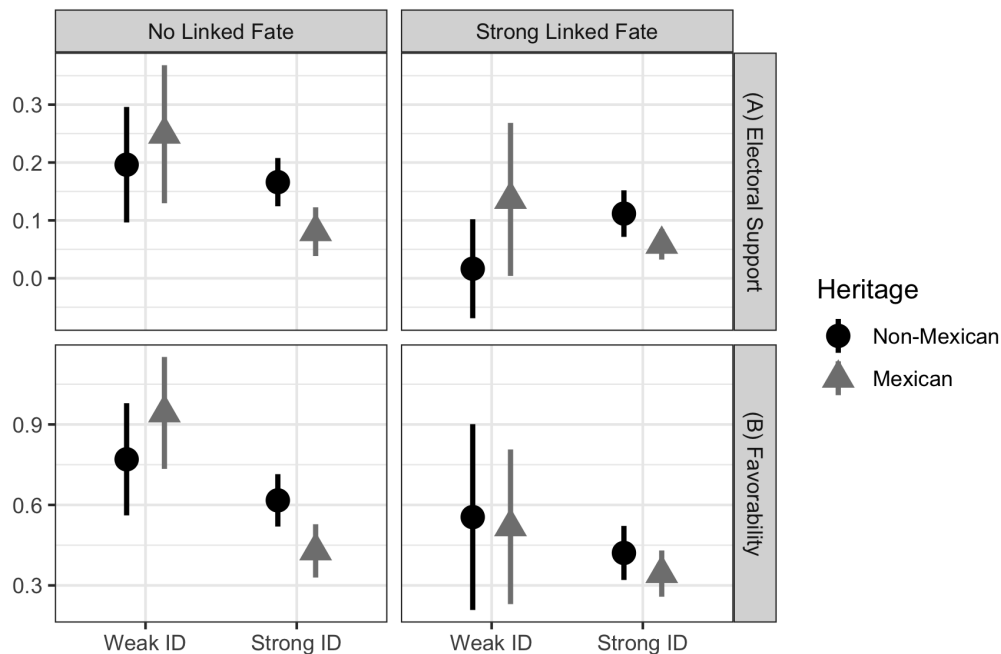
responses into those with no linked fate and those with strong levels of linked fate. The rows of the figure are the two different outcomes variables of interest. The x-axis shows the level of national origin attachment and varies between weak and strong. Since the identity categories are not mutually exclusive there are  $2^2 = 4$  possible identity configurations (weak national origin and weak pan-ethnic, strong national origin and weak pan-ethnic, weak national origin and strong pan-ethnic, strong national origin and strong pan-ethnic).

My prediction, based off the identity portfolio theory, suggests that non-Mexican heritage Latinos who are strongly attached to their national origin group will reject Trump less than their Mexican heritage counterparts given the ability to achieve a positive self image through their national origin group. But I also expect this to be the case among those with high pan-ethnic identity (linked fate), since these individuals will be also under threat, since Mexico and Mexicans are “Latino”. While the threat towards this group is less direct, I expect the salience of one’s national origin to increase especially among those who have a weak pan-ethnic identity.

The results in Figure 5.1 show support for these predictions. As expected, we see consistently that strong ID non-Mexican heritage Latinos tend to be slightly more favorable and more supportive of Trump than strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos and this pattern is apparent among both those with weak pan-ethnic identity and those with a stronger sense of pan-ethnic identity.

To get a better idea of the difference between Mexican heritage Latinos and non-Mexican heritage Latinos with strong identity, Figure 5.4 presents the marginal effect of Mexican heritage given various pan-ethnic attachments. The points in this figure were obtained from a bootstrap produce where I calculated the marginal effects across 10,000 bootstrapped samples where I varied Mexican heritage and level of pan-ethnic (linked fate) identity across the conditions. The results here confirm my expectation and show that strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos consistently have lower favorability and lower levels of electoral support than strong ID non-Mexican heritage Latinos. While the marginal effects in Figure 5.4 are all in the predicted direction, the 95% confidence for Trump favorability among those with strong linked fate crosses zero.

Figure 5.3: Predicted Probability of Trump Electoral Support and Favorability given Identity Strength, National Origin Heritage, and Linked Fate

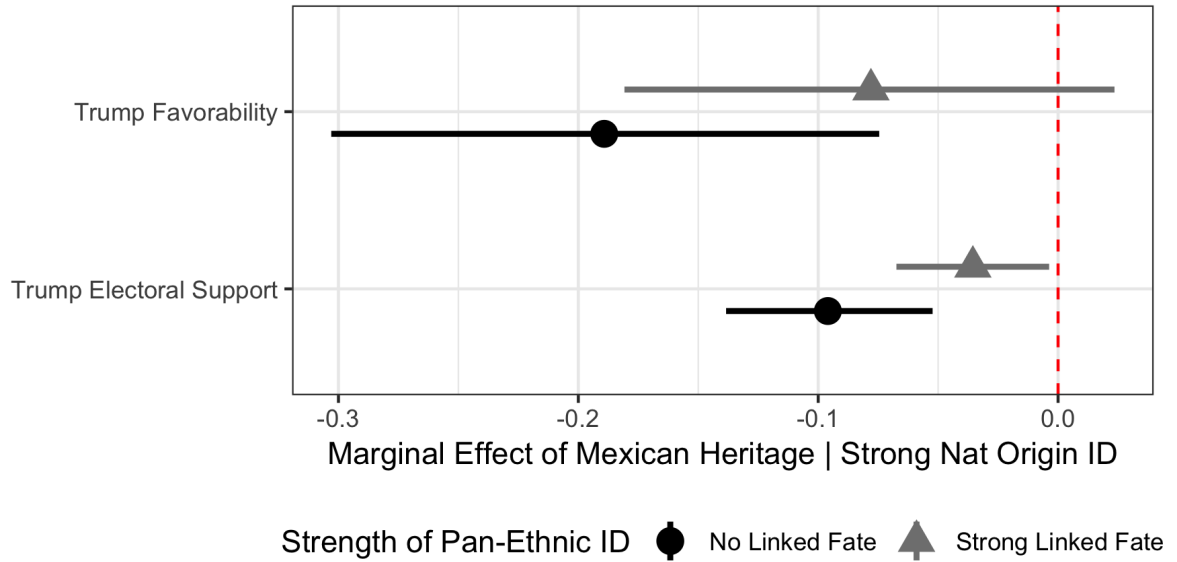


Notes: This figure shows the predicted probability of reporting a very unfavorable view towards Trump or the probability of electoral support for Trump given pan-ethnic identity strength (linked fate), national origin (Mexican heritage vs. non-Mexican heritage), and strength of national origin attachment. All control variables are at the mean value. 95% confidence intervals. Source: 2016 CMPS.

The results in Figure 5.4 also show another key prediction of the identity portfolio theory. As the figure shows, the marginal effect of Mexican heritage among those with strong linked fate (gray triangles) is smaller than those who have no sense of pan-ethnic attachment. As I discussed above, the response is conditional on the importance of other distinct but robustly related identities. Here, non-Mexican heritage Latinos who have a strong attachment to the larger pan-ethnic group *and* their national origin group are less supportive and have less favorable attitudes towards Trump than non-Mexican heritage Latinos with a weak sense of pan-ethnic identity *and* strong national origin identity.

Figure 5.5 reports the size of this difference from a series of bootstraps. Here I am reporting the difference in the predicted difference between weak and strong linked fate among Mexican and non-Mexican Heritage Latinos. In other words, we can think of these

Figure 5.4: Marginal Effect of Mexican Heritage Given Change in Linked Fate



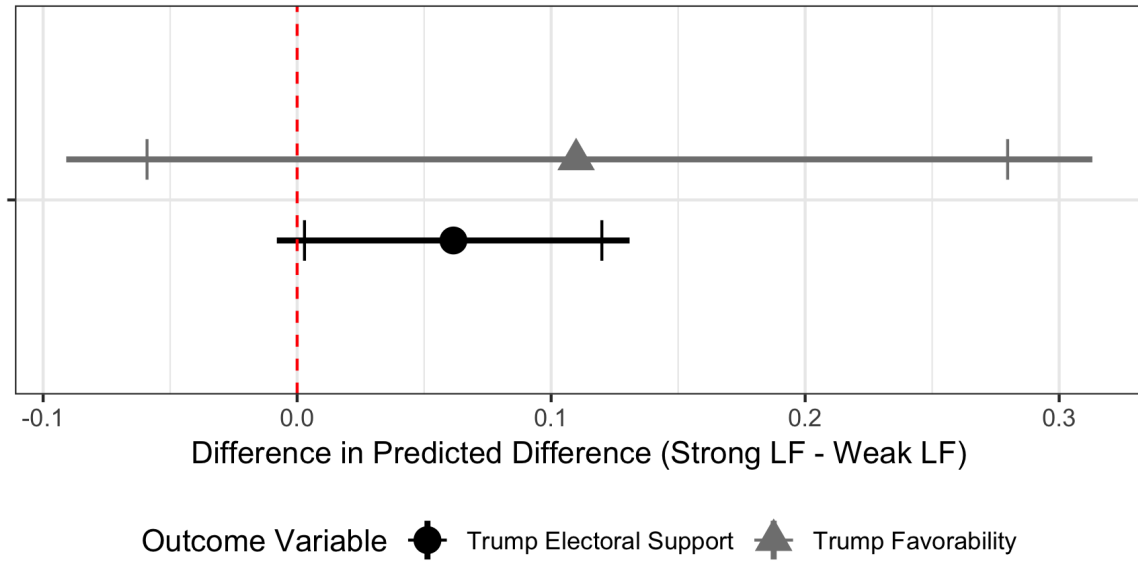
*Notes: This figure shows the marginal effect of Mexican heritage among Latinos with strong national origin identity across weak and strong pan-ethnic group identity (linked fate) on levels of favorability towards Trump and electoral support of Trump. All control variables are at the mean value. 95% confidence intervals. Source: 2016 CMPS.*

values as how much a strong sense of linked fate matters in the outcomes of interest.

Values greater than zero show that those with strong linked fate have a smaller difference between Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos. Values smaller than zero would suggest a larger difference. As the results show, both differences are positive, which again suggest that there is a smaller difference in outcomes among those with strong linked fate as opposed to those with weak linked fate. We saw this in Figure 5.4, but the results in Figure 5.5 provide an idea of the size and level of uncertainty around the estimate. In terms of electoral support, the results suggest a difference of 0.06, 90%CI[0.120, 0.002].

We can interpret this as Latinos with strong linked fate are .06 points less likely to support Trump than Latinos with weak linked fate. In other words, Trump's xenophobic appeals during 2016 lost him .06 percentage points among non-Mexican heritage Latinos with both strong linked fate and strong national origin identity. In terms of favorability, the difference in difference is 0.110, 90%CI[0.280, -0.059] suggesting that there non-Mexican

Figure 5.5: Marginal Effect of Strong Linked Fate (Difference in Difference)



*Notes: This figure shows the marginal effect of linked fate (strong linked fate - weak linked fate) for Trump favorability and electoral support for Trump. These values represent the difference in predicted difference of linked fate between Mexican heritage Latinos given strong national origin attachment. All other control variables are at the mean value. Solid line is 95% confidence interval and error bar is 90% confidence interval. Results obtained through 10,000 bootstraps. Source: 2016 CMPS.*

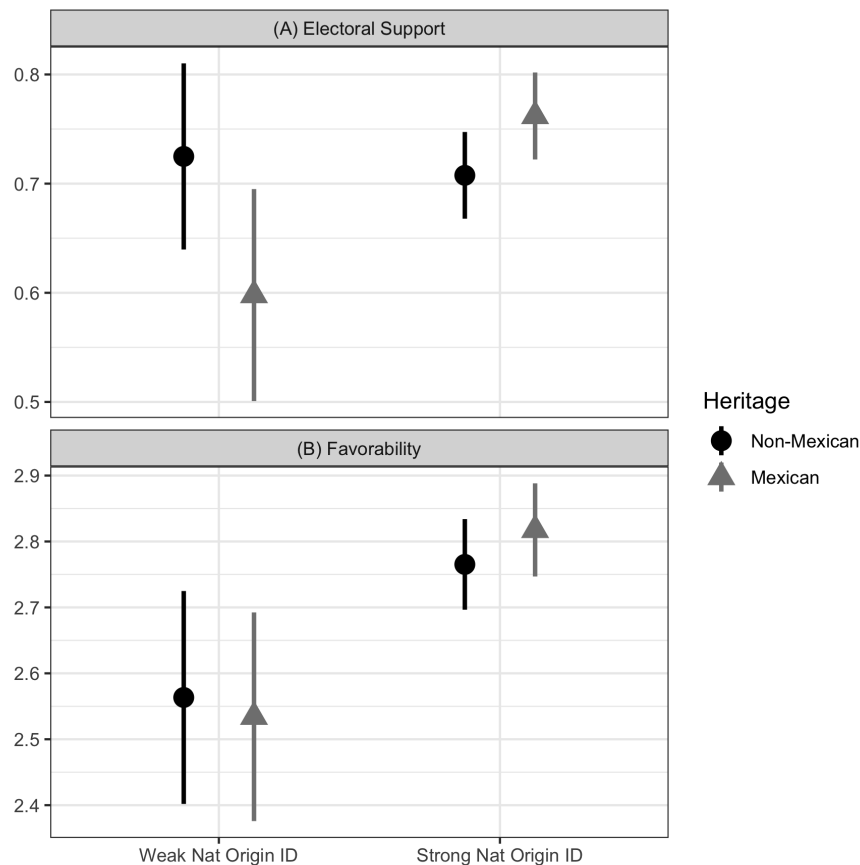
heritage Latinos with strong pan-ethnic identity and strong national origin identity have lower levels of favorability towards Trump than their weak pan-ethnic and strong national origin identity counterparts.

### 5.2.2 Robustness Checks

The results above show that strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos are less supportive of Trump than their non-Mexican heritage counterparts. However, it could be the case that Mexican heritage Latinos are different in other ways and their attitudes towards political figures are indeed distinct or related to some other concern. Here I present evidence that the difference we see is not due to systematic features or characteristics of Mexican heritage Latinos, but rather directly related to Trump and the Mexican-centric xenophobic rhetoric he espoused during the 2016 presidential campaign.

I begin by looking levels of electoral support and favorability towards former Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton. If Mexican heritage Latinos are distinct from their non-Mexican counterparts, we could expect to see a differential pattern towards other political elites, most notably Hilary Clinton as she was the 2016 Democratic presidential nominee. Figure 5.6 shows there is no difference between high identifying Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos in both overall levels of favorability and electoral support. Table 5.6 in the supporting information shows the results from a linear regression used to predict the predicted favorability and electoral support for Clinton shown in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Predicted Probability of Clinton Electoral Support and Favorability given Identity Strength and National Origin Heritage



Notes: This figure shows the predicted probability of reporting a very unfavorable view towards Clinton (Panel B) and the probability of electoral support for Trump (Panel A). All control variables are at the mean value. Predictions are based on regressions from the models presented in Table 5.6. 95% confidence intervals. Source: 2016 CMPS.

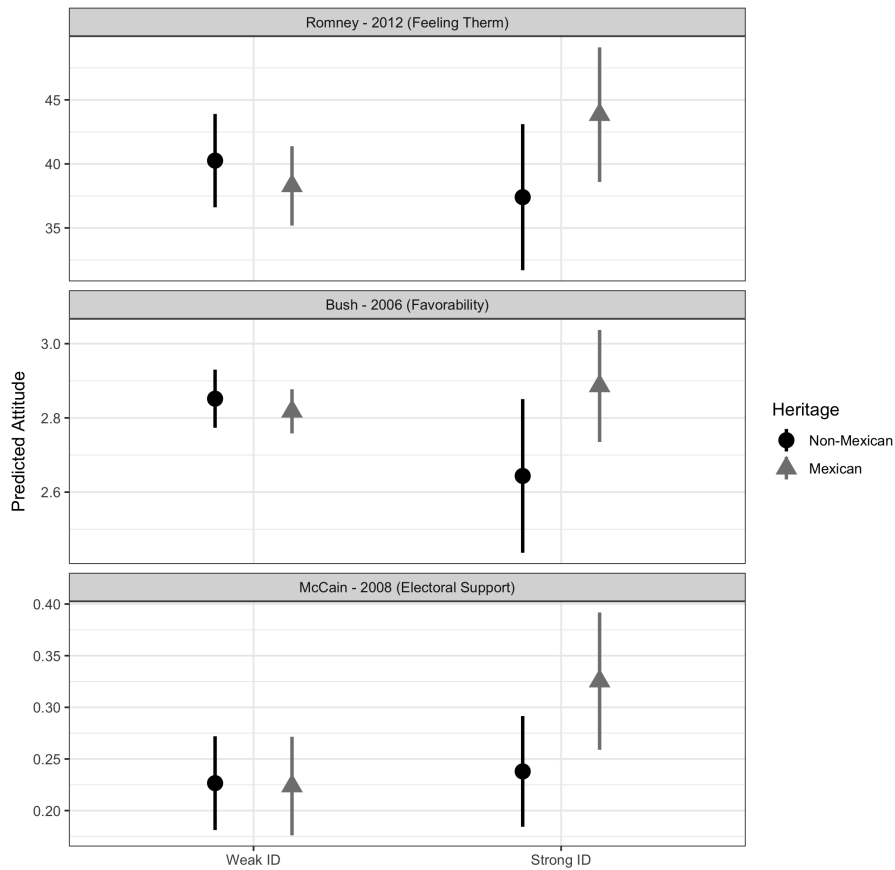
I next consider the possibility that attitudes towards Trump in 2016 just part of a larger pattern of Mexican heritage Latinos' attitudes towards Republican elected officials. To test this, I examined attitudes towards the Mitt Romney in 2012, John McCain in 2008, and George W. Bush in 2006. Since each of these comes from different data sources, I try to match the models as close as possible. Of course, the same questions were not asked across all three additional surveys, but I did my best to recreate similar models. Each of the models contains a measure of identity and whether the respondent is Mexican heritage as well as control variables. I present these results in Figure 5.7, which shows that in previous time periods, Mexican heritage Latinos are not significantly less likely to support or favor Republicans. Table 5.7 shows the regression tables for each regression.

If anything, the results in Figure 5.7 show the opposite, and show that Mexican heritage Latinos are slightly more supportive of Republican presidential candidates and a Republican president in office. If this is the case, Trump's rhetoric was especially appalling to the Mexican heritage community. However, given the differences in model and variables, I do not consider the findings to strongly support that claim. Rather, this test was to assess whether Mexican heritage Latinos consistently punished Republican candidates. As the results show, the evidence does not support this claim.

### **5.3 A Dictator Game to Test Identity Portfolios**

Figure 5.2 reports observational evidence to support my identity portfolio theory. However, one of the key untestable implications is that non-Mexican heritage Latinos with strong identity *moved* more towards their national origin group following the exposure to xenophobic rhetoric when non-Mexican heritage Latinos were not under direct threat. According to SIT, in the face of group devaluation where the group of the worth is impugned, people will respond in a way that maintains a positive self image. Weak identifiers, that is those who do not derive a positive self image from the group, will likely respond in a way that does not bolster the group and possibly dissociates themselves. Strong identifiers, on the other hand, derive a sense of self worth from the group and the group provides a positive self image. As

Figure 5.7: Predicted Attitudes Towards other Republican Elites



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted attitudes towards other Republican elites (Romney in 2012, Bush in 2006, and McCain in 2008). All control variables are at the mean value. Predictions are based on regressions from the models presented in Table. 95% confidence intervals. Sources: 2012 CMPS, 2008 CMPS, 2006 LNS.*

such, most of the research suggests that in the face of group devaluation, strong identifiers double-down, and work to maintain the positive status of the group, which thus provides the individual a positive self image (Pérez 2015b; Ellemers et al. 1999; 1997; Branscombe et al. 1999; Leach et al. 2008). However, another strategy to maintain a positive self image is to find and attach to a group that provides the positive self image (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Billig and Tajfel 1973). This is almost always a higher status group and one where the worth of the group is not being impugned. Simply put, to maintain a positive self-image, individuals can work to increase or maintain the positive distinctiveness of a group to which they are attached to *or* they can find another group that offers all the benefits derived from

group attachment and begin to categorize along those dimensions

Existing work in political science has moved toward the first strategy (Pérez 2015b) and while most scholars do not recognize social identity categories as fixed, they do understand that they are pervasive and quite rigid. This is especially the case in terms of racial and ethnic categories in the U.S. which are all impermeable given the racial hierarchy (Kim 1999; Masuoka and Junn 2013). Despite this rigidity, there is less work that has examined intra-group movement, which is more applicable to groups like Latinos and Asian Americans, who navigate an umbrella pan-ethnic identity and intragroup national origin identities. Most scholars have then considered and theorized regarding the association between one identity and an outcome of interest. Part of this is likely due to both measurement strategies and the theoretical frameworks that we use to understand the linked between one's social identity and a political outcome.

To test some of the underlying mechanisms associated with the identity portfolio theory, I design and implement an original survey experiment where I embed a dictator game. The use of the dictator game allows me to better understand the political and identity outcomes conditional on direct and indirect threat, which I am able to randomly assign. The survey was fielded from August 16, 2017 - September 1, 2017 on 338 Latinos with the survey firm Research Now.

### **5.3.1 Why a Dictator Game?**

The goal of my survey experiment is to test how strong identified individuals react to group devaluation. My hypothesis is that in the face of a group devaluation, strongly identified individuals will be more likely to seek an alternative group to provide a positive self-image.

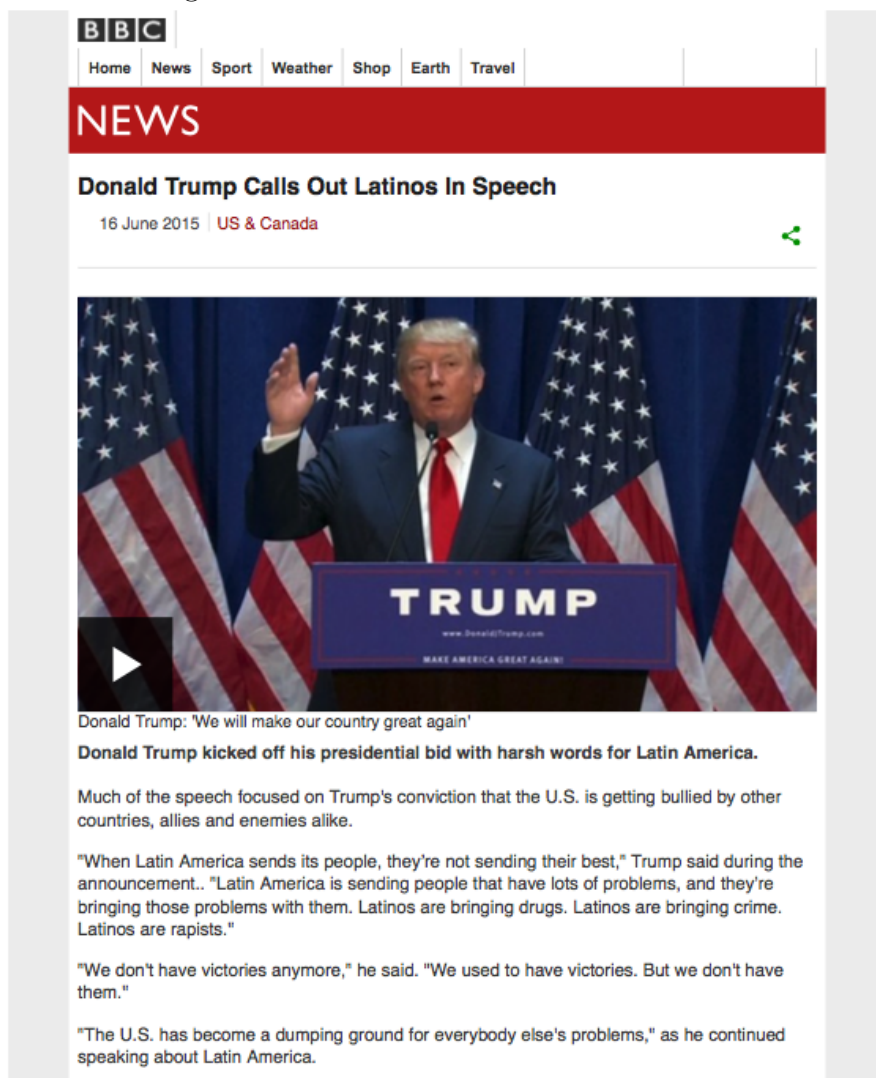
In the design, respondents are first asked a series of questions about their background and a baseline level of identity strength on multiple social identity categories. They are also asked a question aimed at understanding the strength between these social identity categories within their identity portfolio.

Respondents are then randomly assigned to one of three conditions and asked to read



a news article which contains the treatment. In condition 1, the news article contains xenophobic rhetoric that is targeted towards Latinos as a whole (Figure 5.8). In condition 2, the identical xenophobic rhetoric is targeted towards Mexicans (Figure 5.9). In condition 3, respondents read a news article about recycling to establish a control condition (Figure 5.10).

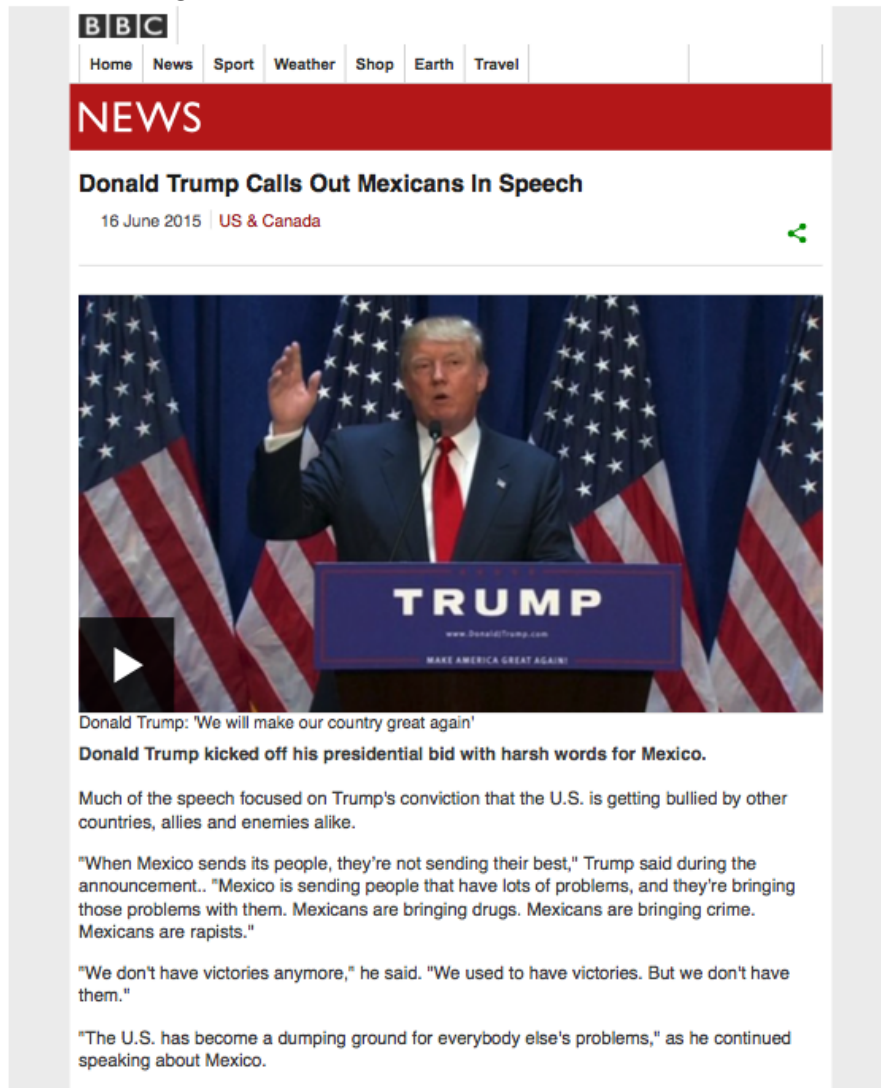
Figure 5.8: Treatment Condition 1: Latino



*Notes: This figure shows the Latino treatment condition where the threat is directed towards Latinos. Treatment was available in English (shown) and Spanish depending on the language the survey was taken in.*

Each of these treatments was available in both English and Spanish. And while there is some concern that this speech from Trump was so well known that, I did not find any

Figure 5.9: Treatment Condition 2: Mexican



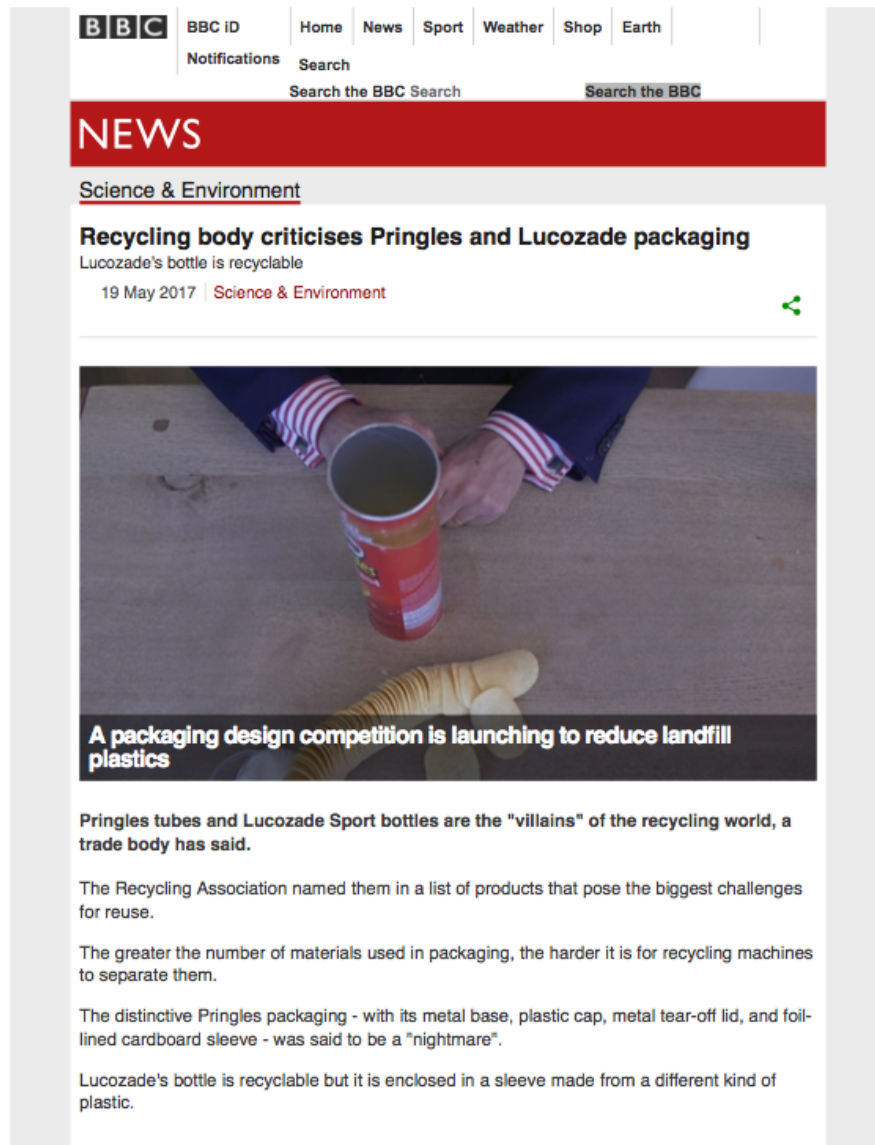
*Notes: This figure shows the Mexican treatment condition where the threat is directed towards Mexican. Treatment was available in English (shown) and Spanish depending on the language the survey was taken in.*

evidence of this. Following the treatment, I asked respondents to write about the article.<sup>1</sup> In the open ended responses, none of the 338 respondents voiced any concern of the credibility or authenticity of the manipulation. While I did not directly assess the believability of the article, my intuition is that Trump made so many xenophobic remarks during the campaign season, while people are likely familiar with this particular event, it is not clear that they are

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<sup>1</sup>The exact question wording: "In a few words or a sentence, what was the article you just read about." The open text box was provided.

Figure 5.10: Treatment Condition 3: Control



*Notes: This figure shows the control treatment condition where there is no threat. Treatment was available in English (shown) and Spanish depending on the language the survey was taken in.*

100% able to remember the exact wording that was said. Also, because this would weaken the treatment, the bias is likely against finding a detectable effect. Finally, to have some empirical tests, I also asked a few questions about news media and I can use these pre-treatment variables to help determine whether the manipulation was believed. To do this, I subset those who agreed with the statement that “People should keep up with the news to stay informed.” While imperfect, this is some leverage that those who agree are more likely

to be informed. Among those who are slightly more informed, I would expect them to be more likely to discover the manipulation and as a result, show weaker effects. I provide the results from this albeit imperfect test below, but I find that there are no differences between those who agree with that statement and other.

Following treatment, respondents were asked some basic questions about the article to be used as manipulation checks. Respondents were then asked a host of questions I plan to use as dependent variables. Here I asked about candidate favorability, political trust, feeling thermometers towards other groups and political parties, as well as hypothetical dictator game where respondents are given \$100.00 and asked to allocate the money to various organizations. The goal of this dictator style game is to re-measure the strength of identity among our respondents following the delivery of the treatment.

Dictator games, based on the more ubiquitous ultimatum game, are familiar in behavioral economics and have been adopted into the comparative politics literature for some time (see Engel (2011) for a review), but offer a useful extension here as I want to re-measure identity after it was measured pre-treatment. While asking the same identity question is likely the best way to understand whether a change in identity occurred, the short nature of the cross section and weak treatment are problematic. For one, respondents answered the identity question just a few moments prior and would likely try to remember what they said in order to be consistent. Second, while I have argued that identities are somewhat situational, it is unlikely that such a weak treatment would have a detectable effect in such a course outcome. If I were to use the same measure, I would need a very large sample to reliably detect any meaningful effect.

In the dictator game, the respondent's are given a hypothetical \$100.00 and asked to distribute those funds (in \$1.00 increments) according to their preferences. The possible choices include:

- **Non-Mexican Heritage Latinos**

- an organization benefiting Latinos living in the U.S.
- an organization benefiting Americans living in the U.S.

- an organization benefiting [National Origin Group] living in the U.S.
- an organization benefiting Mexicans living in the U.S.
- keeping the money for yourself.

- **Mexican Heritage Latinos<sup>2</sup>**

- an organization benefiting Latinos living in the U.S.
- an organization benefiting Americans living in the U.S.
- an organization benefiting [National Origin Group] living in the U.S.
- an organization benefiting Colombians living in the U.S.
- keeping the money for yourself.

Respondents allocated the hypothetical \$100.00 how they saw fit.

### 5.3.2 Results

In this section, I walk through a number of results from the survey experiment to better understand some of the empirical implications of the portfolio theory. Figure 5.11 shows the strongest test of the the identity portfolio framework and the extent to which individuals will strengthen attachments in another group in the face indirect threat. The figure shows the predicted donation preference towards a group benefiting one’s national origin among high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos given the respondent’s were exposed to the Mexican treatment condition compared to the Latino treatment condition. *National Origin Preference* is calculated by taking the amount donated to one’s national origin group and subtracting from it the amount donated to the threatened group in the treatment condition.<sup>3</sup>

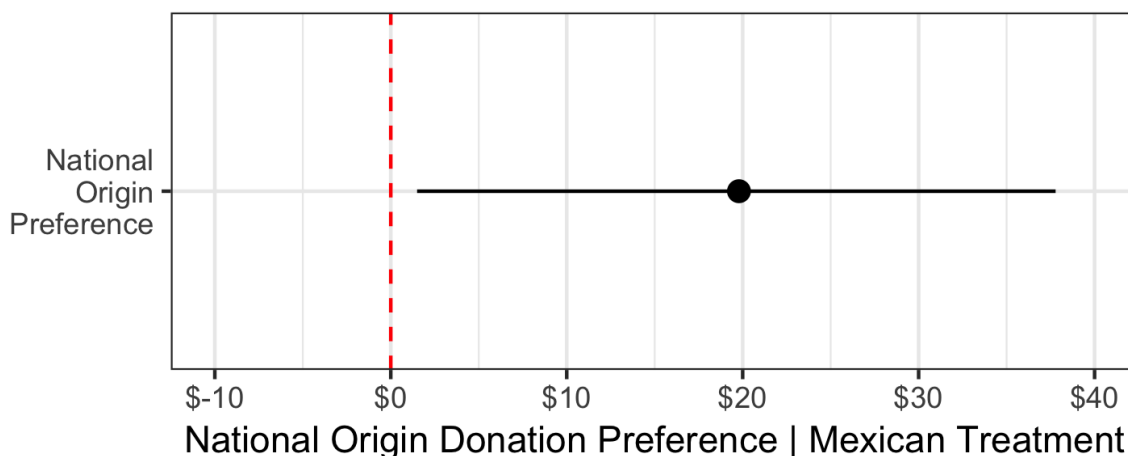
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<sup>2</sup>For Mexican heritage Latinos, the groups were slightly different since “An organization benefiting Mexican” was available for everyone. I substituted “An organization benefiting Colombians”, but only when respondents identified as Mexican heritage.

<sup>3</sup>Under the Mexican treatment condition, National Origin Preference = \$National Origin Organization - \$Mexican Organization. Under the Latino treatment condition: National Origin Preference = \$National Origin Organization - \$Latino Organization.

The findings in Figure 5.11 suggest that when Mexicans are directly threatened by a political elite, high identifying non-Mexicans become more supportive of their national origin than when Latinos are directly threatened by a political elite. The magnitude of this effect is \$20.04, 95% CI[2.06, 37.84], which is 20% of the total amount distributed.

Figure 5.11: Predicted National Origin Donation Preferences: Mexican And Latino



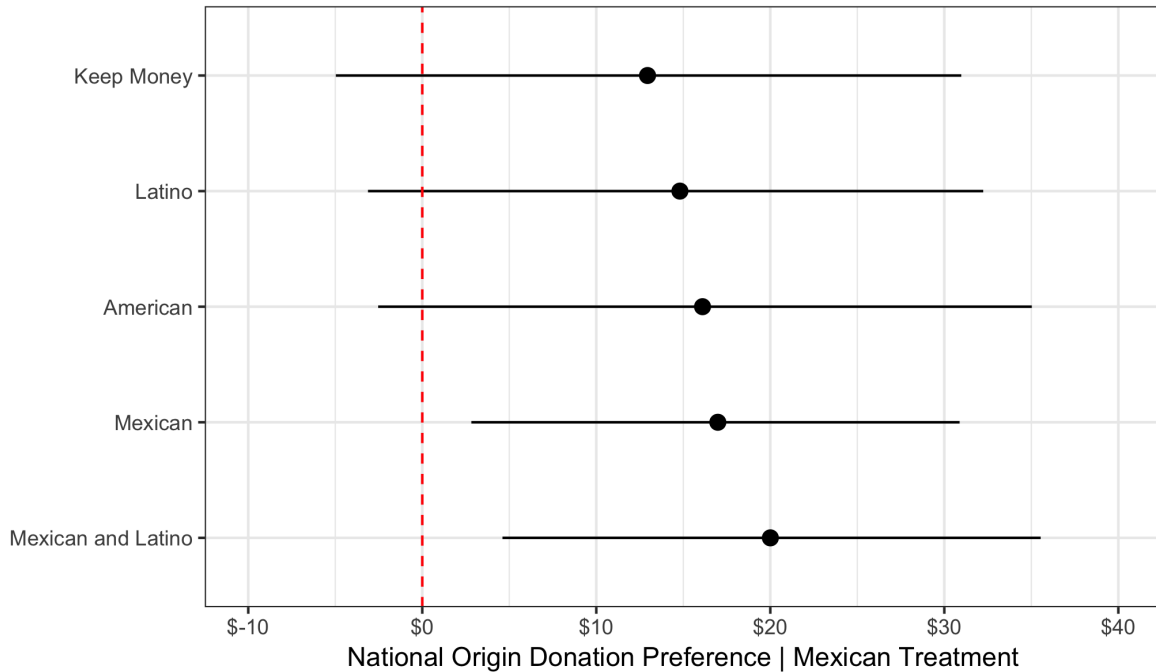
*Notes: This figure shows the donation preference to one's national origin group over Mexican and Latino groups given the Mexican treatment condition. Values were calculated using a bootstrap (n = 10,000). Bands shows 95% confidence interval. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

The results in Figure 5.11 confirm a key part of my identity portfolio theory. That in the face of indirect threat, that is threat to a related but distinct group, strong identifiers to the non-threatened group will provide stronger support to this group. To further explore this hypothesis, I change the donation reference group. Here I examine the level of national origin preference compared to other possible donations. These results are presented in Figure 5.12. Beginning from the bottom, I again plot the result from Figure 5.11 as a point of reference. Above the Mexican - Latino point is the predicted national origin preference with a Mexican origin as the reference group for both treatment conditions. Regardless of whether the respondent was in the Latino treatment condition or the Mexican treatment condition:  $National\ Origin\ Preference = \$National\ Origin\ Organization - \$Mexican\ Organization$ .

In some ways, this is a stronger test of the theory since it directly compares the national origin preference over Mexican organization regardless of the treatment condition. Here we

see that when exposed to the Mexican treatment condition, high identifying non-Mexican Latinos are predicted to give \$17.00, 95% CI[\$0.08, \$33.52] more to their national origin group than they would give to Mexican organizations.

Figure 5.12: Predicted National Origin Donation Preferences: All Groups



*Notes: This figure shows the donation preference to one's national origin group given the Mexican treatment condition. Each group on the y-axis is the comparison group, where national origin preference is determined by taking the \$ given to national origin groups - \$ given to [inserted] group. The Mexican and Latino point estimate is the same as shown in Figure 5.11. Values were calculated using a bootstrap ( $n = 10,000$ ). Band shows 95% confidence interval. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

Continuing upward, the next row shows no statistically distinct preference for one's national origin organization over organizations to benefit Americans. The next point shows no statistically distinct national origin preference conditional on treatment assignment for organization that benefit Latinos. While this result is positive (\$14.84, 95% CI[-\$6.68, \$35.80]) meaning that high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos exhibit a slight preference for their national origin over Latino organizations, but this difference is not predicated on whether locus of threat is towards Latinos or Mexicans. Finally, the last point in the figure shows that there is no difference conditional on treatment for keeping the money

for oneself (\$12.84 95% CI [-\$7.99, \$33.82]). This, along with the two significant findings earlier, is particularly helpful. This finding suggests that in the face of an indirect threat (Mexican treatment condition), high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos are not statistically more likely to keep the money for themselves. In other words, it does not appear to be about individual benefit under the face of threat. These results provide additional supporting evidence that the location of threat matters.

In a related test, instead of comparing the difference between the Mexican treatment condition and the Latino treatment condition, I compare the experimental conditions to the recycling control condition. I present these results in Figure 5.13. As we saw before, all of these results are show the predicted national origin preference over other possible organizations among high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos. The gray triangles show predicted difference when respondents are exposed to the Latino treatment condition compared to the recycling control condition and the solid black circles show the predicted difference when respondents are exposed to the Mexican treatment condition compared to the recycling control condition. I also present the values from graph in Table 5.4.

The results in the figure continue to provide support for the identity portfolio framework. Beginning at the bottom, which shows the national origin preference over Mexican and Latino organizations conditional on the treatment status.<sup>4</sup> Under the Mexican treatment condition (black circles), non-Mexican heritage Latinos are significantly more likely to donate to their national origin organization compared to a Latino organization under the control condition. As predicted, when the treatment condition threatens Latinos, there is not a significant difference in the donation to one's national origin group over the Mexican organization (treatment) or Latino organization (control).

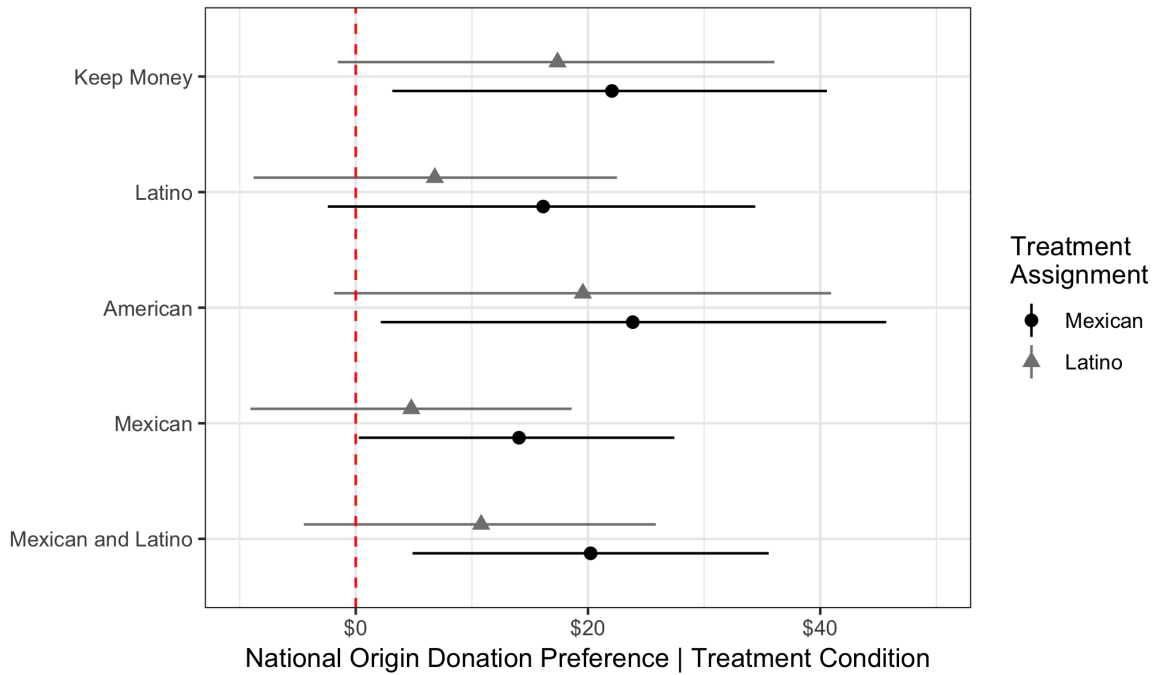
The better test in this case compares the national origin preference against the same

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<sup>4</sup>As a reminder, here I calculated the outgroup based on the treatment status. When treatment assignment is "Mexican" National Origin Preference = \$National origin organization - \$ Mexican organization in the experiment condition and National Origin Preference = \$National origin organization - \$ Latino organization in the control condition. When treatment assignment is "Latino" National Origin Preference = \$National origin organization - \$ Mexican organization in the experiment condition and National Origin Preference = \$National origin organization - \$ Latino organization in the control condition.



Figure 5.13: Predicted National Origin Donation Preferences: Mexican vs. Control



Notes: This figure shows the donation preference to one's national origin group given Mexican or Latino treatment condition (vs. control condition). Each group on the y-axis is the comparison group, where national origin preference is determined by taking the \$ given to national origin groups - \$ given to [inserted] group. Values were calculated using a bootstrap ( $n = 10,000$ ). Bands show 90% confidence interval. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018

baseline organization. When the base organization is Mexican, we see that non-Mexican heritage Latinos are more likely to donate more to their national origin than to Mexican groups *only when the threat is directed at Mexicans*. In other words, when the threat is directed towards Latinos, non-Mexican heritage Latinos are not more likely to donate to their national origin organization over Mexican organization, but when the threat is directed towards Mexicans, non-Mexican heritage Latinos are doubling down on their national organization.

This finding is exactly what was predicted, based off the insights from social identity theory. When it is possible, non-Mexican Latino respondents sought support and positive distinctiveness in their national origin group when Mexican heritage Latinos were directly threatened, since that threat was indirect. Since it was indirect, it became possible for this group to achieve a positive self-image by developing stronger attachments to a distinct social

Table 5.4: Predicted National Origin Donation Preferences

Treatment Condition	Baseline Organization	Predicted Donation (\$)	Lower CI (\$)	Upper CI (\$)
Mexican	Mexican and Latino	20.10	4.62	35.17
Mexican	American	24.01	2.30	45.55
Mexican	Latino	16.10	-2.46	34.17
Mexican	Mexican	14.07	0.34	27.49
Mexican	You	21.87	3.17	40.61
Latino	Mexican and Latino	10.83	-4.15	25.84
Latino	American	19.28	-2.15	40.57
Latino	Latino	6.58	-9.11	22.03
Latino	Mexican	4.81	-8.94	18.61
Latino	You	17.25	-0.78	35.62

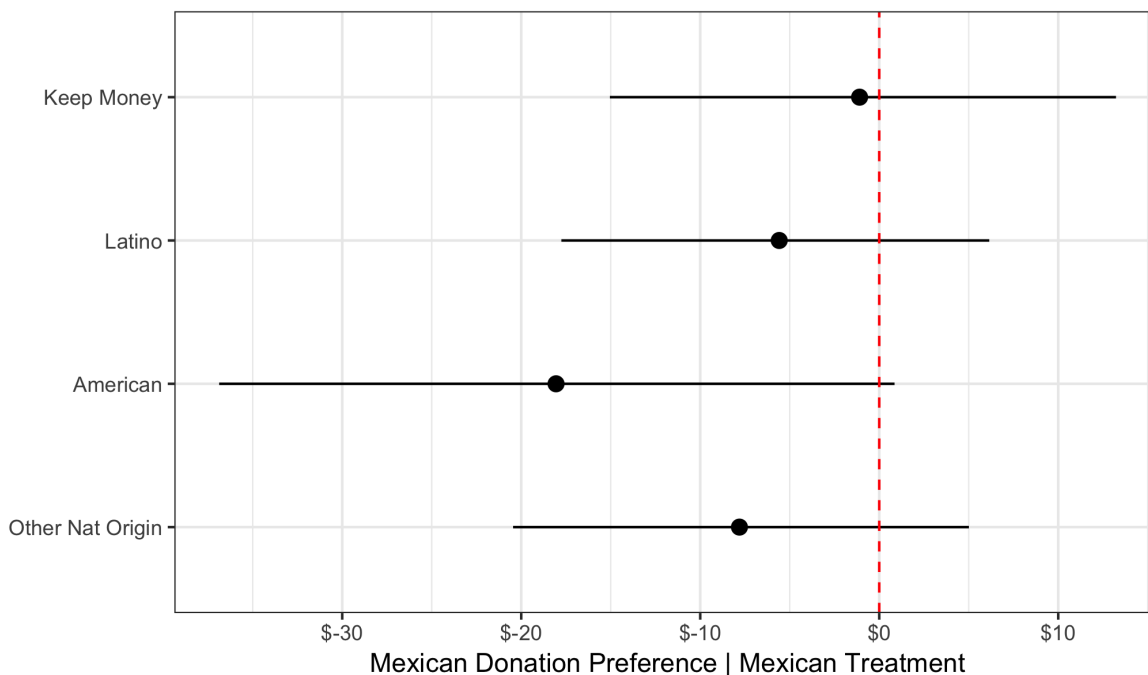
identity category. Yet, when the threat was directed at Latinos, this was impossible, since the threat towards Latinos was direct, and implicated them, regardless if relief and a positive self image was sought through one’s national origin group. Movement to another, higher status group, as predicted by SIT was impossible since that both social identity groups (Latino *and* national origin) were threatened.

Two other pieces of evidence to support this claim comes from the condition where national origin donation preferences are compared to an respondent keeping the money for themselves and under the condition where a respondent supports an American organization. Under the former condition, Figure 5.13 shows that high identifying non-Mexican Latinos are more likely to give money to a national origin organization over keeping it for themselves, but only under the Mexican treatment condition. Otherwise, in the Latino treatment condition versus the recycling control condition, there is no statistically significant difference between the amount given to one’s national origin organization and kept for themselves. In the latter case, this pattern is again replicated. When high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos are exposed to a direct threat towards Mexicans, they are significantly more likely to donate money to a national origin organization compared to an American organization. There is no statistical difference in national origin preference compared to American organization under the Latino threat condition.

Thus far, I have mostly focused on how high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos react to various threats. According to the theory discussed above, there are two other sets of analyses that I must conduct. First, I examine how strong identifying Mexican-Heritage Latinos react in the face of direct and indirect threat. I then turn those weakly identified,

those who do not derive a sense of positive self worth from their national origin group. I begin by examining the predicted donations to Mexican organization conditional on the Mexican treatment condition versus the Latino treatment condition among high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos. I show these results in Figure 5.14.

Figure 5.14: Predicted Mexican Donation Preferences: Mexican vs. Latino



*Notes: This figure shows the donation preference of Mexican heritage Latinos to Mexican based organizations given the Mexican treatment condition compared to the Latino treatment condition. This figure shows how much more or less Mexican heritage Latinos donate to other group under direct threat compared to indirect threat. Values were calculated using a bootstrap ( $n = 10,000$ ). Bands shows 95% confidence interval. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

The results in Figure 5.14 suggest that high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos do not seem to exhibit a preference for the Mexican origin organization conditional on being exposed to the Mexican treatment condition compared to the Latino treatment condition. Instead, Mexican heritage Latinos are slightly less likely to prefer a Mexican organization over other possible organizations. This is somewhat surprising, as I predicted that high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos would be more likely to support a Mexican based organization. This prediction is consistent with the observational data I presented above

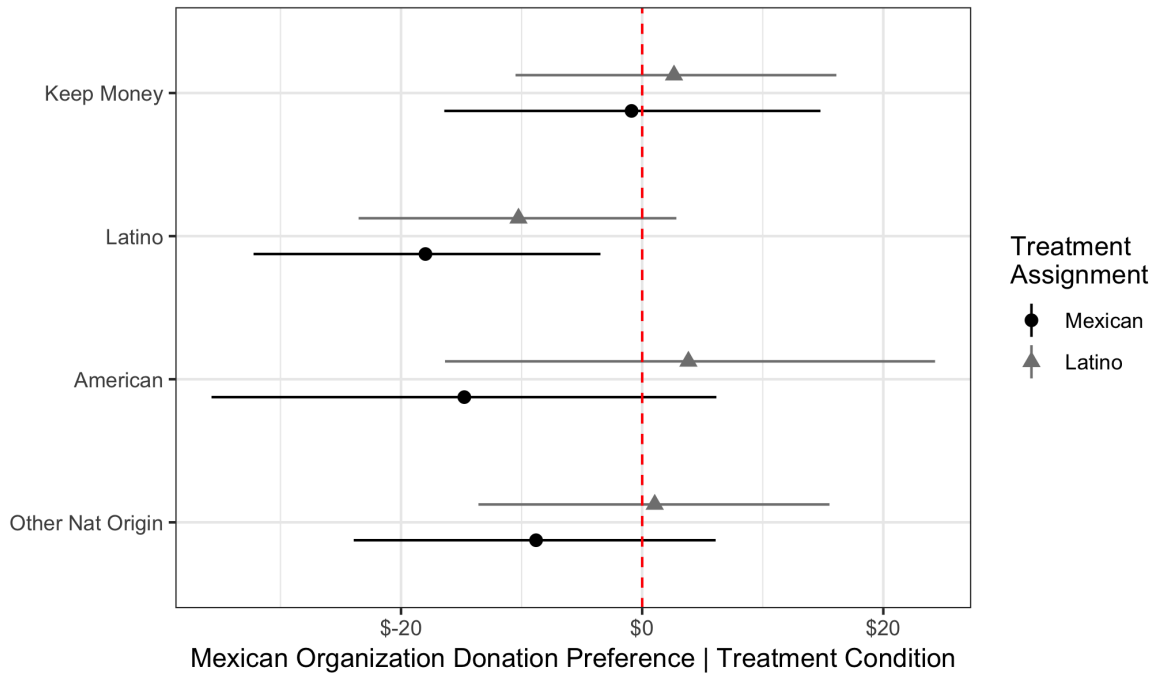
as well as existing work in political science (Pérez 2015b). Instead of strongly supporting a Mexican heritage organization, we see that Mexican heritage Latinos distribute the money out across groups in the face of direct threat.

Figure 5.15 shows the predicted donation to Mexican organizations between both treatment conditions (Mexican or Latino) compared to the control (recycling condition). Here the results are slightly more informative. Here the predicted donations are against a true control as opposed to a different treatment conditions. For Mexican heritage Latinos, the two treatments are not identical compared to the non-Mexican heritage Latinos. The results in Figure 5.15 again are split by the treatment condition against the control. The black circles indicate when the treatment condition is the Mexican treatment condition and the gray triangles indicate when the treatment condition is the Latino treatment conditions. These are both against the control (recycling) condition.

Figure 5.15 shows a set of results that are at odds with my initial prediction. In general, we see a weak relationship between treatment status and Mexican organization donation preference. Most of the results are quite close to zero and are not statistically distinct. In these cases, it shows that Mexican heritage Latinos did not exhibit strong national origin preference, but instead support other organizations at parity. Yet, surprisingly, Figure 5.15 shows that both treatment conditions increase donations to Latino based organization in the face of direct (Mexican) and indirect (Latino) threat. Again, surprising, the strongest finding here shows that high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos give significantly more money to Latino based organizations *when they are directly threatened in the Mexican treatment condition*.

These results suggest that high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos are responding to a direct threat by seeking identity relief in other identity structures. While this initial results is surprising and goes against what I had predicted, the results are still mostly consistent with the identity portfolio framework. Under the direct threat condition (Mexican treatment condition), the increased support for Latino based organization can be interpreted as movement to a higher status group. In other words, high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos saw the Latino group as a higher status group in the face of direct threat and

Figure 5.15: Predicted Mexican Donation Preferences: Treatment vs. Control



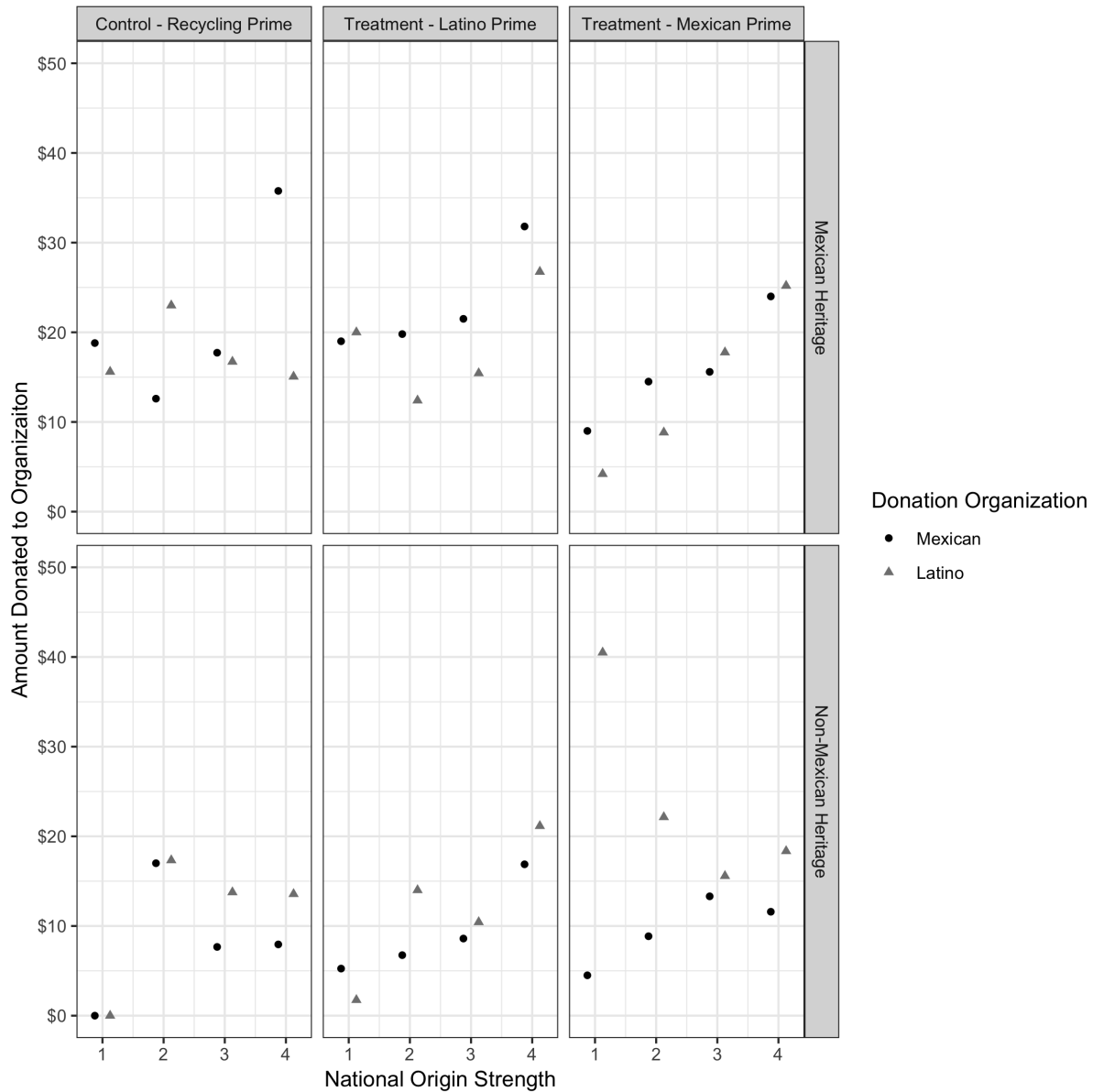
*Notes: This figure shows the donation preference of Mexican heritage Latino a Mexican organization conditional on the treatment assignment (Latino or Mexican) against the control (recycling) condition. Mexican treatment assignment test direct threat vs. control. Latino treatment assignment tests indirect threat vs. control. Values were calculated using a bootstrap ( $n = 10,000$ ). Bands shows 95% confidence interval. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

sought attachment to that group as a way of maintaining a positive self image. This is wholly consistent with what I expected for non-Mexican heritage Latinos and seems to apply in this case as well. This explanation, however fails to explain why in the indirect treatment condition (Latino treatment condition), there is not stronger support for Mexican organizations as this would be the non-threatened outgroup.

To get a better idea of this, I turn to Figure 5.16 where I show the average donation to Latino and Mexican organizations across each of the treatment condition and by whether the respondents is Mexican or non-Mexican heritage. Solid black dots are donations to Mexican organizations and gray triangles are donations to Latino organizations. The columns are the different treatment conditions and the rows split Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos. Looking at the last column (Mexican treatment condition) and the first row (Mexican

heritage), we see evidence that supports our somewhat surprising findings from above.

Figure 5.16: Mean Donation to Latino and Mexican Organization by Treatment Condition

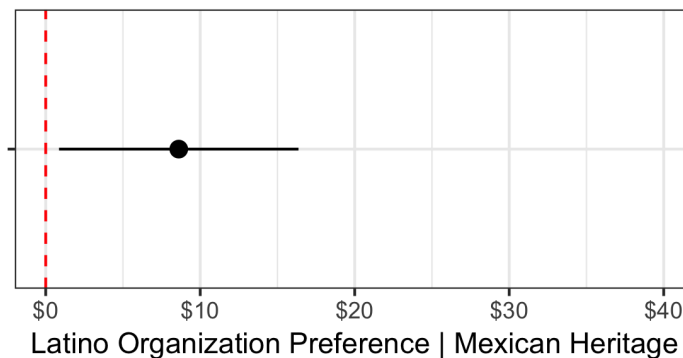


Notes: This figure shows the donation preferences to Latino or Mexican organizations by treatment conditions for both Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos. The y-axis of each panel is the average amount donated. The columns compare each of the treatment conditions (column 1 = control, column 2 = Latino, column 3 = Mexican) and the rows compare Mexican heritage Latinos (row 1) and non-Mexican heritage Latinos (row 2). Circles are donation values for Mexican organization, triangles are donation values for Latino organizations. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018

Here we see that as the strength of national origin identity increases, Mexican heritage

Latinos donate a few dollars more to Latino organizations even in the face of direct threat. Those with somewhat strong (3) and a very strong (4) attachment donate more to Latino organization than those with no sense of attachment (1) or a weaker sense of attachment (2). On the other hand, column 2 row 1 shows a slight preference for Mexican organization donation, across all identity strength levels, which provides some support that Mexican heritage Latinos are seeking relief under the Mexican national origin category when the threat is towards Latinos. Again, this is consistent with SIT and the identity portfolio framework, although it is not what I had initially anticipated or predicted. As a result, I conducted a difference in means test between high identifying Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos given both were exposed to Latino treatment prime. While one's heritage is not randomly assigned or controlled by the researcher, we can use this result to help unpack what how Mexican heritage Latinos are responding to the treatment.

Figure 5.17: Mexican Origin Preference Give Mexican Heritage



*Notes: This figure shows the donation preference to a Latino organizations by Mexican heritage Latinos given Latino treatment compared to non-Mexican heritage Latinos. This was estimated using a difference in difference model where I take the difference between (Latino Organization — G=Mexican, D=Latino condition - Latino Organization — G=Mexican, D=control condition) and (Latino Organization — G=non-Mexican, D=Latino condition - Latino Organization — G=non-Mexican, D=control condition). Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

Figure 5.17 shows the difference in means estimate of Mexican organization donation between high identifying Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latino in the Latino treatment condition. Here we see that there Mexican heritage Latinos give \$8.61, 95% CI[\$0.86, \$16.36], more to Latino organization when facing the Latino threat than non-Mexican her-

Table 5.5: Mexican Organization Preference over Latino Organization

Mexican Origin Preference	
(Intercept)	-5.42 (13.18)
Mexican Heritage	9.54* (3.77)
Age	-0.13 (0.10)
Education	1.88 (2.19)
Income	1.55 (2.24)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.11
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Num. obs.	99
RMSE	16.99

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

itage Latinos give to Latino groups in the face of Latino threat condition. In other words, both groups display a similar pattern of behavior. When possible, both non-Mexican and Mexican heritage Latinos look for other groups to attach to maintain a positive self-image.

Since I did not randomly assign one's national origin status, I consider the results of a linear model adjusting for one's age, education level, and income level. These results are presented in Table 5.5. Here we see that Mexican heritage has a positive and statistically significant relationship with the Mexican organization donations over Latino organizations under the Latino treatment condition among high identifying Latinos. In the model presented in Table 5.5, Mexican heritage associates with a \$9.54, 95% CI[\$2.05, \$17.03] increase in donating to a Mexican heritage organization over a Latino organization.

## 5.4 The Politics of Identity Portfolios: Experimental Evidence

Above I showed how the identity portfolio framework can help us better understand the organization or identity structures that are important for politics. My focus in the above section was mostly geared towards identity as the outcome of interest, a key focus of the



dissertation as a whole. In this section, I consider more political outcomes of interest, which better connect to the first section where I showed that Mexican heritage Latinos showed the strongest opposition towards Trump in the 2016 election. In this section, I show that identity portfolios are connected to political outcomes and I use the experimental design to better understand the conditions under which identity portfolios are connected to politics.

I begin by examining how the identity portfolio framework impacts favorability towards various political elites. My expectation is that those with strong identity attachment will be less supportive of a political elite associated with an indirect and direct attack overall. After the experiment, I asked respondents to rate how they felt towards Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and Mike Pence. I present the predicted favorability (and 95% confidence intervals) for each political elite in Figures 5.18 (Mexican Treatment Condition) and Figure 5.19 (Latino Treatment Condition). Since both Figures 5.18 and Figure 5.19 are nearly identical, I will explain the overall layout before examining specific patterns. On the x-axis I present the strength of identity. I compare those with weak identity (1) and those with strong identity (4). On the y-axis is the predicted favorability, which ranges on a scale of 1-4 where 1 is very unfavorable and 4 is very favorable. Each of the panels shows the values for different political elites. The solid black points signal Mexican heritage and the gray show Non-Mexican heritage. Finally, the circles are always the control condition (recycling) and the triangles are the treatment condition (Mexican or Latino).

Beginning with Figure 5.18, where the treatment condition is the Mexican condition compared to the recycling control, we see general support for the identity portfolio theory. In general, weak identifiers are associated with wide variation in the attitudes towards various political elites, regardless of the treatment status or their heritage. This suggests, as expected, that any type of threat towards these individuals has little impact on political outcomes, given such a varied and inconsistent response across the various political actors. The massive standard errors are not only associated with the number of respondents who are weak identifiers, but also the variability in the responses.

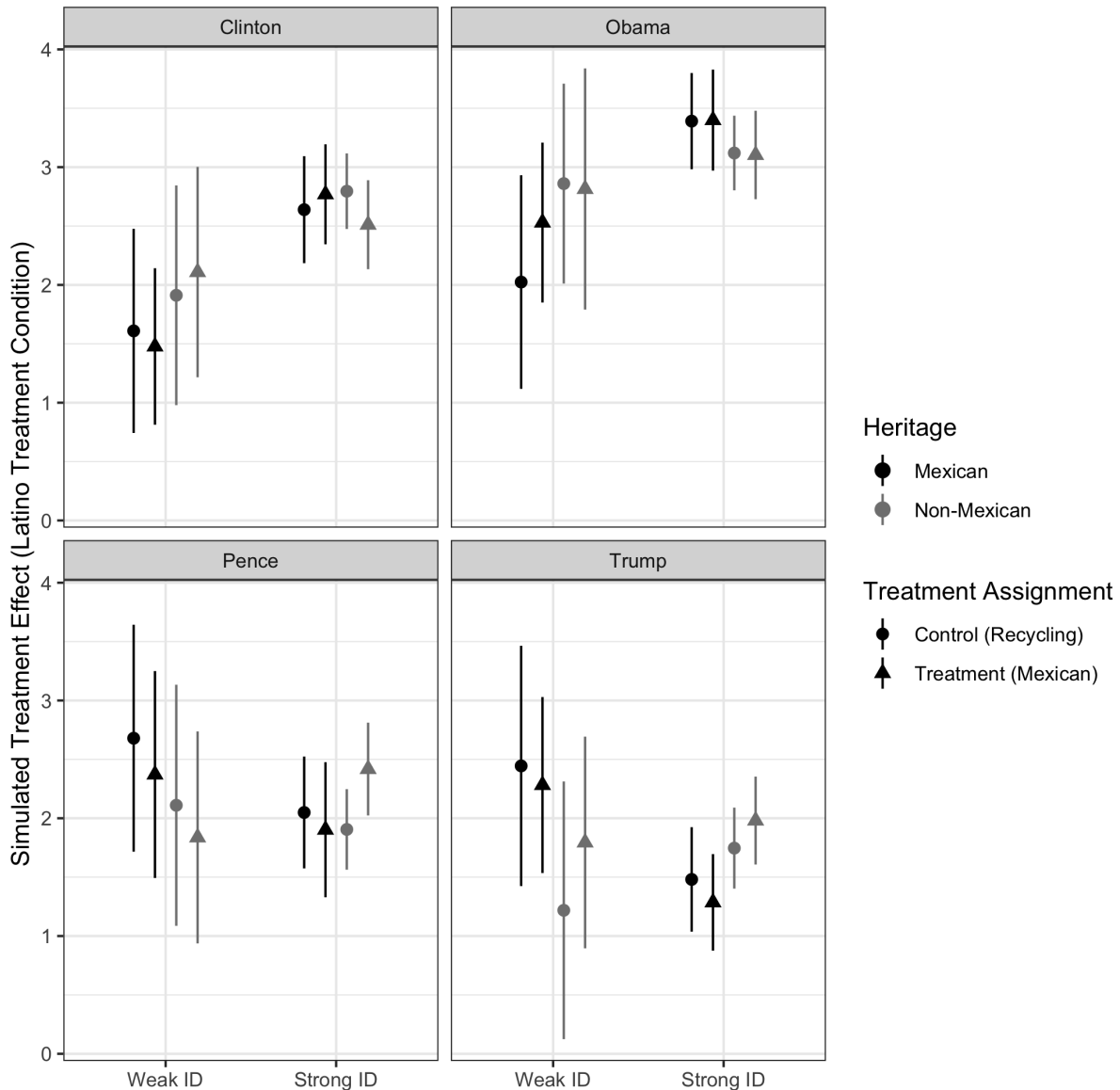
Focusing on the Pence and Trump panel shows additional support of the identity portfolio theory. Among the high identifiers, we see that Mexican heritage Latinos in the

Mexican treatment condition always rate Pence and Trump lower than Mexican heritage Latinos in the control condition. While these differences are not large, the overall rating of Trump is very low (the scale is 1-4 and the confidence intervals go below 1 in some cases). We also see that that non-Mexican heritage Latinos in the Mexican treatment condition are 1) slightly more supportive of Trump than non-Mexican heritage Latinos in the control condition and 2) always more supportive of Trump than Mexican heritage Latinos (regardless of condition).

Figure 5.19 compares favorability when the treatment condition is the Latino treatment. While some of the patterns are slightly different than those presented in Figure 5.18, the patterns strongly follow the predictions from the identity portfolio theory. Again, we do not see any consistent or detectable pattern among the weak identifiers. However, examining the Pence and Trump panels reveals evidence of how identity portfolios are connected to politics. In the Trump panel, we see that both strong identifying Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos are less supportive of Trump under the Latino treatment condition. When the threat was directed at Mexicans above, we saw that non-Mexican heritage Latinos were slightly more supportive of Trump, which supports my claim that in the face of an indirect threat, if possible, people will engage in behaviors consistent with them moving to a higher status group, which we see here and we saw in the observational evidence in an earlier section.

Figure 5.20 focuses directly on the Trump favorability, which is of particular interest given Trump was the political elite in the treatment. Because of the noise associated with weak identifiers, I only show strong identifiers across the two treatment arms (Mexican vs. Control and Latino vs. Control). This figure focuses directly on the comparison I was making earlier and allows us to see the differences in greater detail. Here I added 83% confidence intervals which help signal where differences are statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval. In the first panel, which shows the Mexican treatment condition, we again see that non-Mexican heritage Latinos in the Mexican treatment condition are more supportive of Trump than non-Mexican heritage Latinos in the control condition. While this difference is small, we do not see a similar pattern in the second panel, where Latinos as a group are

Figure 5.18: Political Elite Favorability Given Heritage, Identity Strength, and Treatment (Mexican vs. Control)

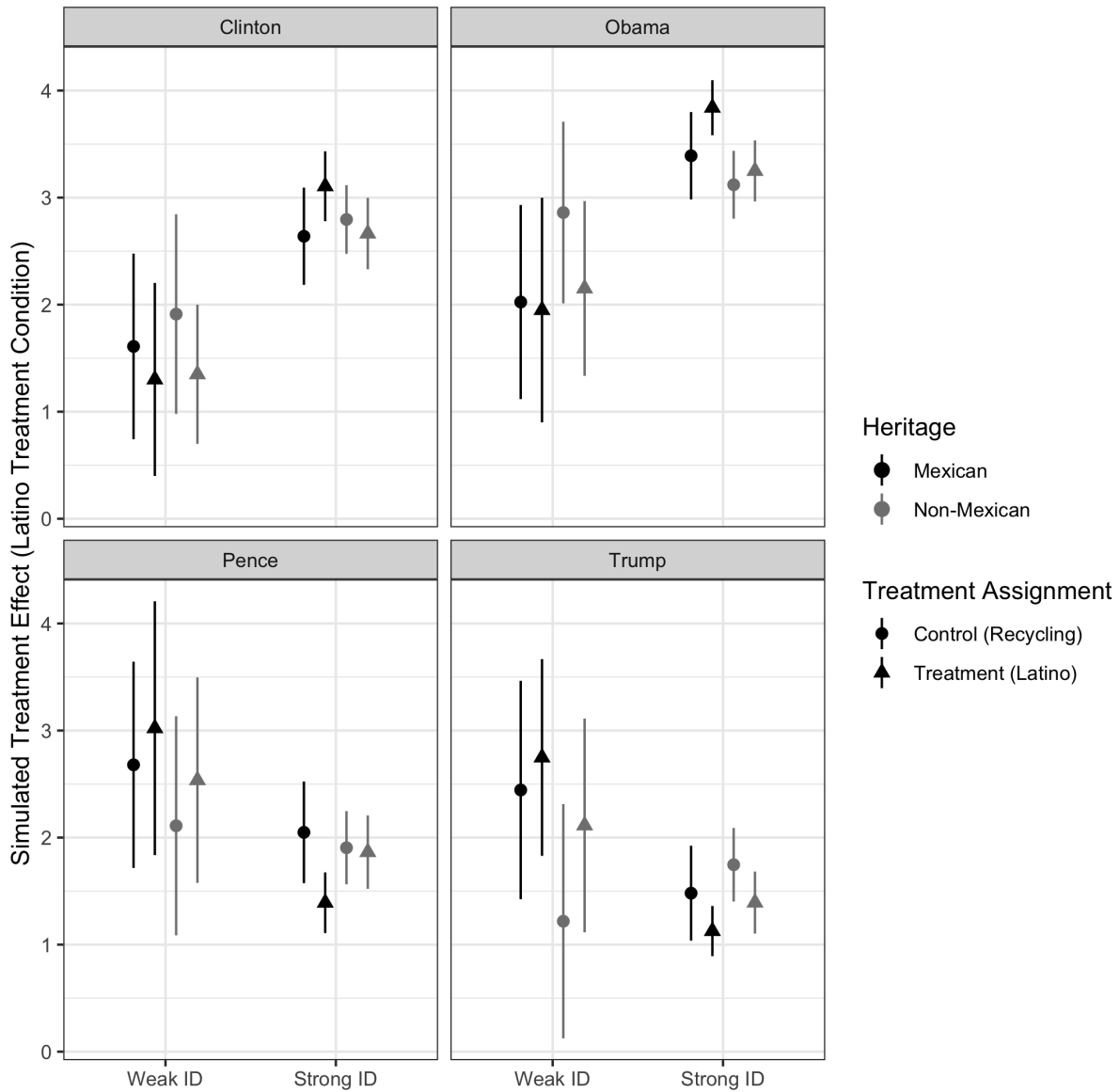


Notes: This figure shows the predicted favorability of various political elites (Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Mike Pence, and Donald Trump) given a respondent's heritage and strength of identity. The predicted values are estimated for both the Mexican treatment condition and control treatment condition. Bands are 95% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018

impugned, rather than Mexicans.

Returning to Panel (A), we see that among Mexican heritage Latinos, those in the

Figure 5.19: Political Favorability Given Heritage, Identity Strength, and Treatment (Latino vs. Control)

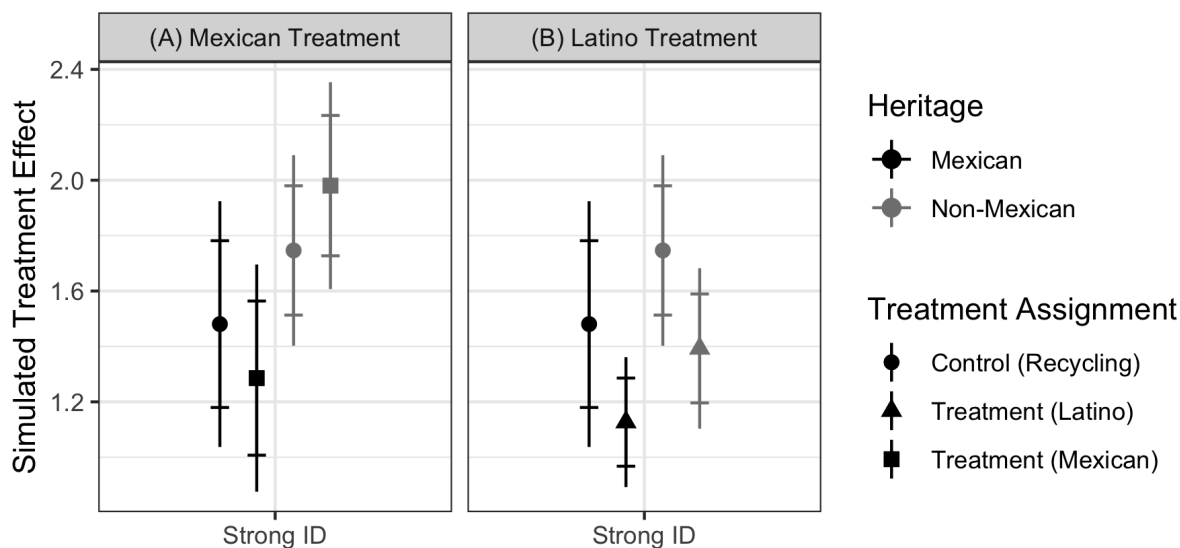


Notes: This figure shows the predicted favorability of various political elites (Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Mike Pence, and Donald Trump) given a respondent's heritage and strength of identity. The predicted values are estimated for both the Latino treatment condition and control treatment condition. Bands are 95% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018

treatment condition are less supportive of Trump than those in the control condition. While these differences are small, these patterns are consistent with my expectations, especially

in a relatively small sample. One last difference in Panel (A) is between Non-Mexican and Mexican heritage Latinos in the the Mexican treatment condition. Here we do see a statistically significant difference, showing that Mexican heritage Latinos are significantly less supportive of Trump than non-Mexican heritage Latinos. This difference, is exactly what is predicted by the identity portfolio theory. Under a direct threat, Mexican heritage Latinos react by working to maintain positive distinctiveness of the group and become even more forceful opponents of Trump. At the same time, non-Mexican heritage Latinos see supporting Trump as a way of distancing themselves from Mexican heritage Latinos, and are thus ever so slightly, more likely to support him *compared to Mexican heritage Latinos*. This is not to say that non-Mexican heritage Latinos are supportive of Trump, the predicted level of support is 1.98 (0.19), which is still unfavorable. However, the predicted level of support for Mexican heritage Latinos is 1.29 (0.20).

Figure 5.20: Trump Favorability Among Strong Identifiers Across Both Treatment Conditions



Notes: This figure shows the predicted favorability towards Trump given a respondent's heritage and strength of identity. Panel A shows the Mexican treatment condition against the control condition. Panel B shows the Latino treatment condition against the control condition. This figure is a close up of the Trump panels in Figure ?? and Figure 5.19. Bands are 95% confidence intervals, tick makers are 90% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018

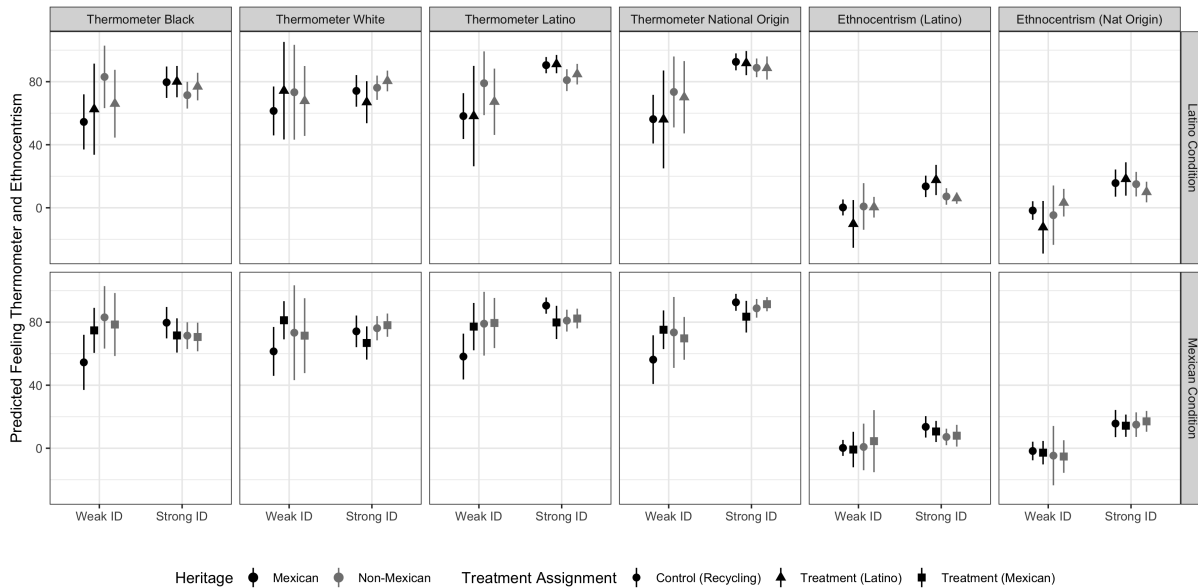
Turning to Panel (B) of Figure 5.20, we see almost the opposite relationship as we saw in Panel (A). Here we see that when facing the Latino threat *both* Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos are less supportive of Trump than when in the control condition. This suggests both Mexican and non-Mexican heritage Latinos are implicated by this threat. There is no way out and both groups respond to maintain the positive distinctiveness of the group and in doing so forcefully reject Trump. That Mexican heritage Latinos show slightly lower ratings across both conditions is likely from the continued and previous xenophobic rhetoric about Mexicans in the 2016 campaign season.

Next, I examine a few other attitudinal outcomes that were asked following the treatment conditions. I begin by examining a set of feeling thermometers towards other racial and ethnic groups and feelings of ethnocentrism, conditional on treatment assignment. I then examine a set of feeling thermometers about the Democratic and Republican parties in the U.S.. Lastly, I examine levels of trust in the U.S. government.

Figure 5.21 shows the predicted feeling thermometers for Blacks, whites, Latinos, and one's national origin group as well as predicted feelings of ethnocentrism. I measure ethnocentrism both in terms of pan-ethnic and national origin. Ethnocentrism is measured by subtracting the average thermometer scores for Blacks and whites from the Latino thermometer or national origin thermometer score (Kinder and Kam 2010).

The results in Figure 5.21 show some interesting findings which comport with the overall identity portfolio theory, although they are not direct tests of the theory. For one, among the weak identifiers, those in the control conditions (recycling treatment condition) tend to have the lowest approval ratings across all groups. This is especially pronounced in the feelings towards Blacks and Whites. Compared to those in the treatment condition, this difference is largest compared to those in the Mexican treatment condition. There are two takeaways here: 1) Weak identified Mexican heritage Latinos rate Blacks and Whites lower, but only in the control condition. This suggest that xenophobic threat (in particular direct threat) to weakly identified members slightly increases their favorability towards Blacks and Whites. It seems that this subgroup develops more positive feelings towards other group when their group (even by membership) is implicated with xenophobic rhetoric. 2) There is

Figure 5.21: Predicted Feeling Thermometer Towards Groups & Feelings of Ethnocentrism



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted feeling thermometers towards racial and ethnic groups (Blacks, Whites, Latinos, and one’s national origin group) and feelings of ethnocentrism (Latino and national origin) given a respondent’s heritage and strength of identity in the columns. Both Latino vs. Control and Mexican vs. Control treatment conditions are shown in the rows. Bands are 95% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

a remarkable stability in feeling thermometers across Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Mexican among weak identified Mexican heritage Latinos in the control condition.

In general, this rating is the lowest of all the ratings across the all groups and all conditions and hovers right around 75. As I just mentioned, exposure to one of the treatments generally increases feelings towards Whites and Blacks. However, when it comes to attitudes towards Latinos and Mexicans, *only the Mexican treatment condition* is associated with more positive attitudes towards both Mexicans and Latinos. In the Latino treatment condition, feelings towards Latinos and Mexican are the same among weak identified Mexican heritage Latinos regardless of being exposed to the Latino treatment condition or control condition. This means that weak identified Mexican heritage Latinos are slightly impacted by a direct threat to work ever so slightly to better the group. But this is not the case, the Latino treatment condition, suggesting that xenophobic appeals may have greater negative externalities that previously thought (Pérez 2015b).

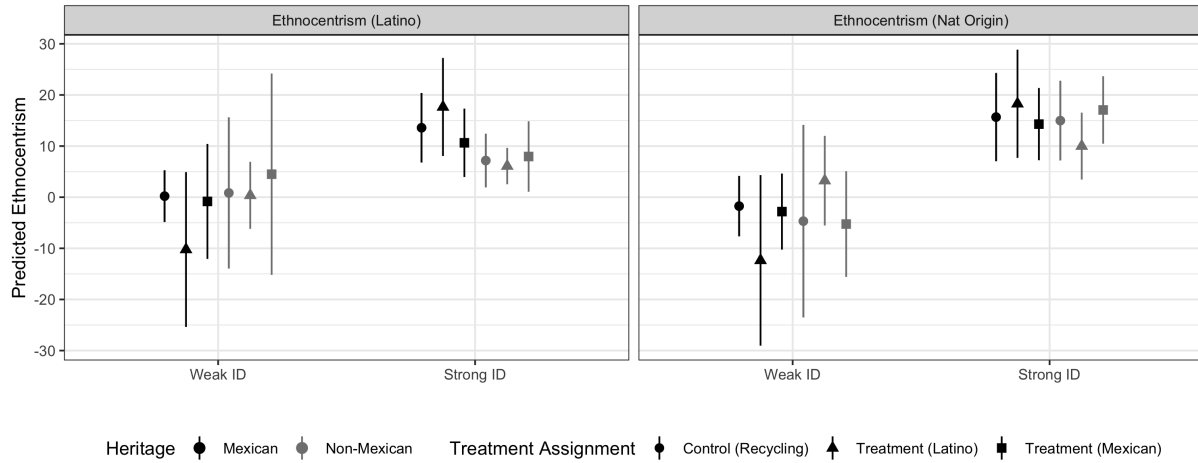
One last finding I wish to discuss which also can be framed as a negative externality as it has wider political implications. Among high identified Mexican heritage Latinos, the exposure to both of the treatment conditions is connected to lower feelings towards Whites. This finding suggests that regardless of the group, xenophobic rhetoric by a White political elite, results in highly identified Mexican heritage Latinos “punishing” Whites as a group. While the research design was unable to tease apart if this is a Trump effect or a Republican effect, which is very well could be since the pattern does not exist among high identified non-Mexican heritage Latinos, the consequences either way are quite dire since Mexican heritage Latinos are the largest group of Latinos living in the U.S. This type of xenophobic rhetoric could continue to exacerbate racial group tensions and have serious consequences in political contests. Again, it is not that these Latinos are evaluating the candidate poorly, but rather the group as a whole. Given Donald Trump was a national candidate, it is likely that many strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos also punished other White candidates in many electoral contests by voting for an opponent or staying home, evidence also supported by the conjoint analysis earlier.

In Figure 5.22, I zoom in on the ethnocentrism findings. In some ways, perceptions of ethnocentrism are similar to an identity based outcome. On the other hand, decades of research in political science has shown that feelings of ethnocentrism are associated with a host of other important political outcomes (Kinder and Kam 2010; Pérez 2015b). In general, weak identifier’s perceptions of ethnocentrism are not impacted by exposure to xenophobic rhetoric. However, as I have continued to show, those who are strong identifiers behave in theoretically consistent ways. Figure 5.22 changes the panel layout to better compare the results between the two treatment conditions across the various groups and outcomes. In terms of Latino ethnocentrism, Mexican heritage Latinos in the Latino treatment condition are slightly higher on feelings of ethnocentrism than Mexican heritage Latinos in the other treatment or control condition. Interestingly, Mexican heritage Latinos show stronger Latino ethnocentrism compared to the non-Mexican heritage Latinos, whose perceptions of Latino ethnocentrism are also not impacted by exposure to direct or indirect xenophobic rhetoric.

In the second panel of Figure 5.22, I show the results for the national origin ethnocen-



Figure 5.22: Predicted Feelings of Ethnocentrism



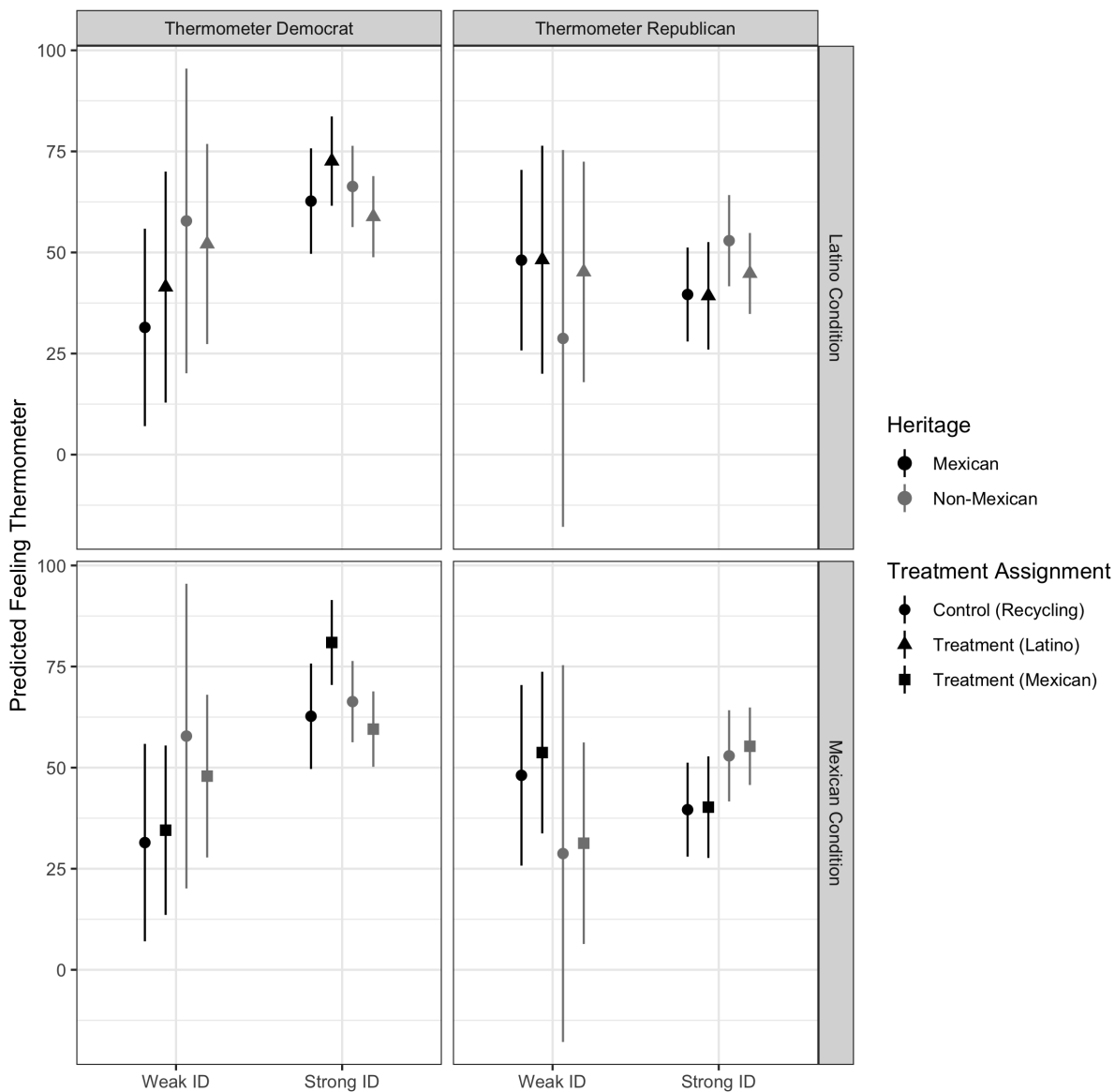
*Notes: This figure shows the predicted feelings of Latino ethnocentrism and national origin ethnocentrism given a respondent's heritage and strength of identity. Values are predicted for each treatment condition (Mexican, Latino, and control conditions). Bands are 95% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

trism, feelings towards one national origin group are used instead of feelings to the Latino group. Here the findings suggest that in the face of an indirect threat (Mexican treatment condition), high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos become more ethnocentric than those who are in Latino treatment condition, echoing the role of one's identity portfolio from earlier findings. In general, Mexican heritage Latinos' perceptions of national origin ethnocentrism are not responsive to any of the xenophobic appeals.

Next, I examine predicted feelings towards the Democratic and Republican parties in Figure 5.23. In terms of feelings towards the Democratic party, strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos are more supportive of the Democratic party under both treatment conditions compared to strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos in the control condition. This means that xenophobic rhetoric (both direct and indirect) results in more aversion of the opposing party. This finding shows that Latinos are active in their ability disentangle negative political messages and are able to direct the reaction towards the party associated with the source of the xenophobic threat. While I have showed that that xenophobic rhetoric results in work to maintain the positive distinctiveness of the group, such negative slights also promote positive feelings towards the Democratic party. This is important since it shows that Democrats are

getting rewarded when Republicans engage in xenophobic slights. The evidence is consistent across both Mexican heritage and non-Mexican heritage Latinos, is strong among Mexican heritage Latinos as shown in Figure 5.23

Figure 5.23: Predicted Feeling Thermometer Towards Democrats and Republicans



Notes: This figure shows the predicted feeling thermometers towards the Democratic Party and the Republican Party (columns) given a respondent's heritage and strength of identity. Both Latino vs Control and Mexican vs. Control treatment conditions are shown (rows). Bands are 95% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018

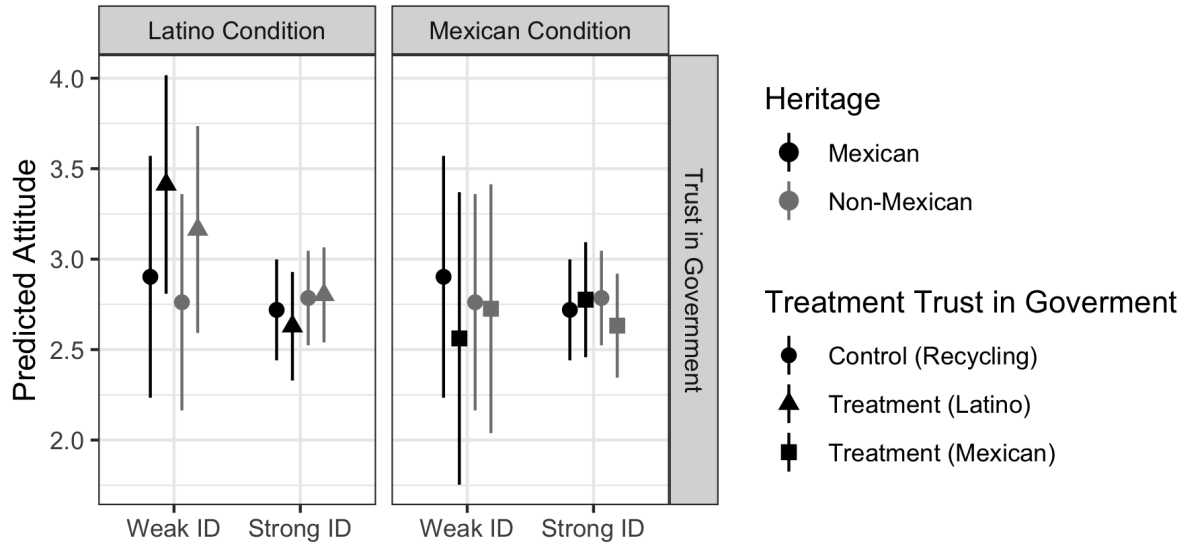
This is related to what I showed earlier where whites are getting punished from xeno-

phobic attacks from strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos. Here we see another consequence of xenophobic rhetoric. While Republicans do not appear to be getting punished by strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos, Democrats are receiving a favorable bump in overall ratings. Among strong ID non-Mexican heritage Latinos, there is lower support for Democrats conditional on either of the treatments. Comparing the magnitudes, however, the loss in support towards Democrats among non-Mexican heritage Latinos is smaller than the gain in support towards Democrats from strong ID Mexican heritage Latinos.

Additionally for strong ID non-Mexican heritage Latinos, exposure to the Latino treatment condition is also associated with lower support for Republicans. There is no change in support towards Republicans among non-Mexican heritage Latinos in the Mexican treatment condition, suggesting further evidence that the consequences from any xenophobic appeals are unlikely to outweigh any of the benefits. While I come back to this discussion at the end of the chapter, although the identify portfolio shows that groups alter support and may be impacted differently conditional on a set of appeals, the potential gains of using these appeals are incredibly limited. Thinking about some of the evidence I have shown so far suggests that these changes are slight and basically at the margins. In 2016, non-Mexican heritage Latinos were not running out and supporting Trump, instead we should think of this as Mexican heritage Latinos as even less likely to support Trump than the already low baseline.

In Figure 5.24, I examine the predicted level of Trust in the U.S. government, the final political outcome I consider. The results here are largely uninformative, which is surprising given the results in Pérez (2015b), who showed that group devaluation was associated with lower levels of trust in the U.S. government, but only among high identifiers. While we see some evidence of this when examining weak identifiers in the Latino treatment condition compared to strong identifiers in the Latino treatment condition, the general patterns across both panels are mostly mixed.

Figure 5.24: Predicted Level of Trust in U.S. Government



*Notes: This figure shows the predicted level of trust in the U.S. government given a respondent's heritage and strength of identity. Both Latino vs Control and Mexican vs. Control treatment conditions are shown (shape of point). Bands are 95% confidence intervals. Source: Identity Portfolio Survey 2018*

## 5.5 How and Why Identities Matter for Politics

In this chapter I presented a new theoretical framework to better understand the identity to politics link that has proven to be so crucial for political attitudes, political behaviors, and policy preferences, especially for racial and ethnic minority group members living in the U.S. (Dawson 1994; Tate 1993; Pérez 2015b;a; Sanchez 2006b;a; 2008; Masuoka 2006). The identity portfolio theory provides a theoretical framework to understand the conditions under which social identities matter for politics. The identity portfolio framework tells us how and why identities matter and provides some testable implications for understanding how identities matter for politics.

One of the most important aspects of the theoretical framework is how seriously it takes multiple social identity categories as an explicit feature of the theory. Existing work in the racial and ethnic politics literature has tended to focus on one's racial and ethnic identity as the one that matters most. Most of this was and continues to be for good reason. Michael

Dawson pointed out that one's status as an African American and the perceived links between the individual and the group were more important in understanding political attitudes and public policy preferences than one's individual socio-economic status. This groundbreaking study helped situate the power of racial and ethnic identities among minority group members to understand a variety of political outcomes. Later work then adopted this framework on to other non-white groups (Stokes 2003; Sanchez 2006b; Masuoka 2006; Sanchez and Masuoka 2010).

More recently, scholars have begun to examine the links between racial identity among whites and politics (Jardina 2019). While racial and ethnic identities are undoubtedly crucial for politics, we know from work in social psychology that identities are not fixed and that people often have complex identity structures which contain multiple important categorizations. Because of this, we need a framework that can help provide a way to think about the entire identity eco-system in a tractable and predictable way. One that considers the complex web of identities as a feature rather than an afterthought. The identity portfolio theory provides such a framework.

In this chapter, I outlined the identity portfolio theory and tested some key implications. In the formal tests, I showed that even among Latinos, variation in identity attachment within one's portfolio matters for various political outcomes. By variation in attachment, I am specifically referring to the strength of attachment of one's national origin group and the strength of attachment to one's pan-ethnic group. The identity portfolio framework provides a way to think about these two distinct yet robustly related identities at the same time and to develop predictions about various political outcomes based on the different possible identity attachments.

Using this framework, I showed that significant heterogeneity in how Latinos responded to the Trump election in 2016 using public opinion survey data and how Latinos respond to direct and indirect xenophobic rhetoric using a survey experiment. Using the survey data, I showed that strongly identified Latinos, that is those who had a strong sense of attachment to their national origin group were significantly more likely to reject Trump both in terms of electoral support and overall levels of favorability. This finding is wholly consistent with

existing work both in political science and social psychology that shows variation in group attachment explains how people respond to group based slights. As expected, those with little attachment do not derive a sense of positive self worth from the group. As such, any instances of group devaluation did not matter very much, since that group is not important. Although it exists within one's portfolio, there are so few shares allocated to the category that any shock will hardly be noticed. Yet for those with a strong attachment, those who allocate many shares to the category within the identity portfolio, they will respond to group devaluation in a way that seeks to maintain or reaffirm their sense of a positive self image, which the group provides. One such way is to maintain and reaffirm the the positive distinctiveness of the group and thus engage in a set of behaviors that bolster the group, make the group better, or strengthen the group. This is a "fight-based" response and one that is predicted by social identity theory.

However, further examination, brought forward by incorporating the identity portfolio framework, shows that there is more to consider. For one, Latinos vary considerably in their attachment to being Latino and to the national origin group. The Trump campaign provided a real-world test of these attachments. Most of Trump's campaigning focused on Mexico and Mexicans. While there is little doubt that he meant Latinos and immigrants, the language used focused on Mexico and Mexicans. This provides an opportunity to explore how those who hold strong national origin identities will behave. Using the identity portfolio framework and social identity theory, I predicted that Mexican heritage Latinos will react to Trump in a distinct way compared to non-Mexican heritage Latinos. As I showed above in both the public opinion data as well as the experimental data, this is indeed the case. Under direct treat, strongly identified Mexican heritage Latinos were the least supportive of Trump. High identified non-Mexican heritage Latinos, however, were not as strongly against Trump as their Mexican heritage counterparts.

I argued that this was evidence of the second response to maintain a positive self image in the face of group devaluation. The flight based responses which predicts that *when possible people can attach their identity to other higher status groups*. This means that non-Mexican heritage Latinos behaved in a way that separated themselves from their Mexican

heritage counterparts. In experimental evidence, I showed that when Mexicans were directly threatened, non-Mexican heritage Latinos were more likely to give money to a national origin-based group than when Latinos were threatened or under a control condition. In other words, in the face of an indirect threat, non-Mexican heritage Latinos work to maintain a positive self image by more strongly identifying with their national origin, a group that is not as closely linked to the threatened group.

This reaction is essential for politics. Not only is it important for candidate favorability and electoral support, but it matters for feelings towards other groups, feelings for the two major political parties in the U.S., and feelings of ethnocentrism.

The evidence I present provides a strong case for why we need to consider more of the identities that matter for politics. While I only focused on Latinos in this chapter and only examined a subset of identities within the racial/ethnic umbrella, this framework can and should be considered more broadly.

## Supporting Information



Table 5.6: The Relationship Between Identity Portfolios and Attitudes/Support Toward Clinton

	Electoral Support For Clinton	Clinton Favorability
(Intercept)	0.18*	0.99***
	(0.09)	(0.16)
National Origin ID	-0.01	0.07*
	(0.02)	(0.03)
Mexican	-0.19*	-0.06
	(0.09)	(0.16)
Generation	-0.06***	-0.06**
	(0.01)	(0.02)
Cuban	-0.09	-0.00
	(0.05)	(0.09)
Light Skin Color	0.08*	0.07
	(0.03)	(0.05)
Linked Fate	0.00	0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.02)
Liberal Scale	0.04***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.02)
Political Interest	0.03	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age	0.00***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.00	0.09*
	(0.02)	(0.04)
Low-Income	-0.02	0.13*
	(0.03)	(0.05)
Medium-Income	-0.03	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.06)
Missing-Income	-0.02	0.15*
	(0.04)	(0.08)
College	0.02	-0.00
	(0.02)	(0.04)
National ID X Mexican	0.32***	0.78***
	(0.03)	(0.05)
Democrat	0.06*	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.22
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.22
Num. obs.	2512	2442
RMSE	0.37	0.87

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

Table 5.7: The Relationship Between Identity Portfolios and Attitudes Toward Other Republican Candidates

	Romney (Therm)	McCain (Support)	Bush (Favorability)
(Intercept)	1.81 (0.16)	-0.04 (0.05)	1.81*** (0.16)
Group Identity	0.71 (0.98)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.07 (0.04)
Mexican	8.55 (5.18)	0.09* (0.04)	0.33 (0.18)
Cuban	-2.28 (3.40)	0.18* (0.08)	0.08 (0.09)
Born in U.S.	-1.30 (1.90)	0.06** (0.02)	-0.28*** (0.04)
Party ID	8.27*** (0.44)	0.68*** (0.03)	0.28*** (0.01)
College	-1.82 (2.06)	0.08** (0.03)	-0.28*** (0.05)
Age	1.15*** (0.26)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Income	-1.89 (1.62)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
National ID X Mexican	-2.10 (1.33)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.09 (0.05)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.33	0.40	0.18
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.32	0.40	0.18
Num. obs.	886	910	4329
RMSE	23.65	0.34	1.29

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

## CHAPTER 6

### Conclusion

#### 6.1 Identity Politics in Context - An Overview

Betty is a 54-year-old Latina who grew up in El Salvador, moving to the U.S. in the mid-1980 as a civil war was destroying her homeland. When she arrived, like many immigrants, she worked to build a new life in the U.S., one where she could raise a family and prosper. Nearly 30 years later, she has done that. During the interview, I asked her about her arrival to the U.S. and living in a new context. She told me she settled in the Pico-Union area of Central Los Angeles, CA, an area where many other Salvadorian migrants had also settled during the war. Here she found a job and a place to stay and began to recreate her life in a new context.

Her new co-workers, in particular, Anabelle, who also works in the *maquiladora* taught her about being Latino/a in the U.S. and what that entailed. Her new peer network, composed of other workers and friends she made, taught her about life in the U.S. and one of the subjects was about identity and how people from El Salvador were situated in the U.S. She noted that it was comforting when she arrived as she lived and worked with others who were from Central American and El Salvador. Building social networks for her was easy since she felt a connection with the other Latinos in the area. There were things and people in the areas that reminded her of home, and she felt comfortable.

When asked what being Latina meant, she said, “*Es un orgullo, por que son raices de uno que nos identificamos desde alla de nuestros paises*” (Its something to be proud about they are the roots from where we identify long before coming to the United States). She associates hard work with part of her identity and her idea of *Latinidad* and Latino

identity. She kept coming back to this idea of hard work and what Latino identity meant for her. When I asked her how she raised her children, who were all born in the U.S., she talked about teaching them what it means to be Salvadorian and telling them her experiences in El Salvador during her childhood. She spoke Spanish to them. She taught them how to make tortillas by hand, always serve beans with meals, and making *pupusas*. She also told them about hard work and how important it is for success. Latinos are, “*Gente que sabe salir y sobresalir adelante con su esfuerzo y sacrificio*” - (people that know how to overcome and get ahead with their efforts and sacrifices). For Betty, being Latina was intimately tied with worth ethic and while she also engaged in other activities with her children that facilitated their Salvadorian and Latinos identities, she always reminded them of the importance of hard work.

Betty’s experience broadly answers one of two questions I sought out to answer in this dissertation, where do perceptions of group attachments come from for immigrant-based groups such as Latinos. To answer this question, I developed a theory of context, arguing that social and environmental contexts provide the opportunities and information for individuals to engage in the categorization process where they see themselves as part of a larger group rather than a unique self.

Betty’s experiences illustrate this experience. Living and working with people who looked like her and shared a similar background exposed her to a set of ethnic affirming cues and stimuli that she was Latino. The importance of peer networks for Betty is illustrative for her development of a group-based attachment. Betty’s experiences also highlight a related element of socialization and social context. With her children, Betty made sure to imprint a sense of ethnic and pan-ethnic attachment by teaching them about hard work, showing them how to make traditional dishes, and telling them about her childhood experiences in war-torn El Salvador. These practices provided access to salient social identity categories for her children. In the dissertation, I showed that Betty is not unique. Through quantitative analysis of survey and experimental data, I showed that family socialization practices and peer networks are associated with group-based attachments for Asian Americans and Latinos. These findings show why there is variation in group-based attachments among Latinos and

Asian Americans.

Betty's experiences are also illustrative of the second part of my theory of context, where I show how one's environmental context is linked to group-based attachments. When Betty spoke of moving here, she lived in an area with many other Latinos and had access to many stores and restaurants that reminded her of home. Like one's social context, I argued that variation in the ethnic affirming cues and stimuli in one's environmental context is linked to their group-based attachments. The cues and stimuli in the environmental context vary the fit and accessibility of social categories and thus facilitate the process of categorization.

To test this, I developed a survey experiment where I manipulate the ethnic content of environmental context through streetview images. I tested this experiment on a sample of Latinos and Asian Americans. I found that among Latinos, ethnic affirming cues and stimuli embedded in streetview images cause stronger feelings of group attachment (as measured by identity centrality). Among Asian Americans, this relationship is null. For AAPI, I contend that the lack of a relationship is because I mixed various linguistic cues across the streetview images instead of creating a context where the linguistic stimuli and cues were consistent with the national origin of the respondent.

In the second half of the dissertation, I show why identities are important for politics. I first do this by examining ethnic voting behaviors in two recent U.S. Congressional races. I show that existing accounts of ethnic voting, which often rely on population-based information are incomplete without an understanding of the ethnic visibility of an area. I developed the measure of ethnic visibility using streetview images from the local context, which I argue is a better proxy for neighborhood-level group attachment (the theorized mechanism) than ethnic composition alone.

I tested this in two recent U.S. Congressional races that featured multi-ethnic candidates in multi-racial Congressional districts. I found that ethnic visibility is a positive and reliable predictor of ethnic voting behavior for Latinos and Asian Americans. These results hold even after including the population-based measure of ethnic composition and other demographic control variables.

Until now, the existing literature on ethnic voting has almost entirely relied on population-based measures. By introducing ethnic visibility, I significantly expand the toolkit for understanding ethnic voting behaviors when relying on aggregate data. Not only does ethnic visibility help predict ethnic voting behaviors, but it also helps us understating the mechanism behind ethnic voting, which has never been tested using real-world aggregate data in a generalizable context.

Finally, I further develop the identity portfolio theory that I helped first introduce in Garcia-Rios et al. (2018). The identity portfolio framework provides a way to consider how multiple group-based attachments are connected to politics. Existing work considering multiple identity attachments has struggled to consider robustly related, but distinct group attachments, such as pan-ethnic and national origin attachments among Latinos and Asian Americans. The identity portfolio framework explicitly considers multiple social identity categories and provides a set of testable implications derived from the construction of one's portfolio and the relationship between and strength of attachment to the categories within a portfolio.

Using this framework, I show that attitudes towards Trump differed between high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos and high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos. Given Trump's direct xenophobic attacks, which I argue were directed towards Mexico and Mexican heritage Latinos specifically. Because of this, high identifying Mexican heritage Latinos had fewer options to seek a higher status group and instead sought to protect the group, rejecting Trump more forcefully than high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos. I argue that high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos sought relief and higher status in their national origin group and as a result, reject Trump less forcefully.

To further explore the theoretical mechanism, I designed a survey experiment where I varied the target of the xenophobic threat and used a dictator style game to see how identity attachments change after experiencing direct or indirect threat (relative to a control condition). I found general support for my claim. When high identifying non-Mexican heritage Latinos experience indirect threat, a xenophobic appeal directed towards Mexicans, they gave significantly more money to an organization working to better the interests of

their national origin group compared to those in the control condition and those who were exposed to a more direct threat directed towards Latinos.

These results and the implications are consistent with the social identity theory, which suggest that individuals want to maintain a positive self-image and one way of achieving a positive self-image is by establishing group-based attachments with high-status groups. I believe the identity portfolio framework has many more applications. The framework is simple yet parsimonious. Other social identity categories not considered here, such as religion, gender, sexuality, class, work, etc., all can be incorporated into the identity portfolio theory.

## 6.2 Limitations

While I am confident in the arguments and the data, like any work in social science, there are many limitations. This dissertation is no different. These limitations can be divided into at least two sets. The first set has to do with fundamental limitations of social science work more generally. Limitations here revolve around endogeneity, causality, and questions of selection.

The second set of limitations has to do with limitations in the data used in the dissertation and questions of measurement and operationalization. In terms of data limitations, many of the analyses regarding social contexts were limited to Latinos. While the MASP proved to be a useful dataset, nearly all of the respondents were Mexican heritage, which differs substantially from the composition of the Latino population today. While Mexican heritage Latinos are the dominant group in terms of size, around 50% of the Latino population, the practices and customs of non-Mexican nationalities likely vary in meaningful ways from their Mexican counterparts (Valle 2019).

I was also limited in terms of the samples used for two key portions. In Chapter 3, I manipulated the ethnic context of streetview images in a survey experiment. I then tested this on a sample of about 250 Latinos and 250 Asian Americans. As the results showed, some of the outcomes of interest were poorly estimated, which was likely due to the small

samples used. Larger samples should be used to detect causal relationships from context, especially since the causal effects of small contextual changes are substantively small. People experience context day after day, week after week, month after month, sometimes year after year. Any effect from a short-term nine-image classification task is likely to be very small.

In chapter 5, I conducted the survey testing critical implications of the identity portfolio framework on a sample of 320 Latinos. First, the results from this study can only speak to Latinos and say little about how Asian Americans respond to threat and how the identity portfolio framework maps identities to politics for Asian Americans. Second, the sample is again quite small. Although I reliably detected significant effects, members of marginalized communities in the U.S. are bombarded with group-based slights in the form of microaggressions and systematic exclusion on a day-to-day basis. While the treatment focused on a political elite, whose threat may be perceived as stronger, the effect of any such slight, regardless of the figure delivering it, is likely to be small. This, along with the fact that I used a previously said trump statement that targeted Mexican heritage Latinos in the original statement, could have reduced the effect of the message on the identity-based outcomes. While the results suggest otherwise, further testing should be done with different messages, different political elites, non-elite sources of threat, and samples that include Asian Americans should be conducted.

### **6.3 Contributions and Implications**

Identity politics are a central feature of the American political system. For decades, questions relating to identity were often featured in the silos of racial and ethnic politics, despite the role of groups and group-based attachments being central in *The American Voter* and *Voting*, canonical works in American politics. Now we see questions of identity and identity-based explanations for attitudes and behavior are front and center in the canon Mason (2015); Sides et al. (2018); Green et al. (2004).

Because of this, the work in this dissertation makes important contributions across the field of American politics. In the first half of the project, I showed how variation in



group attachments among Latinos and Asian Americans is explained by variation in the social and environmental context. As the two fastest-growing minority groups in the U.S., understanding where these sentiments come from and how they vary among individuals and across various locales is critical if we want to understand more about the political attitudes and behaviors.

I showed that group based attachments explain many attitudes and behaviors among Asian Americans and Latinos. The existing literature has yet to account for the heterogeneity in attachments among these group. The work presented in the dissertation provides a way to understand better that factors that drive variation in attachment that considers many of the complex group dynamics.

In the second half of the project, I showed how the identity portfolio framework provides a tractable way to understand and think about the identity to politics link. I developed the identity portfolio framework to explicitly consider multiple group based attachments that reflects the real-life experiences of the people I interviewed, the respondents in the survey, and the anecdotal evidence of friends, colleagues, and family. In general, most people are not committed to one identity category. We think of ourselves as part of different groups at different times. And the degree of attachment to those groups varies based on the social and environmental context. It also varies on a host of other factors. Groups are used to make the world more straightforward, and we navigate the world through groups.

In terms of politics, the identity portfolio theory is especially critical since it gives us a way to think about political responses conditional on *multiple* group based attachments. While it is well established that group devaluation is one of the critical ways to link an identity to politics, what has not been thoroughly understood is what happens in the various permutations that group based devaluations and attachments to multiple identity categories can take.

The future possibilities for the identity portfolio framework are endless. Other social identity categories that come to mind are the interplays between religious, gender, sexual, partisan, ideological, and race/ethnic. The identity portfolio framework can help map out

the various political responses given attachments to these various categories.

Future work in American politics and beyond should consider the two essential takeaways from this work more broadly and in related work. Social identities are important in understanding politics, but often, our understanding of the diversity in social attachments profoundly impacts how we understand the link between identity and politics. Second, given the role of groups and the overall importance of groups in our day-to-day lives, future work should begin to consider all the facets of group-based attachments, rather than privilege one or even two of these dimensions.

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