ONE VISION:

SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA EFFECTS ON LATINO POLITICAL IDENTITY

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A DISSERTATION

in

Political Science

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2013

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Acknowledgements

Simply saying "thank you" to any one of the following people for their support in this journey falls far short of the gratitude merited. Nonetheless, I offer these words due to an inability to offer something more proportional, and with the request that any meaning that can be found in these expressions of gratitude be multiplied many times over.

These acknowledgements can only begin by recognizing the chair of my dissertation committee and my advisor, Diana Mutz. It wasn't until after a year of working with Diana, that I realized that the word "just" seemed to make a regular appearance in our meetings. She would tell me not to over think things. I *just* had to (fill in the blank). I *just* had to make a few edits. I *just* had to run a few experiments. I *just* had to introduce the question, present my theory and methods, and show my results. Any points that may have seemed overwhelming were dismantled by Diana's encouraging "just" statements. In the face of some unusual circumstances, thank you, Diana, for your patient and generous support in guiding me through this journey step-by-step. Thank you for helping me to find and focus on the larger picture in my dissertation, as well as my personal and professional trajectories. I wish every student could have as rich and enjoyable of an experience with their advisor.

Matt Levendusky was also a central figure in inspiring and motivating my dissertation work. He helped guide my coursework and methodological training early on, and it was in later conversations with Matt that my dissertation topic began to take form. Regardless of whether the university was closed due to a blizzard, or he was on another continent, Matt always made himself available to offer feedback and ensure I was

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progressing appropriately. He never shut his door, and was never too busy or too far. Thank you, Matt for your analytical eye, honest insights, guidance, and humor throughout this process.

Prior to even reaching the University of Pennsylvania, I was deeply moved by the work of Rogers Smith. The gift to work under him as a student, a teaching assistant, a DCC fellow and an advisee was invaluable. His character, wisdom, passion, and selflessness never failed to inspire me. I cannot thank you enough Rogers for your comments, your critiques, your questions and your ceaseless encouragement.

The quality of not only the intellect, but the character, of the broader political science faculty at Penn was truly remarkable. In particular, John Lapinski, Marc Meredith, and Dan Gillion were exceptional mentors and friends. At different points, each of you sat down with me to work through various phases of this process. I can't thank you enough for the sincerity of your interest in my professional advancement, or your ongoing willingness to offer feedback and help.

This dissertation also benefitted greatly from the help and support of the various figures who work "behind the scenes" in university administrative. Very special thanks to Pat Kozak, "Naya" Sanders, Jennifer Bottomley and Johnny Irizarry. You each made Penn a much warmer and more welcoming place.

There are also some professors who had a powerful impact on my dissertation far before I even made it to Penn. When I was still a brazen undergraduate with maybe a little too much sass, Jordan Matsudaira saw through it all and pushed me to consider and pursue paths that I never would have considered to be a possibility. The years that have passed since college have only increased my appreciation for the time he took to sit down

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and push me. Kim Williams was another influential mentor who gave me some of my first opportunities working on professional research. She helped refine my passions, listened patiently to many, many ideas, and set me straight each time I began to veer a little too far off path. Thank you Kim for believing in me.

Of course, none of this would have been possible at all without the support of my family. In particular, Mami and Nicole, thank you for always being there to talk together, laugh together, eat together, celebrate together, laugh together again, cry together, and just walk through life together. Papi, thank you for your unbridled guidance and motivation when I needed it most. Ronald, thank you for improving your jump shot. Tita, Zaida, Jazmine, Kurt and Alethia, thank you for always being there, checking in, caring and offering your love and encouragement. Janna, whether you were across the city, across the street or across the hall, you offered boundless love, and an endless amount of coffee and joyful memories. Thank you for the rich life you created for me in Philadelphia outside of Penn. And Ginny, thank you for allowing me to make your home a second home again and again.

The friends and colleagues I met over the course of my graduate experience, both at the Kennedy School and Penn, were truly among the very best and contributed enormously to the process and experience of writing my dissertation. Norma Rey-Alicea, Rebeca Rangel, and Kim Fields-Cauley, thank you for being my strength when I had none, and for inspiring me with your wisdom, passion, courage, and beauty. Additionally, this journey would not have been nearly as stimulating or enjoyable without Chelsea Schafer, Emily Thorson, Chloe Bakalar, Zulal Neyzi, Eric Trager and Chris Russell. Thank you each so much.

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Selah, you have been my greatest joy and motivation during this process. The purity of your love and laughter has overwhelmed even the most frustrating of times, and your smile has never failed to light up my day. You have made my life so vibrant, and so full. Thank you.

I dedicate this dissertation, and everything that went into it, to my father, who offered unrelenting support, love and patience no matter where our paths took us. Thank you for never being too busy to talk. Thank you for being such a wonderful father and such an admirable person.

It was Marie Curie, Dad. I love you too.

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ABSTRACT

ONE VISION: SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA EFFECTS ON LATINO POLITICAL IDENTITY

Mara Cecilia Ostfeld

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In this study, I use two population-based survey experiments to consider the role that Spanish-language political media plays in shaping views of Latino political identity. Drawing from social psychology, communication and cultural studies literatures, I hypothesize that both the use of the Spanish-language and the pan-ethnic label serve to increase perceptions of a politically distinctive, Latino collective. To explore this theory, a nationally-representative sample of 829 Latino adult respondents was exposed to a 30-second, televised Obama campaign ad. Subjects were randomly assigned to one of two versions of the ad, either in English or Spanish. The study's results showed that exposure to Spanish-language media did, in fact, affect perceptions of Latino political homogeneity in an intriguing way. In a second study, a nationally representative sample of 875 bilingual Latinos saw a brief news clip about the elections. Subjects were randomly assigned to either a control condition, or to view a version of the story either in English or Spanish, and using the pan-ethnic label or excluding references to specific subgroups all together. The results underscore the importance of the language of the political content, but also draw attention to the importance of using the pan-ethnic label. Together, these findings provide some of the first empirical evidence of how Spanish-language political media affects how Latinos perceive themselves in the context of American politics.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“Yet [Univisión CEO, Cesar] Conde doesn't envision Univision as simply another American network, one that mimics CNN or CBS. He has a defined audience in mind. There's a certain diversity among viewers born in Mexico, elsewhere in Central America, in South America, or in the United States. But they're united by language and culture. The network has thrived by catering to Spanish speakers rather than worrying about the broader society's whims. "Our laser-like focus is U.S. Hispanics," he declared. ‘The census results show we are 50 million strong and exponentially growing.’ ”

- *National Journal, 2011*

Over the course of 2012, the largest Spanish-language television network in the United States, Univisión, highlighted that the “Hispanic community will play a decisive role” in the upcoming election (Lee, 2012). Metaphors of sleeping giants and pressure cookers were used to depict a consolidated, although never fully heard, voice. Such depictions of the pivotal political importance of a pan-ethnic Latino[1] community were reiterated in advertisements, news broadcasts, and Sunday morning talk shows. The claim being made was not that Latinos needed to vote to assert their views as individuals, but that the common interests of a larger Latino community were at stake. This portrayal of Latinos – as a unified bloc with shared interests – is an enduring theme on Spanish-language media networks. Yet the premise of the pan-ethnic collective these networks have claimed to serve, and often represent, has never been entirely clear. Despite the

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I will use the terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” interchangeably since both are widely used to refer to individuals living in the United States who trace their ancestry to the Spanish-speaking regions of Latin America and the Caribbean.

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ubiquity of references to a Latino or Hispanic community, it is simply not clear that such a unified people exists (Beltrán, 2010; Dávila, 2001).

In particular, claims of pan-ethnic community are vastly undermined by the magnitude of diversity that exists within the growing population grouped under the Latino label. Such labels fail to recognize the multiplicity of views, experiences and identities embodied in the population they attempt to characterize. There is no shared physical trait, period of immigration, experience with the United States, or set of beliefs that unites Latinos. Those classified as Latino in the United States have ancestries from over 20 different countries and territories. Some Latinos have resided in the United States prior to its establishment as a nation, while others arrived for the first time today. They speak languages and dialects that include variations of English, Spanish, and numerous indigenous languages. Reasons for immigrating to the U.S., income, and education also vary greatly, as do musical and gastronomical preferences.

Political views among Latinos exhibit similar diversity. Views on immigration, the death penalty, partisan identification, and abortion, among others, diverge significantly among Latinos (Leal, 2007). U.S. Hispanics include "some 25 million people who don't know or care much about one [an]other, don't think or talk alike, and have not until recently thought of themselves as having any common interests" (Fox, 1996, p. 22). Simply put, there are no essential qualities that link people into a homogeneous "Latino" or "Hispanic" political collective.

The institutionalized reinforcement of notions of Latinos as a unified people in Spanish-language media consequently raises questions as to how programming on these networks are affecting how Latinos think of themselves. Given that about 68% of Latinos

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obtain at least some of their news information from Spanish-language news media (Suro, 2004), these patterns draw particular attention to the role that Spanish-language political media has played in the formation of a unified group political identity among Latinos. In other words, has Spanish-language media helped reify the notion of Latinos as a collective with shared political views and interests?

The Significance of Perceiving Latinos as a Unified Political Collective

Perceptions that a set of people share a group political identity have important implications that are often overshadowed by the value attributed to their *actual* political identity. Among other things, the sense that a set of people are a true "group," also known as entitativity, stems from the perception that group members share common attitudes, and are distinct from others (Campbell, 1958). Such perceptions can result in assumptions made about the political desires of Latino constituents, and how they should be served and represented. These assumptions, in turn, can have adverse consequences, such as reinforcing negative stereotypes about the group, or advocating policies that fail to advance these constituents' actual interests. At the same time, perceptions of entitativity may enhance their bargaining position. The late civil rights activists Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton argued that "solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society" (1967, 44). Groups perceived to be homogeneous may consequently be allotted political power that they would not obtain as disaggregated individuals with diverse interests.

This simultaneous capacity to enhance collective power, while reinforcing the stereotypes and prejudices they breed, makes perceptions of group collectivity of

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particular significance to the American political process. Such perceptions illuminate the very tangible implications of amassing individuals into a collective, rhetorically or statistically, and how this can both expand political clout while hindering political understanding. In doing so, perceptions of relative group heterogeneity offer insights that are crucially important to intergroup and interpersonal attitudes and behavior, as well as the broader political tools and challenges that a set of individuals are taking on.

Of course the significance of these patterns and insights is in no way unique to Latinos. There are many different groups of individuals who are artificially amassed into collectives that veil their actual interests beneath claims of unity. With that being said, this pattern is particularly relevant for Latinos. The presence of people of Latin American ancestry in the United States extends as far back as the existence of the United States. Yet formal recognition of these individuals (i.e. inclusion in U.S. Census data, political representation, etc) did not occur until 1970 when a Census long form asked a sample of U.S. respondents whether their origin or descent was "Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, Other Spanish," or "No, none of these" (Cohn, 2010). And the recognition of these individuals as a cohesive pan-ethnic entity is an even more recent phenomenon. It is only in the last forty years that the idea of a larger collective of people of Latino American ancestry, of *Latinos,* has had any meaningful role in civic discourse or interpersonal interaction (National Research Council, 2006). As a result, the process of constructing a pan-ethnic people with pan-ethnic interests is a relatively recent and very much evolving phenomenon. Notions of who 'Latino' constitutes, and what it signifies are still being formed, making Latinos a timely case for this study.

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Yet despite all of the attention given to a Latino collective in Spanish-language media, the implications on perceptions of Latinos, particularly among Latinos, remains unclear. How does the institutionalized reinforcement of notions of Latinos as a unified people in Spanish-language media affect how Latinos think of themselves? If Spanish-language media contributes to the notion of a united Latino political collective, as previously theorized, it should be evident in perceptions of Latinos as both politically distinctive and internally homogeneous relative to Americans as a whole (Dávila, 2001; Rodriguez, 1999; Campbell, 1958). Consequently, the central question raised in this dissertation is whether Spanish-language political media strengthens this frequently implied notion of a distinctive and monolithic Latino political collective.

The Arguments

In this study, I draw from two bodies of research with contradictory predictions pertaining to the effects that Spanish-language media has on perceptions of Latino political identity in the U.S. Drawing from cultural anthropology and media studies, one set of theories suggests that by highlighting the notion of a singular, unified, Latino collective, Spanish-language media helps consolidate the idea of a cohesive, pan-ethnic group, and thereby increases perceptions of Latino homogeneity (Rodriguez, 1999; Dávila, 2001; Levine, 2001). Despite criticisms of the pan-ethnic category and its representation in the media, there is compelling evidence that Latinos have internalized elements of the commercially-constructed Latino collective disseminated by Spanish-language media, and actively used it to assert their role and identity in society (Dávila, 2001). According to this line of research, Spanish-language media should increase the

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sense of political uniformity among Latinos, as well as their distinctiveness from the American population at large.

Outgroup homogeneity theory, on the other hand, posits that the increased salience of a collective will increase perceptions of diversity among its members, while causing them to view others as more homogeneous. Premised on the common perception that "*they* are all alike," outgroup homogeneity theory posits that people generally perceive more uniformity among outgroups (i.e., the groups with which they do not identify) relative to their ingroups (i.e., groups with which they do identify, see Tajfel, 1981). This effect has been demonstrated in a range of contexts, including groups that are relatively unfamiliar with one another (Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989), with highly familiar groups (Park & Judd, 1990; Park & Rothbart, 1982), and even in situations where groups are created in a random or arbitrary fashion (Judd & Park, 1988; Mullen & Hu, 1989). Extrapolating these findings to Latinos would suggest that when the pan-ethnic group is made salient, as it is in Spanish-language media, it would increase perceptions of Latino diversity relative to, and distinctiveness from, outgroups, such as Americans.

Despite the evidence in support of a relationship between Spanish-language political media and perceptions of a Latino political collective, each of these theories is complicated by the relatively amorphous notion of Latino pan-ethnicity in the U.S. Among Latinos, boundaries between one's ancestral, pan-ethnic, and American identity can be relatively permeable. Latinos may perceive themselves as simultaneously Latino and American, thus crossing traditional notions of ingroup/outgroups. At the same time, their tendency to be categorized as non-white, ethnic, racial and/ or linguistic minorities in the context of the larger American public weaves a sense of not-entirely-American

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“otherness” into the Latino identity in America. So even though the Latino collective is a collective nested in, and a part of, the broader American collective, Latinos may not always perceive themselves that way. It is just as reasonable that they would perceive Americans both as a separate and distinctive outgroup from which they often feel excluded, and as a larger, superordinate, ingroup in which they are included. Building off of these heretofore separate areas of research, I synthesize these findings into a theory predicting how Spanish-language media may affect identification with a Latino, as opposed to an American, collective, as well as perceptions of Latino political unity relative to the American public at large.

In this dissertation, I argue that the effects of Spanish-language media are driven by the different identification tendencies of Latinos in the United States. Consistent with the work of many cultural theorists, I suggest that the emphasis implicitly and explicitly placed on a cohesive Latino collective in Spanish-language media will increase the salience of ethnic identities. Yet I suggest that these identities will not be the same for all Latinos, and therefore the effects on perceptions of Latinos as a political entity will also vary. Those who, on average, have been in the U.S. longer and are English-dominant have been shown to be more likely to perceive themselves as American, and I suggest this identity will be highlighted in the face of such ethnic primes (Taylor et al, 2012). Similarly, those who on average have been in the U.S. for a shorter period of time and are Spanish-dominant are more likely to describe themselves as Latino than American (Taylor et al., 2012). This identity, I suggest, will also be magnified when consuming Spanish-language media. Thus, in a manner consistent with outgroup homogeneity theory, I suggest that Latinos who are more likely to describe themselves as Latino than

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American will perceive Latinos to be a highly diverse collective relative to the larger American public, while Latinos who are more likely to describe themselves as American than Latino, on the other hand, will be more likely to perceive Latinos as a politically homogeneous and unified collective relative to Americans as a whole.

Given that assimilation and language preference do not bifurcate the Latino population into two neat sub-groups, I also look at bilingual Latinos who have not been shown to have strong or consistent identity preference. I suggest that Spanish-language media will prompt these Latinos to identify more strongly as Latino than American, and therefore view Latinos as relatively politically diverse. When consuming English-language political media, on the other hand, I suggest they will identify more strongly as American than Latino, and therefore view Latinos as a comparatively uniform American sub-group.

The results clarify how group identity operates in contexts in which an individual can identify as part of either a superordinate group (American), a subgroup (Latino), or both. These findings shed light on the uncertain meaning of a Latino identity in American politics, and how the use of Spanish-language in political media is shaping how Latinos understand their position in American politics.

My Contribution

My argument makes four particularly important contributions to the literature on Latino politics, particularly the work exploring the link between Spanish-language political media and Latino political identity. First, I provide one of the first experimental studies on the effects of Spanish-language political media (see also Jackson, 2011), and

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the first experimental study looking at the effects of Spanish-language political media on perceptions of Latino political homogeneity. Research exploring the effects of Spanish-language media on Latino political views, behavior and identity has grown significantly in recent years (Kerevel, 2011; Jackson, 2011; Abrajano and Singh, 2009; Abrajano, 2010). However, despite the advancements that have been made, such work continues to be almost entirely defined by survey research. As a result, existing scholarship has really only been able to suggest correlation, without establishing causal relationships. When dealing with survey self-reports, subjects tell the researcher what type media (Spanish vs. English) they watch. But such media choices are driven by levels of assimilation into American culture, personal preference, education, and so forth. Given this, we cannot draw firm inferences about the links between Spanish-language media and Latino political views, identity or behavior. In contrast, with an experimental design (where subjects are randomly assigned to watch different types of media), I can draw more robust causal inferences.

Second, I also disaggregate various components of Spanish language media to explore the particular mechanisms through which Spanish-language media shapes political attitudes and perceptions of Latino heterogeneity. In particular, I focus on two distinct cues in Spanish-language media that signal common interests among Latinos: the use of the Spanish language itself, and the frequent reliance on pan-ethnic labels that explicitly link Latinos together into a collective. Previous scholarship argues that these features serve as a marker of a distinct cultural identity (Dávila, 2001; Rodriguez, 1999; Levine, 2001), but it has not provided evidence of the consequences for perceptions of group homogeneity/heterogeneity. I show that the use of these elements of Spanish-

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language media, and particularly the use of the Spanish-language, has strong effects on how Latinos view themselves, the larger Latino collective, and the importance of Latinos in the American political process.

Third, I consider whether Spanish-language political media affects Latinos differently based on their level of integration into the larger American culture. Among Latinos, ethnic self-descriptions can differ markedly by the amount of time one has resided in the U.S. While third-generation Latinos are more likely to use the term "American" to describe themselves than a term for their country of ancestry or a pan-ethnic label, immigrant and first generation Americans are most likely to describe themselves by their Latin American country of origin (Taylor et al, 2012). Because one's time in the U.S. is highly correlated with language dominance, this distinction in identities can also be seen clearly when contrasting Spanish-dominant Latinos, that is Latinos who rate their ability to speak and read in Spanish as better than in English, with English-dominant Latinos, whose ability to speak and read in English is better than these abilities in Spanish. So while 66% of English-dominant and 69% of third and higher generation Latinos said they would describe themselves as a "typical American," only 31% of Spanish-dominant Latinos and 34% of foreign-born Latinos said they would identify themselves as such (Taylor et al, 2012). These differences point to a significant disparity in how Spanish- and English-dominant Latinos perceive themselves, and how they perceive their relation to other Americans.

Given the reliance upon pan-ethnic references and the Spanish-language in Spanish-language media, as well as the social associations that each of these mechanisms have with a Latino collective, I argue that Spanish-language will affect Latinos

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differently based on the amount of time they have resided in the U.S. and their associated linguistic preferences. Specifically, I argue that it will exaggerate pre-existing identification propensities among those with a stronger sense of identity, and prime ethnic identities among those who have weaker connections with ethnic labels, especially bilingual Latinos. In doing so, Latino viewers will perceive their "ingroup" and "outgroup" differently, thereby endowing Spanish-language media with the capacity to prime not only group identification, but also notions of group unity and entitativity in a manner consistent with outgroup homogeneity theory.

Lastly, I consider the role that Spanish-language media may play in shaping Latino political identity in two distinct media contexts: news broadcasts and political campaign advertisements. The differences in these media formats permit insights into how the sources that employ these media mechanisms may also contribute to effects on perceptions of Latino political identity. While both formats are key sources of political information, they also differ in obvious ways. Principally, campaign advertisements are paid-for advertisements with the explicit aim of persuading viewers to accept and assume a specific view. News broadcasts on the other hand are, at least in name, unbiased sources of political information. This intent of persuasion, or lack thereof, can have important consequences on how viewers process political information (Zhao & Chaffee, 1995). To hear a news broadcaster say that a candidate has invested a lot in to increasing educational opportunities in the U.S., for example, may be more persuasive than to hear the same information conveyed in an ad paid for by the candidate. There is an element of personal interest in campaign ads that is not as explicit in news broadcasts.

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Consequently, the use of Spanish may be perceived as pandering in a campaign ad, potentially causing respondents to be more aware of and less receptive to the symbolic appeals conveyed. This perception is likely heightened by the fact that Spanish-language campaign ads are still relatively novel compared to Spanish-language news broadcast, thereby drawing further attention to the linguistic choice and the implicit rationale behind it. In a news broadcast, however, the use of Spanish may be perceived as more natural due to both the comparative lack of personal interest and the routine nature in which it is employed. It may therefore be more likely to prime community. Thus, these experiments were not only useful in testing the effects of these two different components of Spanish-language political media on perceptions of Latino political identity, but they were also useful in determining whether these components of Spanish-language political media exert effects in different media formats.

Beyond even these theoretical advances, my study also illustrates a new way of finding data on Latinos that offer original insights into the formation of Latino public opinion. Financial and logistical limitations have imposed significant barriers to accessing and maintaining a large representative sample of Latinos. This is one key reason that research on Spanish-language media effects, Latino public opinion, and Latino political identity continues to be vastly underexplored (Abrajano & Alvarez, 2011; Garcia-Bedolla, 2005). In my analyses, I use large, nationally-representative samples of Latinos that allow me a higher degree of ecological validity than in many previous studies based on convenience samples. Even more broadly, I am among the first to have nationally-representative samples of both English- and Spanish-dominant Latinos. As I argued theoretically above, English-dominant and Spanish-dominant

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Latinos will respond differently to Spanish-language media, and hence I am among the first to show the important differences between these two groups.

My study is also the first on this topic to avoid explicitly priming respondents' ethnic identity with the design of the study. Previous studies of Latino opinion begin with a series of questions that ask the respondent if they identify as Latino, and if they would like to take the study in Spanish, and so forth (see, for example, the Pew Hispanic 2006 National Survey of Latinos and the Latino National Survey, 2006). Such questions almost certainly cause respondents to think "like a Latino" (Zaller, 1992). In contrast, the respondents in my sample were identified as Latinos in a previous study unconnected to my own. So subjects taking my study did not know it was a study of "Latino" opinion; they were recruited to take part in a study on "how people learn from political media." Further, any questions mentioning Latinos were deliberately left until the end of the survey to avoid the questions themselves providing a clue as to the study's true purpose. The result is a more accurate sense of subjects' attitudes.

Furthermore, research on Latino public opinion is often conducted without a reference point. In such cases, it is unclear as to whether any effects on perceived Latino public opinion or political behavior are dissimilar from similar perceptions among the larger citizenry. Evidence suggesting that Spanish-language media increases perceptions of how politically liberal Latinos are, for example, means something quite different if it also increases perceptions of how politically liberal the larger American public is as well. In such a case just looking at Latinos would seem to illustrate a relationship that is unique to Latinos. However, the inclusion of information on the effect on the larger American public would suggest that the effect is not really about Latinos at all. It is simply not clear

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how to interpret suggestions of relationships between Spanish-language media and perceptions of Latino political identity without comparable data on perceptions of Americans as a whole.

The Larger Contribution

All together, the findings presented in this dissertation offer valuable insights into Latino public opinion, and the role that one of the most powerful sources of information among Latinos in the U.S. plays in shaping their views. Despite the growing attention granted to Latino public opinion, there still remains quite a bit of debate as to whether Latinos embrace a cohesive set of political views and a shared political identity (de la Garza, 2004; Segura, 2012; Uhlaner & Garcia, 2005). I shed light on these disparities in past research by considering the unique ways that Spanish-language media interacts with perceptions of Latino political views among Latinos who are more and less integrated into mainstream American political society. These findings illuminate the uncertain meaning of a Latino identity in American politics, and how the use of Spanish-language in political media can shape both how Latinos understand a pan-ethnic political identity, as well as their perceived position in American politics.

Further, this research offers insights into the identity dynamics that have been shown to propel political behavior. Perceptions of group membership play significant roles in shaping beliefs about actual commonality and shared interests (Mackie, 1986). The political potential of racial and/ or ethnic identities has consequently been noted to be an important factor in the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities in the United

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States (Dawson, 1995; Barreto, Segura & Woods, 2004; Hero, 1992; García Bedolla, 2003). Yet the evolution of these racialized political trends, particularly among Latinos, is not well documented. Race and ethnicity do not create political boundaries on their own (Wong, 2010), but there is limited empirical support for how this sense of pan-ethnic membership and community is cemented into political thought and behavior. By exploring the role that Spanish-language media, and particularly its emphasis on the pan-ethnic identity, plays in developing a group political identity, this research will lend further insights into trends in Latino political behavior.

Finally, this dissertation builds off of the literature on the role of media, and particularly ethnically targeted media, in shaping public opinion and behavior. While past research on race and the media has highlighted its association with prejudice (Mendelberg, 2001; Valentino et al., 2002; Huber & Lapinski, 2006), less research has been done on how ethnically targeted media affects the identification, opinion and behavior of co-ethnic minorities. The limited literature that does exist has made a strong case for a relationship between Latino-targeted advertising and Latino political behavior (Abrajano, 2010), and effectively demonstrated the capacity of Spanish-language news to increase Latino political engagement (Oberholzer & Waldfogel, 2009). This research helps fill this void by providing clearer evidence on how Spanish-language media shapes how Latinos understand the role and power of a collective Latino political identity.

Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter 2, I review the historical process of articulating a pan-ethnic Latino identity in Spanish-language television media in the United States. Given their

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overwhelmining dominance of the Spanish-language television market in the United States, I specifically focus on the Univisión and Telemundo networks. I begin this chapter by outlining the evolution of these networks, and how they became intertwined with international interests seeking as broad of a market audience as possible.

I then discuss the steps taken by these networks to position themselves in the U.S. and Latin American media economy, and how they cultivated their market audience. In addition, I explore the unique elements employed by these networks that may reinforce the Latino collective they cover and seek to serve.

In Chapter 3, I present the methods used in my research to explore how exposure to Spanish-language political media affects the development of Latino political identity. I begin by reviewing the first of two population-based survey experiments used in this dissertation. In this experiment, I investigate how the use of both the Spanish-language and pan-ethnic references in the context of a news broadcast affects perceptions of Latino heterogeneity. I begin by discussing the content of the news broadcast treatments, the construction of the language and pan-ethnic reference manipulations, the nationally representative population of bilingual Latinos used to create the sample population, and, finally the unique metrics employed for measuring perceptions of political heterogeneity.

I then review the methods used to develop a second experimental study exploring the effects of exposure to Spanish-language campaign advertising, as opposed to English-language campaign advertising, on perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity. Again, I elaborate on the content of the treatments, the construction of the manipulations, the nationally representative population of Spanish- and English-dominant Latinos used to

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create the sample population, and, finally the unique metrics employed for measuring perceptions of political heterogeneity.

Chapter 4 begins with empirical tests on the effect of the language of the news story on ethnic identification. I continue on to discuss how the language of news broadcasts interacts with the use of pan-ethnic references to affect ethnic identification. With these findings on ethnic identification in mind, I then look at how the language of news broadcasts affects perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity. This chapter provides readers with an understanding of how the language of news media interacts with ethnic identification to shape perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity.

Building off of the findings presented in Chapter 4, in Chapter 5 I consider how Spanish-language political advertisements affect perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity. This chapter also clarifies the role of cultural integration and identification by exploring these relationships among both English- and Spanish-dominant Latinos. I begin by illustrating the differences in identification tendencies among Spanish and English-dominant Latinos, and how these, again, tie into perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity. In addition, I explore how the language of campaign appeals affects perceptions of collective political power, and how this relates to perceptions of political heterogeneity.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the major findings from this research and discuss its theoretical contributions to the larger body of research on Latino political identity, Spanish-language media, and media effects more broadly. I briefly discuss what this means for the future of Latinos in America given the growth of both the number of Latinos as well as the growth in Latino-targeted television networks.

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Chapter 2:
Constructing Spanish-Language Television

For the duration of its existence, mass communication in America has served a range of social, political and economic purposes. It has acted as a forceful vehicle for disseminating news, providing entertainment, and establishing and expanding commercial markets. It informs viewers of what is occurring in the world, and their relative position in it. In doing so, people's understanding of self is refined. Spanish-language media has not been an exception. Similar to other forms of mass communication, it frames the information it is distributing, and consequently, the perspectives of the largely Latino audience it is informing (Anderson, 1991).

This is particularly true when it comes to Spanish-language television. Television is, by far, the most heavily relied upon medium for news information among Latinos. While slightly more than half of Latinos turn to radio and news papers for news information, and nearly a third turn to the internet, a much larger 85% get news information from television (Suro, 2004). Of course, Spanish-language television does not constitute all of the news media consumed by Latinos, but it does constitute a share many find surprising. Despite the fact that only about one third of Latinos are Spanish-dominant, over two-thirds consume news in Spanish (Suro, 2004; Dockterman, 2011). A majority of Latinos are thus getting news information from Spanish-language media.

Chief among these news sources are Univisión and Telemundo. As the two first Spanish-language television networks, the most watched Spanish-language networks, and

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the homes to the most popular news programs, they exert an undeniable influence on Latinos in America (Univision Communications, Inc, 2013; Guskin & Mitchell, 2011; Telemundo Communications, n.d.). What is unique about their operation is the manner in which they are embroiled with Latin American interests, and in particular, Mexican media conglomerate Televisa's pan-hemispheric visions. The bottom line that propelled them to seek an audience that extended beyond social, political, and national borders, also incentivized minimal product differentiation so as to be able to use and reuse their programming as broadly as possible. In seeking to consolidate a captive audience to sell to advertisers, they have sought to cultivate a pan-ethnic culture that could incorporate such diversity.

In this chapter, I outline the evolution of the networks, how they cultivated their market audience, and how they ultimately have helped build a pan-ethnic Latino political collective. In addition, I explore the unique elements employed by these networks that may reinforce the Latino collective they cover and seek to serve.

The Birth of U.S. Spanish-Language Television

Early in the days of televised media, Spanish-language stations began to wedge their way into the US media structure. Airing mostly entertainment programming, they broadcast largely during non-peak hours in the southwest. Yet after observing the success of one of the first Spanish-language radio stations in the U.S., Raoul Cortez saw the opportunity for a full-time Spanish-language television station. So in 1955 Cortez used the newly created Ultra High Frequency (UHF) band to establish KCOR-TV right along the US/ Mexico border in San Antonio, Texas. The station not only disseminated

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entertainment content to the Spanish-dominant, but also news content. It served to generate attention to shared concerns and interests – particularly as they related to issues in Mexico and US immigration policies. His desire to serve and unify this US community was evidenced by his broader professional commitments. Cortez twice served as the president of the nation's oldest Latino advocacy group, the League of United Latin American Citizens, as well as the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. Additionally, Cortez actively participated in high level discussions on domestic and international issues relating to the US Latino community, including the extension of the Bracero program under President Truman. At the heart of the formation of US Spanish-language television was Cortez' evidenced desire to organize and empower those experiencing the common adversity of being labeled as Mexican or Spanish in the post-Mexican-American War and pre-Civil Rights era of American history.

From the beginning, however, KCOR-TV faced great difficulty generating the financial support needed to sustain the station. A lack of data on the size and buying power of a Spanish-speaking audience made it difficult to convince advertisers of the value of targeting a group of relatively low-wage laborers. Some have argued that while there were strong viewership numbers in these initial years, fears of discrimination prevented people from indicating they watched Spanish-language media when surveyed by marketing companies of the day. Accordingly, after only a few years, Cortez sold KCOR-TV to Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta and his financial partners. With this transaction, the station formally entered the hands of the Mexico-based Azcárraga family and the emerging Telesistema Mexicano media network. This was notable in that it marked the corporate marriage of two major media companies attempting to merge their

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distinctive national audiences through one programmatic funnel. Yet even more notable than that was that in coming years, the Telesistema Mexico network would become Televisa, monopolize media and entertainment in Mexico, and seek to shape Spanish-language media throughout the Americas (see Mejía Barquera et al., 1985; Mejía Barquera, 1989; Miller & Darling, 1991; Trejo Delarbe, 1988). In doing so, the relationship marked a much more entrenched set of interests in unifying a singular Latino market audience.

An Azcarraga Era

For the Azcárraga family, the greatest appeal of a Spanish-language television station in the U.S. was the efficiency of the opportunity it presented. Azcárraga already owned a growing media network in Mexico, and had ample programming. Yet just over the U.S.-Mexico border, there were a growing number of Spanish-speaking Latinos with little to no access to programming in their dominant (or only) language. The initial intention was thus not to construct a US Spanish-language network with new, original programs, but to simply rebroadcast the lucrative programs already being broadcast in Mexico. This permitted them to expand the revenue generated by existing programs while minimizing additional overhead costs.

This opportunity was particularly valuable given the lack of interest among American businesses in the relatively poor and often transient Latino populatoins in the US. "From the point of view of a U.S. entrepreneur in the late 1950s, the U.S. Spanish-speaking market was so small and so poor a community that it was not considered a market at all," but from the perspective of a Latin American entrepreneur, in contrast, the

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millions of Latinos living in the United States were “one of the largest and the wealthiest Spanish-language markets in the world” (Rodriguez, 1999, 36). While most Latinos in the U.S. were not wealthy according to U.S. standards, they had greater access to wealth and capital than many people living in Latin American. They were consequently viewed as a particularly valuable audience within the world of Spanish-language media.

Thus, shortly after acquiring the first station, Azcárraga developed a network of affiliates extending from California, to Florida, to New York, which he named the Spanish International Communications Corporation (SICC). Because Federal Communications Commission regulations limited media ownership by non-citizens, Azcárraga could not own or maintain the control he sought over the emerging U.S. Spanish-language network. Consequently, a U.S. citizen colleague, René Anselmo, served as the majority owner of SICC. Yet to ensure that he still held the reigns, Azcárraga established a separate entity, the Spanish International Network (SIN), to maintain and supply the stations with programming. Thus, without Azcárraga and SIN, the U.S. networks did not have programmatic content or the resources that had kept the stations going up until that point.

Consistent with the new establishment’s name, the Spanish International Network sought to sell one uniform menu of Spanish-language programming to one Spanish-speaking audience. Azcárraga consequently came up with the clever arrangement in which the SICC stations and affiliates were contractually obligated under a "must carry" condition to show the programs, including commercials, transmitted to them, from a daily satellite feed from the Spanish International Network (Sinclair, 1990). It is, thus, of no surprise that over 90 percent of the SICC’s programming during the

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1960's (and many argued longer) was from Televisa (Mora, 2009). SIN's interest in simultaneously catering to and cultivating the audience to consume this programming was served by the lack of differentiation in programming across national borders and regional markets. "During the first two decades, SIN was an extension of Mexico's Televisa – north of the border…Virtually every broadcast hour of each SIN station was Televisa programming, produced in Mexico: Televisa telenovelas (soap operas), movies, Televisa variety shows, Televisa's national nightly news 24 Horas (24 Hours), and sports programming" (Rodriquez, 1999, 37).

Yet this uniform approach to programming for both the Mexican and U.S. markets served a broader aim than that of simply developing their U.S. market at minimal cost. The intent, as was revealed in subsequent years, was actually to cultivate an international, pan-hemispheric Spanish-language media market. Over time Televisa expanded its own influence internationally – distributing programming to over 350 million Spanish speakers outside Mexico. In recent years, Televisa has exported soap operas to all of Latin America and 125 other countries (Ortiz Crespo, 1999). In the early 1990s, Televisa formed a joint news service with U.S. media mogul Rupert Murdoch and Brazilian media giant Organizaciones Globo to bring direct broadcast satellite service to Latin America (Chew-Sanchez et al, 2003). Further consolidating their dominance over media in the region, Televisa has also owned 49% of Chile's Megavisión and 76% of the Peruvian Compañia Peruana de Radiofusión (Ortiz Crespo, 1999). Regardless of where a viewer was located regionally or what their ethnic background was, they were taught this common Spanish-language, showed the same programming, and exposed to images of a shared culture.

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1986 - *A New Vision*

1986 presented an opportunity for a sharp divergence from the trends towards amassing Spanish-speakers into a larger, and more homogeneous audience. In particular, two important transformations took place – the introduction of significant competition and the formal reduction in the amount of foreign influence on U.S. Spanish-language networks. At first glance, each of these shifts might seem fitting to precede the deconsolidation and diversification of the Spanish-language television market. In reality, however, they served to further entrench these patterns.

Twenty-five years after KCOR-TV was acquired by Azcárraga and his partners, the Spanish International Communications Corporation was ordered by a federal court to reduce levels of foreign control. While the Azcárragas' stock holdings did not exceed the 20% statutory limitation, an administrative law judge concluded that the Azcárraga family's financial and personal relationships with American principals gave Televisa a degree of influence and control over the SICC stations which greatly exceeded that permitted by the Federal Communications Commission. To comply with these mandates, the network was sold to the American company Hallmark. The court-ordered sale of the Spanish-language television station chain marked the end of a quarter century era in which "private media interests based in Mexico had been steadily extending their virtual monopoly of television broadcasting in their own country across the border in pursuit of the United States' largest linguistic minority" (Sinclair, 1990, 39). By granting the network greater autonomy from foreign powers, it presented an opportunity for the

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network to shift away from this pan-ethnic approach to one which catered to the nuances and particularities of the U.S. Latino population.

Yet as opposed to diversifying their programming to better reflect specific Latino sub-populations in the U.S., it continued to heavily employ imported programming from Televisa. In doing so, it sustained the default approach to media serving Latinos and addressing them as a relatively homogeneous collective with shared interests. Consistent with this approach, the new owner changed the name of the network from the Spanish International Communications Corporation to Univisión, or 'one vision' in English. The name evoked the commercial strategy assumed by its forerunner in that it seemed to "convey a notion of the alleged unity of the Spanish speaking population of the United States, and Univision's capacity to cater to it"(Sinclair, 1990, 48). Reinforcing this view was the slogan they developed. The slogan read, "One vision, one language, one network: Univisión. The network that Spanish U.S.A. calls its own" (American Management Association, 1987). Once again, the notion of pan-ethnic uniformity pervaded the approach Spanish-language media took to selling and appealing to Latinos in the U.S. Thus, while the reduction in foreign influence may have seemed like an open door for more nuanced and targeted approaches to serving Spanish-speakers in the U.S., they continued with an approach that was almost indistinguishable from their predecessors. In doing so, they served to reinforce the existence of a pan-Latino audience, market, and identity.

Around that same time, a new Spanish-language broadcasting network, Telemundo, entered the market. Their acquisition of stations in areas across the country with high concentrations of Spanish-speaking residents, such as Miami, Puerto Rico,

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New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, generated a great deal of attention and interest from its principal competitor. Yet even more intriguing was the fact that Telemundo had a very different vision for Spanish-language media in America. As opposed to relying on the Latin American programming that had formed the backbone of their competitor, Telemundo sought to "offer flexible programming to local affiliates, segmenting its offerings by local ethnic origin" (American Management Association, 1987, 60). This of course, was a sharp divergence from the approach that SICC and Televisa had taken in cultivating a U.S. Spanish-language market.

The breach this presented to Televisa's monopoly over the Spanish-language television industry in the United States "was also a breach in its hegemonic power to define 'Hispanicness' in predominantly Mexican terms, an aperture which Cuban-American and other entrepreneurial interests have rushed to fill. While this more pluralistic situation has favored precisely the kind of segmentation within the Hispanic market which Univision's consensual approach sought to resist, there is much more involved here than inter-ethnic rivalries" (Sinclair, 1990, 49) In particular, it opened a once-marginal market segment to new corporate interests and allowed another take on Latino pan-ethnicity to filter through American media.

Rejecting Latino Niches

Counter to expectations, however, the introduction of Telemundo served to further consolidate the foreign influence over, and consolidation of American Spanish-language media. Because just as Televisa's court-ordered divestment went into effect, Telemundo's plan to pursue a more original, flexible approach to capturing the Latino-

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American audience based on ethnic targeting was floundering. This presented an ideal opportunity for Televisa to extend their reach beyond SICC and SIN. As opposed to surrendering their influence with the sale of the stations, Azcárraga and Televisa sought to enhance it by positioning themselves as a supplier of programs available for any network. In turn, the divestment became an opportunity to disseminate notions of Latino pan-ethnicity to an even broader segment of the US Spanish-language media market.

Yet only six years later after the sale to Hallmark, Univisión went bankrupt and put the network up for sale again. The relative novelty of the idea that Latinos, and Spanish-speakers in particular, were relevant to corporate America proved to be quite burdensome to Spanish-language networks. This challenge was magnified by the general lack of comprehensive data on Latinos. The Census had begun formally collecting nation-wide data on the Latino population in 1980, but other forms of data on Latinos were slow to become available, thereby causing advertisers great reluctance to invest into advertising to a population that still seemed somewhat abstract. This is most clearly illustrated by the fact that the most definitive source on US television viewership patterns, the A.C. Nielsen Company, was largely ignoring the Hispanic audience even when Latinos were about ten percent of the national population and well on their way to becoming the largest minority group in America. Recognizing the centrality of such data to their credibility as a viable market, Univisión and Telemundo joined together in 1992 and actually paid the A.C. Nielsen Company $20 million to develop new Hispanic audience measurement techniques and run a separate study of Hispanic viewers, the National Hispanic Television Index (Rodriguez, 1999). Further highlighting the sense of Latino distinctiveness was the fact that when this data did become available, it was kept

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entirely separate from the larger Nielsen data. Boundaries between a general American population and a Latino population were fortified by such empirical boundaries, suggesting a separate market, and implicitly, a separate population (Matsaganis et al., 2011). In doing so, they not only promoted the numeric, economic and cultural significance of Latinos in the US, but also advanced the notion of a Latino bloc that can be efficiently packaged and bought by advertisers as a distinctive and separate entity.

Ultimately, Televisa's Mr. Azcarraga teamed with Venevisión, the leading network in Venezuela, and a U.S. investor, Perenchio, to buy Univision for about $500 million. Televisa and Venevision each owned 20 percent on a fully diluted basis. Despite the judicial efforts to ensure U.S. control of U.S. media, the largest Spanish-language network remained an entity designed to serve an audience that spanned the Americas.

Given that Televisa's interests were tied to Univisión again, Televisa, along with Venevision, restricted their sale of programming to Univisión. It was at this juncture that Telemundo made yet another attempt to unpack the pan-ethnic Latino market. To do so, the network embarked on an effort to become the more bicultural network and cater to the younger, more Americanized Latinos. Telemundo claimed to be making gains with the young audience it hoped to attract, but the Nielsen ratings told a different story, and the network eventually put aside this vision. It was yet another failed effort to deconstruct the uniform market depicted, sold, and reinforced in Spanish-language media.

With the failed attempt to cater to a more diverse Latino audience close behind them, and limited access to the principle source of Latin American-produced programming that had a record of success before them, Telemundo had to reinvent itself yet again. Telemundo ultimately found success in another spin on the transnational

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approach by building up the larger pan-hemispheric Spanish-language market outside of Televisa and Univisión. As opposed to turning to the traditional suppliers of programming, the network invested more of its resources into the production of their own programming. Telemundo then turned and sold them to both Televisa and Televisa's main competitor in Mexico, Grupo Azteca. Further, it began purchasing programming from Brazil, Colombia and Mexico as well. In doing so, Telemundo served to further embroil the US Spanish-language media with transnational, as opposed to domestic, interests (Levine, 2001; Tobekin, 1997). This led to Televisa's own realization that they would be better positioned as a collaborator of Telemundo as opposed to a pure competitor. Only a few years later, Televisa consequently signed a contract with Telemundo to gain rights to some of their US-made programs for broadcast in Mexico and other parts of Latin America.

Further Consolidation of the Spanish-Language Market

In subsequent years, public controversy emerged as the largest U.S. Spanish-language television network, Univisión, sought to merge with the largest U.S. Spanish-language radio network, Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation. In 2003, the FCC decided that radio and television had generally been treated as two different markets, and thus, the merger was approved. The result was a clear and overwhelming monopoly over not only Spanish-language television, but Spanish-language media much more broadly.

> "The [Univisión] company now owns 62 television stations, which broadcast either Univisión or its sibling, the Telefutura network; these channels reach nearly all the Latino households in the country. There's also Galavisión, the Spanish-language cable channel, which reaches 5.7

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> million Latino cable subscribers. With the merger, Univision can also now boast of 65 radio stations that it either owns or programs… Additionally, Univisión owns the top Web site for U.S. Latinos, Univisión.com, which gets over 1 billion hits a year." (Ballvé, 2004)

Some consequently asserted concerns that the commission failed to ensure that a variety of viewpoints were available in Spanish-language media. In a memorandum opinion and order on the proposed merger, FCC commissioners Jonathan Adelstein and Michael Copps pointed to the harm to the public interest that would result if it was provided. "Given the unique public interest considerations here, we cannot conclude that the Applicants have shown that the transaction serves the public interest. For millions of Spanish speakers who rely exclusively or predominantly on Spanish-language media, this merger threatens a unique loss of diversity, competition and localism, which is not offset by demonstrated countervailing benefits" (Federal Communications Commission, 2003). The merger proved to be a remarkable and historical example of market consolidation. Opponents of the federally approved merger contended that the company name "Univision," translated from Spanish as "one vision," would describe the number of corporate media voices available to many Spanish-speaking Americans after the merger (Coffey & Sanders, 2009).

As the Spanish-speaking and Latino populations have grown, and Univisión has cemented its position in the American media market, Televisa has taken steps to ensure that it would never be left too far out of the picture. Despite having to relinquish control of Univisión in the past, the loosening of FCC regulations in 2003 also proved favorable to them. As of 2010, Televisa still had a 35% ownership stake in the company (Harrison

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& Rabil, 2010). At the same time, they have continued to exchange programming with Telemundo, unquestionably ensuring that their pan-hemispheric goals remained a central interest in the dominant media sources of Spanish-speaking America.

The Tools of a News Audience Maker

Throughout the 1960s and 1970's virtually all of the programming on each SIN station was Televisa programming, produced in Mexico (Rodriguez, 1999). From *telenovelas (*soap operas)*,* to variety shows, to news programs, Spanish-speakers across Mexico, the United States and other parts of Latin American were consuming the same content, implicitly reinforcing a shared experience and discourse. In recent decades, however, a much larger share of the programming on Univisión and Telemundo, and particularly news, has come from the United States, thereby permitting greater market diversification. But even as U.S. control over Spanish-language news media has increased, the incentives to support a singular, U.S. Latino audience have helped to maintain a unifying, pan-ethnic undertone. This has not been easy. Because while it is not particularly difficult to celebrate unity in diversity in advertising and entertainment, "news, in contrast, is about politics, and politics is at the heart of intraethnic tensions" (Rodriguez, 1999, 80). So how have these interests in a pan-ethnic market manifested themselves in news? There is evidence of at least four particular tools that may have reinforced Latino pan-ethnicity and collectivity in the news: the Spanish-language, news subjects, the use of first person plural and collective pronouns, and the regular use of pan-ethnic labels.

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Gustavo Godoy was arguably the most influential figure shaping the content of early Spanish-language news broadcasts. Godoy spent a significant portion of his career coordinating and producing news for both Univisión and Telemundo. In coordinating their news broadcasts, he explained how the attempt to sustain a pan-ethnic ethos pervaded his work. He explained that he would make:

> "two- or three minute news videos on topics of general interest – to be shown simultaneously to Mexicans in Los Angeles, Cubans in Miami, Puerto Ricans in New York, and the other, smaller groups. To appeal to them all, he 'created a structure' of Hispanic diversity in each segment. Thus, 'when we did a series on AIDS, well, we focus on finding a patient who was Cuban, a doctor who was Mexican, the nurse should be Puerto Ricans, in short, para darle cabida para todos (making from for everybody). We did a series on the economy, so the banker was Mexican, the economic adviser Cuban, the adviser from a company was Puerto Rican, to integrate all the different elements.'" (Fox, 1996, 46).

In catering to this ideal audience, Godoy explains how he would consciously try to incorporate an inorganic level of inclusion to ensure, oddly, that it felt familiar to the broadest range of audience members possible. Of course, this constructed integration comes about not because of any nationalist sentiment from network professionals, "but just because the very nature of the industry demands the consolidation of its market." (Fox, 1996, 47)

The Elements of Inclusion

Building off of these general structural elements, are more pervasive linguistic elements. Chief among them has been the Spanish-language. Amid the diversity that characterizes the cultures, beliefs and experiences of Latinos, the Spanish-language has often been viewed as the most definable, concrete characteristic that could set them apart

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and unify a broadly conceptualized pan-ethnic Latino (Rodriguez, 1999). The Spanish-language makes Latinos seem distinct and foreign relative to the larger non-Latino, English-speaking public, seemingly linking Latinos to one another in a semi-exclusive way. It limits access and erects social barriers, and in doing so, is endowed with a certain "us/ them" element.

Of course, all Latinos do not speak Spanish, or even have Spanish spoken in their homes. However its association with Latin-American ancestry, even when it is not relied upon as a tool for communication, is engrained in the heavily relied upon concept of ethnicity that permeates American culture. Going back as far as 1890, language had been used by the U.S. Census to generate data on the size of the US Latino population. The relationship between the Spanish-language and the Latino bureaucratic label was subsequently formalized in a 1976 bill mandating the collection and analysis of data on Americans who "identify themselves as being of Spanish-speaking background and trace their origin or descent from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America, and other Spanish-speaking countries" (National Research Council, 2006). The bond underlying the institutionalized pan-ethnic collective was a relationship with the Spanish language.

The potency of these associations has not been overlooked by Spanish-language media networks. In an effort to establish their own market position, Spanish-language networks have harnessed the Spanish-language to clearly delineate, validate, and enhance the value of their commercial niche. Particularly during the early years of their existence, when many people had little experience with or understanding of the new flow of Latin American immigrants, the Spanish language was used to render them recognizable and in

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need of unique programming and, even more notable, unique product advertising (Dávila, 2001). The commercial use of Spanish was thus not about the recognition of Latinos, but about constituting them as consumers (Flores & Yúdice, 1993). It was the principle tool by which marketers and advertisers could craft this growing population in the U.S. - one that had not been able to neatly fit into the racial or ethnic categories that existed at the time – into a commercially viable audience. In the eyes of marketers and many of the consumers they reach, "the Spanish language is built as the paramount basis of U.S. Latinidad" (Dávila, 2001, 4).

Of course, even within the Spanish-language is a great amount of variation in pronunciation, intonation, and colloquial terms that are often tied back to differences in ethnicity, class, and education. Journalists are consequently trained to use a Spanish that will appeal to, and be understood by, all Hispanics - a panethnic Spanish (Rodriguez, 1999). As Noticiero Univisión co-anchor Maria Elena Salinas explains,

> "We are careful selecting our words, looking for a universal Spanish language, if there is such a thing. [The audience] are all correct in their own countries but a Colombia might say something that I know a Mexican would not understand. So we try to use a word that is both grammatically correct and understood by most people. Or we use two words, this or that. Or we use both" (Rodriguez, 1999, 90).

The significance of the Spanish-language consequently went far beyond its use as a tool to facilitate communication among members of a linguistic and/or ethnic minority in the United States. It was used to heighten a broader and larger sense of commonality. The unity asserted through a shared Spanish-language was also asserted in much less subtle

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ways as well. For example, the largest Spanish-language network, Univisión, repeatedly used expressions like "nuestro idioma," and "la herencia del idioma que nos une en hermandad" (our language, and the heritage of language that unites us in brotherhood) as common discursive devices (Davila, 2001, 166). They highlighted that it was not just a pattern of speech many Latinos happened to understand, but it was a symbol of a larger, exclusive bond.

Complementing the reliance upon the Spanish language in Spanish-language political media, is the consistent use of collective personal pronouns, and particularly the first person plural. Throughout news programming on Univisión, for example, broadcasters use the terms "nosotros*"* or "we" to discuss the relevance of major political events to the proverbial Latino whole - "nosotros en este pais*"* (we in this country), and "tenemos que prepararnos*"* (we need to prepare ourselves) (Rodriguez, 1999). Another example was illustrated in the preceding paragraph: "*nuestro* idioma" is not just *a* language but it is *our* language. Similarly, the Spanish language is not just a language that unites people, but *nos une,* it *unites us.* This pattern on many Spanish-language networks implicitly draws social boundaries between Latinos who have a history with the Spanish-language and non-Latinos who, by and large, do not. The conscious journalistic decision to discuss political events as a 'we' illuminates a larger trend on Spanish-language political programs of reinforcing notions of Latino collectivity and unity.

An equally notable mechanism through which Spanish-language television news encourages a shared identity is through its regular use of pan-ethnic labels, such as Hispanic, Latino, Hispano, etc. Reliance upon these terms does not just minimize differences, but emphasizes an invariability between Latinos. Distinctions rooted in the

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unique histories of their countries of origin and their diverse regions of concentration within the U.S. are diminished when news stories highlight the effect that a political issue has on *Latinos*. Shared interests seem to outweigh distinctions when Jorge Ramos interviews presidential candidates on how they would serve Latinos in America. As a result, over time the institutionalized use of pan-ethnic labels in Spanish-language news media symbolically denationalizes Colombians, Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans and other Latin Americans and renationalizes them as Latinos (Rodriguez, 1999).

Furthermore, the explicit selection of pan-ethnic labels to identify subjects or issues in the same context as discussion of political issues may have a framing effect as well. It may cause audience members to learn about and understand the issues in reference to the pan-ethnic collective, and in doing so, may cause them to think about the portrayed issues in reference to the effect it may have on the pan-ethnic collective as opposed to their individual national ancestry group.

The broad use of not only the same programming, but the same unifying linguistic forms is important because it fits quite neatly in with existing theories on how communities are constructed. Communities, it is argued, are bound together not necessarily by blood, or by location, but by a "binding link at the level of conscious thought" (Tonnies, 1957, 27). By propagating a shared set of ideas and language, a shared mass media is arguably at the heart of the establishment, strength and sustainability of such conscious thought. The common discourse that emerges from a shared media and information source that helps create the basis for community (Anderson, 1983). It is the shared language and discourse reinforced by Spanish-language media giants that has arguably been central to the notion of a Latino community (Abrajano, 2010).

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Based on all of the implicit and explicit allusions to Latino pan-ethnic unity, the identity would seem certain. But pan-ethnic terms continue to be the least likely identity choice of Latinos, with those who have resided in the U.S. longer more likely to describe themselves as American, and those who have resided in the U.S. for shorter periods of time more likely to use labels associated with the country of ethnic origin (Taylor et al., 2012). Particularly illustrative of its lack of grasp on Latino self-perceptions is the fact that even many journalists question the validity of notions of pan-ethnicity. The same journalists that go to lengths to affirm Latino unity seem to often have significant questions about its veracity and potential. Jorge Gestoso, a former anchor of CNN en Español referred to any possible political unity among Hispanics as "*muy verde aun" (*still far from ripe) (Fox, 1996, 45). Similarly, Univision's national news program's co-anchor, Jorge Ramos says that even among people who use the word, "nadie realmente se siente hispano" (nobody really feels Hispanic) (Fox, 1996, 46). He continues on to say that while a sincere sense of Latino unity and/ or linked fate may one day be a reality, "muchas veces esas uniones son ficticias" (often the proclamations of unity are fictitious) (Fox, 1996, 46). One is consequently left to question exactly who Spanish-language media content is being constructed for, and what audience Spanish-language media is constructing.

Institutionalizing Pan Ethnic Bureaucracy

In 2013, Univision repeatedly outranked other networks (English and Spanish) as the most watched broadcast network among adults 18-34, and often ranked second if not

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first among those 35-49 (Kondolojy, 2013). The rush of interest in capturing and engaging the highly publicized Latino demographic has clearly been an effective one. Yet at the same time, it is not clear what audience the networks are really catering to. Even while Latinos generally don't seem to identify with notions of pan-ethnicity (Taylor et al., 2012), pan-ethnic frameworks are still the dominant ones used to address and frame the audience of Spanish-language broadcast television. According to Hilbert Morales, publisher of the San Jose, California bilingual weekly, El Observador, Spanish-language network executives "are establishing their own Spanish-language media, not to serve that community...but to divert Spanish-language advertising dollars to help their bottom-line" (Ballvé, 2004, 21). Programmatic content, both ad campaigns (commercial and political) as well as news broadcasts and other shows, seem to be created based on an interest in appealing to the perceptions that corporate clients have of who Latinos are and what they perceive Latinos want. In turn, it is the corporate client who becomes the most important part of the audience (Dávila, 2001).

The consequence of these structural decisions made by Telemundo and Univisión, is a Spanish-speaking audience that is repeatedly exposed to messaging that reinforces the notion of an internally homogeneous collective for the benefit of the advertisers supporting the network. The implications of such consolidated media and news structures on Latinos, and specifically how Latinos perceive themselves and their position in American politics, is far from clear. CNN en Español anchor Jorge Gestoso argued that Spanish-language news broadcasts should be "the mirror of our community," and reflect the concerns "of the average Hispanic" (Fox, 1996, 46). Yet it is no longer clear who that

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it is, how the “average Hispanic” perceives him/herself, or how in attempting to appeal to such a large market, they may be shaping who Latinos think they are in America.

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Chapter 3: Methods of Analysis

How does exposure to Spanish-language political media affect the development of Latino political identity? To explore this relationship, I used two population-based survey experiments. The purpose of these experiments was to isolate and manipulate the specific factors believed to be affecting how viewers receive political information from Spanish-language relative to English-language sources – namely, the language of the content and the use of pan-ethnic Latino labels. In each of the experiments, I looked at the effects of these elements of media on perceptions of Latino homogeneity relative to perceptions of broader American homogeneity among a nationally representative sample of Latinos.

The differences in the experiments used permitted insights into the effects of multiple elements of Spanish-language political media. One of the key insights stemmed from the differences in the media format employed. In the first of the two experiments, participants watched a campaign advertisement, while in the second, participants saw a clip of a news broadcast. News programming and campaign advertisements are two of the more common ways for political information to be conveyed through the media. Yet while both formats are key sources of political information, they also differ in obvious ways. Principally, campaign advertisements are paid-for advertisements with the explicit aim of persuading viewers to accept and assume a specific view. News broadcasts on the other hand are, at least in name, unbiased sources of political information. This perceived

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intent of persuasion, or lack thereof, can have important consequences on how viewers process political information (Zhao & Chaffee, 1995). To hear a news broadcaster say that a candidate has invested a lot in to increasing educational opportunities in the U.S., for example, may be more persuasive than to hear the same information conveyed in an ad paid for by the candidate. Similarly, the use of Spanish may be perceived as pandering in a campaign ad and respondents may be less receptive to the information and symbolic appeals conveyed. In a news broadcast, however, it may be perceived as a more authentic use of Spanish and therefore more likely to prime community. Thus, these experiments were not only useful in testing the effects of these two different components of Spanish-language political media on perceptions of Latino political identity, but they were also useful in determining whether these components of Spanish-language political media exert effects in different media formats.

In the following sections, I elaborate on the experiments used to explore the relationship between Spanish-language political media and perceptions of Latino political identity.

EXPERIMENT ONE: SPANISH LANGUAGE NEWS BROADCASTS

In Experiment I, I explored the effects of Spanish language political media on perceptions of Latino political identity. To do so, I looked at how the language of one's source of news media, as well as the inclusion of explicit references to a Latino collective, affects their understanding of Latino political identity. Framing political content, and especially news stories, around a pan-ethnic Latino collective is a common approach to news in Spanish-language media. The intent to appeal to, and implicitly

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reinforce, a pan-ethnic Latino audience is manifest in the goals of the most watched Spanish-language broadcast television networks in the United States (Rodriguez, 1999). I argue that these Latino references that pervade Spanish-language political coverage prime the notion of, and possibly identification with, a pan-ethnic Latino community.

Survey Design

Thus, to explore the relationship between perceptions of Latino homogeneity, and political content that is relayed in Spanish and/or uses a pan-ethnic frame, eligible respondents were invited to participate in a study on "how people learn from political media." Upon accepting the invitation, they were asked to watch a brief video and then answer a maximum of 27 questions. Each of the respondents were randomly assigned to one of five conditions formed by a factorial design manipulating the language (Spanish/ English), and whether it referenced a pan-ethnic Latino political collective or not (pan-ethnic references/ no references to a specific population). The fifth condition consisted of a control group that viewed a clip of kaleidoscope images void of speech, political content or indirect or direct references to Latinos.

Sample

The experiment was administered by YouGov (formerly Polimetrix) of Washington, DC between July 27 and August 2, 2012 via the internet. YouGov seeks panel members from a host of different sources, including standard advertising and strategic partnerships with a variety of websites. Once a new panel member accepts an invitation to join the panel, they receive a profile survey from which a host of socio-

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demographic information is recorded. Survey specific samples are then constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2007 ACS sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling. It draws these demographically-representative samples from a panel of more than 3.3 million people worldwide. Survey responses are then weighted in line with demographic information. In exchange for participation, survey participants receive points that can be redeemed for various rewards.

The sample used consisted of a nationally representative sample of 875 bilingual Latino adults. Only bilingual adults were used because many English-dominant Latinos do not consume Spanish-language news and many Spanish-dominant Latinos do not consume English-language news. Thus, by using a sample of only bilingual Latinos, I was able to ensure that the sample population was the same across conditions, while ensuring the study maintained real world relevance and implications. Additionally, bilingual Latinos are the largest linguistic segment of the population, with about 50% of Latinos being considered bilingual (Saenz, 2010).

Both Latino ethnicity and whether the respondents were bilingual were determined when they were pre-screened prior to enrollment in the survey panel. To determine whether or not respondents were Latino, the profile survey included a question asking respondents what ethnic and/or racial terms they used to describe themselves[1]. Those who selected "Hispanic or Latino" as the group which best described them were classified as Latino. To determine the dominant language of the respondent, I relied upon a question also in the profile survey in which respondents were asked if they "speak Spanish on a regular basis." Because the profile survey, as well the initial outreach, was administered in English, some English proficiency was required to participate in the

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sample, and inferred. Accordingly, respondents were classified as bilingual if they were enrolled in the panel and indicated that they spoke Spanish on a regular basis.

Experimental Treatment

The original version of the news story used in the experiment was broadcast in Spanish on Univision's Despierta América in August of 2011. The story entailed two news broadcasters interviewing an analyst about the Republican candidates for the 2012 U.S. presidential election (see Appendix I). The experimental version was edited to create both an English and Spanish-language version, as well as to manipulate whether it included the original references to a pan-ethnic Latino community or not. The Spanish-language audio was created using professionally edited versions of the original Spanish-language news broadcast.

The English-language audio was a direct translation of the Spanish-language audio. To verify that the content of the news broadcasts was comparable in the English and Spanish versions, they were transcribed into Spanish, translated into English and then translated back into Spanish by three adult individuals. Two of these individuals were native Spanish-speakers and all were raised in the U.S. in homes where both Spanish and English were spoken. The English-language audio was recorded and edited in a professional studio by professional news talent. I collaborated with a reporter from the local National Public Radio station to record the English version of the female anchor, and a former television news broadcaster and producer to record the English version of the male anchor. The voice of the analyst was recorded by a media specialist from the Annenberg School of Communication with expertise in broadcast media.

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In the four news story conditions, footage of the news anchors was replaced with generic footage of Republican presidential campaigns so as to eliminate problems synchronizing the mouths of the anchors with the re-recorded English language speech, and to reduce recognition of the anchors and any possible associations that viewers may have with them (i.e. associations with news addressing Latinos). Additionally, the network symbols displayed in the corner of the screen were manipulated so that a Univisión icon was displayed for the Spanish-language conditions and a CBS network symbol was displayed for the English-language conditions. The quality of the videos was verified in a pre-test administered on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Amazon Mechanical Turk is one of Amazon's web services that recruits convenience samples to perform tasks and/ or answer surveys. The data from these initial pre-tests informed the revisions made to final versions of both the question formatting and the videos to be used in the experiment.

Dependent Measures

The general format of the post-test consisted of questions about their own issue positions on selected issues, followed by a series of questions about the opinions of Americans, and then a series about the opinions of Latinos and manipulation checks. All questions mentioning Latinos were purposely saved for the very end of the survey so that Latino identity would not be primed by the survey questions themselves.

There are obvious limitations as to what effect can be replicated after a single, comparatively brief exposure to a news broadcast. The goal in selecting issues for the post-test was thus to use issues with which an effect is more likely to be observed after

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such an abbreviated replication of actual exposure. I consequently focused on issues on which there was not a deeply-engrained view among the majority of Latinos, and which were more likely to be subject to change when presented with new information. These were issues that were either too novel for most people to have a formed attitude, issues that generated a high number of "don't know" or "undecided" responses in previous surveys, or issues that resulted in very inconsistent attitudes between surveys. They included questions asking about support for gays and lesbians serving openly in the military[2], and U.S. recognition of Palestine[3]. Because the content of the news broadcast highlighted a republican party in disarray, two additional questions were included to gauge how the language of the broadcast affected response to this content. These questions included one asking about respondent's party identification[4] and one asking about respondent's support for Obama[5].

To verify that the meaning of the questions was comparable in the English and Spanish version of the survey, the survey was drafted in English, translated into Spanish, and then translated back into English by four graduate students at the University of Pennsylvania. Two of the graduate students assisting with the translation were native Spanish-speakers and two were raised in the U.S. in homes where both Spanish and English were spoken. Both versions of the surveys were also checked by the translation team at GfK.

I diverged from past trends to measure perceptions of Latino and American opinion. Previous studies that have explored perceptions of opinion have largely relied upon quantitative estimation techniques, such as asking people to estimate the percentage of people who would endorse a given attitude statement (Park and Rothbart, 1982), or to

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indicate how many out of a 100 group members would choose each of the response options (Linville et al., 1989). However, when asked to produce such percentages or distributions of large numbers, people are extremely unreliable and often produce distributions that do not result in the correct total (Krosnick & Fabrigar, 2013). Other measures have asked respondents to label important points of a distribution, such as how the average and most extreme group members might view an issue (Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Simon & Brown, 1987). These approaches rely on a concept of distribution and statistical concepts that are not particularly intuitive to the general public.

To get around these barriers, I created a measurement tool that asked respondents to stack each of 10 stick figures representing people into one of four or five response columns (using a + or – minus button beneath each of the categories). The columns, and the corresponding people stacked in them, were then displayed in a format akin to a vertical bar chart. This allowed people to clearly visualize the distribution of opinions on a single screen (see Figure 3.1). It also ensured that they did not need to understand percentages nor any statistical concept in order to answer.

[INSERT FIGURE 3.1 HERE]

Respondents were given an opportunity to practice using the question format prior to measuring the principle issues of interest in order to ensure that the heterogeneity questions served as accurate measures of their perceptions. This process entailed: 1) showing the respondents the question format prior to being asked to answer it, including an example of what one response might look like with the people assigned to categories

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(see Figure 1); and then 2) asking them to complete a practice question on how people view affirmative action.

Following the practice question using the people sorting format, respondents were asked in a multiple choice format, “just to make sure we understood what you indicated with the stick figures,” whether they thought the majority of people in the U.S. supported, opposed or were evenly split on affirmative action. If their responses to the question using people-sorting and the multiple choice format were consistent, they were then asked to move on to the next question. If the responses were not consistent, respondents were told that their two responses were not consistent and asked to respond to the question using the people-sorting format again.

My goal was to ensure, so far as possible, that respondents understood how to use the technique that I had developed for tapping perceived opinion distributions. To test this, a survey using the mechanism for measuring perceived heterogeneity was administered on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Similar to what was done in the actual survey, an example was provided demonstrating how to use the people sorting format, and then an opportunity was provided to ‘practice’ using the format. Following this practice people-sorting, respondents were asked how they believed “most people” felt about the issue. If the descriptive response matched the people sorting response, it was classified as using the people sorting format correctly. As it turned out, eight-nine percent of respondents answered the question correctly in the initial, practice question. This jumped to 96% of respondents in subsequent questions. In the actual survey, about 85% of respondents stacked the stick figures in a manner consistent with their multiple choice

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response[2]. The difference in the rate of using the people sorting format correctly may have been attributable to the higher than average education, comfort with computers, and familiarity with computers among those in the Mechanical Turk sample. Regardless of their response on the trial question, respondents were retained in the sample so as to maintain a nationally representative sample. To the extent that repeated practice questions did not correct those respondents' understanding of the question, the additional noise this produces in the data should work against the likelihood of finding systematic results.

The resulting data were used to generate perceptions of heterogeneity, which were calculated such that both the number of people assigned per category was taken into account, as well as their distribution across the scale:

Perceived Heterogeneity$_i$ =

$$\frac{\sum\begin{pmatrix} StronglyOppose_i * (1-\mu_i)^2 + SomewhatOppose_i * (2-\mu_i)^2 + \\ SomewhatSupport_i * (3-\mu_i)^2 + StrongSupport_i * (4-\mu_i)^2 \end{pmatrix}}{\sum(StronglyOppose + SomewhatOppose + SomewhatSupport + StronglySupport)}$$

where i was the issue and μ was the mean placement of the stick figure for that issue on the attitude distribution scale. A high score on this scale thus represented greater diversity of perceived opinions for that issue. Respondents repeated this same process for perceptions of opinion on each of the four issues for both perceived Latino opinion and American public opinion. All four items were standardized and combined into an index of *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* and another for *Perceived American Heterogeneity*. The *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* index had a Cronbach's Alpha score of .8 and the

[2] No respondents were excluded to ensure that it remained a fully nationally representative sample.

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Perceived American Heterogeneity index had a Cronbach's Alpha of .8, thereby indicating that these indexes were also highly reliable.

In addition to measures of heterogeneity, an index of questions assessed perceptions of the political power of Latinos. Unified collectives are generally perceived as more politically influential than those characterized by disparate and/or disorganized interests. So if Spanish-language political media is in fact increasing perceptions of the political heterogeneity of Latinos, this could contribute to diminished perceptions of their political power. To explore this relationship, respondents were asked 1) how important they thought the votes of Latinos/ Hispanics are in winning presidential elections today, and 2) how much influence they thought Latinos/ Hispanics have on who is elected President of the United States. These items were found to be highly correlated ($p<.001$), and thus standardized and combined into an index, *Latino Political Importance.*

Two manipulation checks were also included at the end of the surveys received by those who viewed the news stories (all but the control condition) to ensure that respondents observed both the language of the story, as well as any references to Latinos. To verify that respondents observed the language of the news clip, they were asked what television network the news story was broadcast on[6]. Those who saw news stories in Spanish were significantly more likely to say it was broadcast on Univisión than those who saw it in English (p<.001). An additional question sought to verify that respondents observed the references to the pan-ethnic Latino collective. This question asked respondents whether the broadcasters discussed any particular group of voters[7]. Those who saw the news clip that references Latinos were more likely to indicate that it did in response to this question (p<.001).

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EXPERIMENT TWO: SPANISH LANGUAGE POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

In Experiment II, I investigated the effects of exposure to Spanish-language campaign advertising, as opposed to English-language campaign advertising, on perceptions of Latino political homogeneity. To do so, I varied whether respondents saw a political advertisement for Barack Obama entirely in English, or with both English and Spanish content – neither of which would be unusual for a Latino to see.

Sample

This survey experiment was administered in June, 2012 by GfK (formerly Knowledge Networks) of Palo Alto, CA as part of their KnowledgePanel Latino. Respondents were originally recruited to enroll in the GfK panel using Spanish and English language materials via random digit dialing and address-based sampling.[8] To ensure that populations traditionally underrepresented in surveys were adequately represented on this panel, an oversampling was conducted within a stratum of telephone exchanges that had high concentrations of African American and Hispanic households based on Census data. Because respondents took the surveys via the internet, those who did not already have Internet access in their home prior to joining the Panel were provided with a laptop and Internet service. This also served to incentivize participation among Latinos and other populations often underrepresented in survey research. Additionally, the lack of a human interviewer in web-enabled surveys may reduce the social desirability pressures that have been found in both in-person and telephone surveys (Chang & Krosnick, 2009). This survey was one of the several short surveys that participants were asked to complete each month to remain on the panel.

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The survey population consisted of a nationally representative probability-based sample of 509 English-dominant and 299 Spanish-dominant Latinos in total. Both Latino ethnicity and the respondent's dominant language were determined when they were pre-screened prior to enrollment. The pre-screening of respondents to determine their ethnic identification and language preference was taken as an entry requirement for participation in the panel and far in advance of my particular survey. Because it occurred so far in advance, it gave me a unique advantage over other studies of Latino public opinion. To filter out ineligible participants, most studies begin the survey by asking respondents about their racial/ethnic identification (or, at a minimum, whether they would prefer to take the study in English or Spanish). This makes it impossible to know how much the process of asking about Latino identity primes responses and thus changes the results of the survey. Because GfK recorded that information long before these particular studies were executed, respondents did not know they were being interviewed because they were Latino. In addition, they received the survey in the language they typically received surveys from this company, so the language of the survey questions was also unremarkable. As a result, this research circumvents the identity prime incorporated in many earlier studies of Latino public opinion, such as the 2006 National Latino Survey and the 2012 National Survey of Latinos.

To determine ethnic identification, respondents were asked whether they were "of Spanish, Hispanic or Latino descent." Those who responded affirmatively were classified as Latino, and subsequently included in the Latino panel. To assess the dominant language of the respondent, I relied upon a question also in the profile survey in which respondents were asked in what language they would prefer to take surveys. Those who

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opted to take subsequent surveys in Spanish were classified as Spanish-dominant, whereas those who opted to take surveys in English were classified as English dominant.

The inclusion of a nationally representative sample of both English- and Spanish-dominant Latinos was of great importance and value, as significant differences exist between these two sub-groups that may affect how they respond to Spanish-language political media. Spanish- and English-dominance is highly correlated with assimilation and length of time in the United States. Consistent with this, survey data show that while 66% of English-dominant and 69% of third and higher generation Latinos said they would describe themselves as a "typical American," only 31% of Spanish-dominant Latinos and 34% of foreign-born Latinos said they would identify themselves as such (Taylor et al, 2012). Moreover, Spanish-dominant Latinos tend to differ from non-Latino Americans across a range of educational, economic and cultural measures more so than English-dominant Latinos (Taylor et al, 2012).

Experimental Treatments

Eligible respondents were invited to participate in a study on "how people learn from political media." Upon accepting the invitation, they were asked to watch a brief video and then answer a maximum of 27 questions. The campaign advertisements used in the study were original ads from Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign, and therefore, realistic and of professional quality[3]. Each was about 30 seconds long. The

[3] The original version of the Spanish-language ad included Spanish-subtitles when English was spoken. Because the ads were also designed for, and used in, a study on the views of non-Latinos, to maintain comparability English subtitles were also added to the ads including Spanish content when Spanish was spoken.

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English-language advertisement, broadcast entirely in English, consisted of a female narrator highlighting Obama's position on education, the war in Iraq, and health care, and was followed by an excerpt from one of his campaign speeches (see Appendix II). The Spanish-language version also opened with a female narrator highlighting Obama's position on education, the war in Iraq, and health care, but in Spanish. She was followed by the same English-language excerpt from one of Obama's campaign speeches as was used in the English-language versions.

A small amount of editing was done to eliminate explicit references to Latinos that might unintentionally prime ethnicity through a mechanism other than the use of the Spanish language. All editing was done in a studio with professional editing software, support and equipment. The visual content of the ads was identical, and the meaning of the audio was comparable.

Dependent Measures

The post-test for Experiment II assumed a very similar format to that used in Experiment I. The general structure consisted of questions about their own issue positions on selected issues, followed by a series of questions about the opinions of Americans, a series about the opinions of Latinos and then a set of manipulation checks. The same question wording and format was used for these sections of the post-test as was used in Experiment I. The *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* index had a Chronbach's Alpha score of .78 and the *Perceived American Heterogeneity* index had a Chronbach's Alpha of .733, thereby indicating that both indexes were highly reliable.

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A manipulation check was included at the end of the survey to ensure that respondents observed the language and/or Latino reference. To verify that the language was observed, respondents were asked whether they thought the campaign advertisement was targeted toward a "specific group of voters, such as a specific region, ethnic group or age group." If they answered affirmatively, they were then asked in an open-ended format, which group of voters they thought the ad was targeting. Respondents who saw the Spanish ad were significantly more likely to say that the ad was targeting Latinos, Hispanics, Spanish-speakers or Mexicans than those who saw the ad entirely in English ($p<.005$).

METHODOLOGICAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Although a number of methods could have been used to explore the relationship between Spanish-language political media and Latino political identity, population-based survey experiments were the ideal methodological approach for these studies for a number of reasons. First they permitted me to maximize control over the content that respondents were being exposed to. The content of the broadcasts, frequency of exposure (once), time period when the survey was taken, and recentness of exposure (immediately prior to taking the survey) was the same for all respondents, regardless of which ad or news clip they saw.

Second, using a survey experiment permitted me to ensure that subjects were randomly assigned to view one of the media treatments. Surveying respondents who were exposed to the English or Spanish-language ad, for example, as a consequence of their

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personal choice and/or natural tendencies introduces spurious factors associated with the reasons for self-exposure to English or Spanish-language media, such as one's dominant language and/or whether one was born abroad or in the U.S.

Lastly, these experimental surveys provided the study with a degree of external validity that is not generally permitted in traditional laboratory-based experiments. The fact that respondents were allowed to watch the broadcasts and take the survey in their home, at a time of their choice, using a laptop that was given to them for their personal use, and in similar conditions to that in which they would view a traditional campaign ad, increases the generalizability of these findings relative to a study conducted in a laboratory or other unfamiliar context.

With that being said, the ad and news were viewed for the purpose of fulfilling the requirements, and receiving the benefits, of being a member of the survey panel. Respondents may have consequently been paying more attention to the content of the ads then they would if watching solely for leisure purposes, thus artificially strengthening the results.

Along these lines, it is also important to note that the surveys were taken immediately after exposure to the campaign ad and news clip. This, also, may have produced more powerful results than would be evident over time. It is not clear if such perceptions would be as strong a day or week later. Yet with that being said, in real life these ads are often quite frequent, and becoming even more so. In 2012, $23 million dollars worth of spending on Spanish-language campaign ads – eight times as much as was spent on such ads in 2008 (United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, 2012; Burlij, 2012). Similarly, about two thirds of Latinos turn to Spanish-language media for

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at least some of their news information and nearly 90% of Latinos get news information from television (Suro, 2004). So while in these studies, attitudes were measured immediately after exposure, in real life, exposure is much more frequent.

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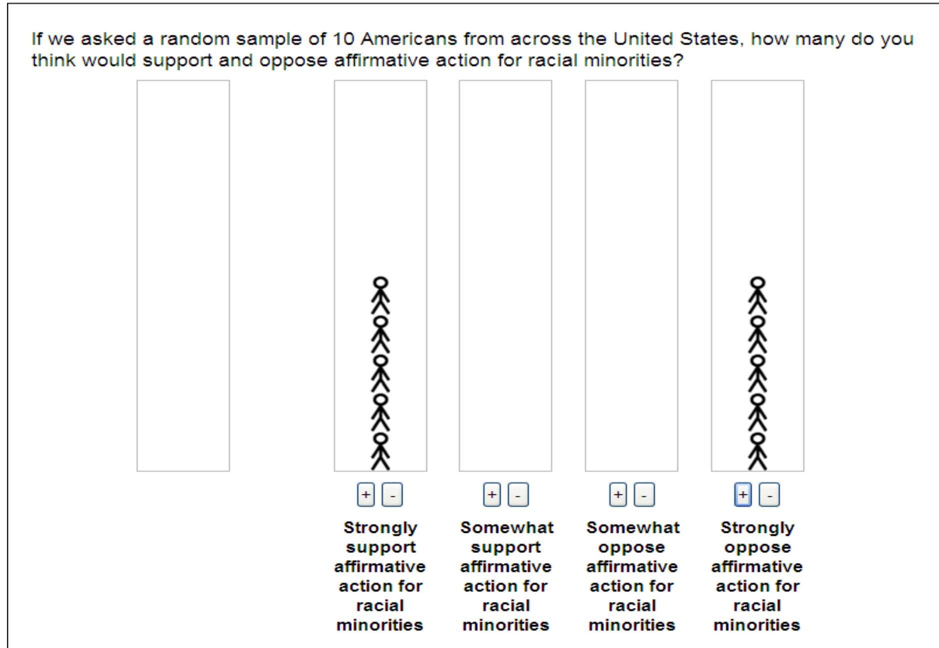
FIGURE 3.1: Example of Survey Measure Used To Assess Perceptions Of Heterogeneity, With People Sorted



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Chapter 4:
"Nuestro Idioma": Effects Of Spanish-Language News Media On Latino Political Identity
(ARTICLE ONE)

The Latino vote has received an increasing amount of attention on U.S. news programs (Barreto et al, 2010). This is nowhere more the case than on Spanish-language news programming (Constantakis Valdes, 2009). In 2012, the two largest Spanish-language networks, Univisión and Telemundo, each dedicated complete segments of their nightly news programs (and websites) to covering the Latino vote. Yet despite the ubiquity of such stories, it is not at all clear that such an entity as a pan-ethnic "Hispanic" or "Latino" collective exists in a way that is politically meaningful (Beltrán, 2010; Dávila, 2001). The cultural, economic, and political diversity of the Latino population has only grown with the population's size, making the notion of a unified Latino political bloc questionable, if not completely untenable. The persistent emphasis on a cohesive Latino collective on Spanish-language media networks consequently invites questions as to how these outlets are influencing the development of a Latino identity. In particular, is Spanish-language news media reifying the idea of a homogeneous Latino political community?

In this study, I explore the effects of Spanish-language news media on the notion of Latino political identity. About 68% of Latinos obtain at least some of their news information from Spanish-language news media, and many more are likely to have

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regularly consumed Spanish-language news media at some point in their life. The manner in which these networks are intertwined with the lives of so many Latinos in the U.S. endows them with a rich potential to influence the political views of its audience members (Suro, 2004). Many have highlighted a tendency on Spanish-language news media to privilege the pan-ethnic identity over specific ethnic, regional, economic, or generational identities, and argued that these networks have consequently helped to cultivate and fortify the notion of a Latino pan-ethnic identity (Rodriguez, 1999; Dávila, 2001; Levine, 2001). In doing so, they may not only contribute to the perception of such a collective, but also the predominance of the Latino identity over other ethnic identities. Despite the compelling nature of these theories, there is still a lack of empirical support for a causal relationship between the use of Spanish-language media and a shared Latino identity. Furthermore, there is no empirical evidence demonstrating what particular elements of Spanish-language media might drive such a relationship.

The significance of these questions is amplified by the lack of research on how perceptions of Latinos are developed *among Latinos*. A wide range of work considers how non-Latinos form their views of Latinos (Hopkins, 2013a; Hopkins, 2013b; Kinder & Kam, 2009), but little is known about how Latinos form their understanding of a collective pan-ethnic political identity.

In this study, I focus on two particularly notable elements of Spanish-language news media that distinguish it from its English-language counterparts, and that have the potential to encourage Latino self-identification: 1) the use of the Spanish language, and, 2) the frequent reliance upon pan-ethnic labels. The historical and social role played by these elements of Spanish-language media have been alleged to both cultivate a pan-

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ethnic collective, and fortify their role as a marker of a distinct cultural identity (Dávila, 2001; Rodriguez, 1999; Levine, 2001). In doing so, the Spanish-language and use of pan-ethnic references may operate in Spanish-language media as a mechanism to highlight a Latino collective that is both distinctive from, and more salient then, the larger American collective. In turn, their use raises important questions as to how Spanish-language political media has affected the formation of a group political identity among Latinos.

The sense that a set of people are a true "group," also known as entitativity, stems from a combination of several factors. Chief among these are the perception that group members share common attitudes, and are distinct from others (Campbell, 1958). Thus, if Spanish-language media contributes to the notion of a Latino political collective, it should be evident in perceptions of Latinos as both politically distinctive and internally homogeneous relative to Americans as a whole. Consequently, the central question raised in this paper is whether Spanish-language media, and specifically the use of the Spanish language and the pan-ethnic label, cultivates these perceptions. In other words, does Spanish-language media: 1) strengthen identification with a Latino, as opposed to an American, collective, and 2) increase the sense of Latino political homogeneity?

To answer these questions, I draw from two bodies of research with contradictory predictions pertaining to the effects that Spanish-language media might have on perceptions of Latino political identity in the U.S. Drawing from cultural anthropology and media studies, one set of theories suggests that by highlighting the notion of a singular, unified, Latino collective, Spanish-language media helps consolidate the idea of a cohesive, pan-ethnic group, and thereby increases perceptions of Latino homogeneity

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relative to the superordinate American identity. Outgroup homogeneity theory, on the other hand, posits that the increased salience of a collective will increase perceptions of diversity among its members, while causing them to view non-Latinos as more homogeneous.

I synthesize these findings into a theory predicting how Spanish-language media may affect identification with a Latino, as opposed to an American, collective. I also predict under what conditions one should expect Spanish-language media to affect perceptions of Latino political unity, relative to the American public at large. I then utilize an experiment embedded in a representative population sample of Latinos to examine these expectations. The results clarify how group identity operates in contexts in which an individual can identify as part of either a superordinate group (American), a subgroup (Latino), or both. Particularly notable, these findings shed light on how the use of Spanish-language political media is shaping how Latinos understand their position in American politics.

"Nuestro" Idioma[9]

The Spanish-language has generally been at the heart of the unity assumed to underlie a Latino collective. The relationship between the Spanish language and the notion of a Latino collective has been formally evident since 1976, when a bill mandated the collection of data on Americans who "identify themselves as being of Spanish-speaking background" (National Research Council, 2006). Complementing the bureaucratic institutionalization of this relationship has been the use of Spanish (rather than English) by advertisers and politicians to appeal to Latinos, thereby further reifying

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the role that Spanish plays as a marker of a distinct cultural identity separating Latinos from the rest of Americans (Dávila, 2001; Rodriguez, 1999; Levine, 2001). The Spanish-language can make Latinos feel distinct from the larger non-Latino, English-speaking public, but it also seemingly links Latinos to one another. It limits access and raises social barriers, and in doing so, is endowed with a certain "us/them" element. As a result, the Spanish-language has often been viewed as the most concrete characteristic that could set Latinos apart and unify a broadly conceptualized pan-ethnic Latino (Rodriguez, 1999).

The potency of the associations between the Spanish-language and notions of a distinctive, Latino community has not been overlooked by Spanish-language television networks. In an effort to establish their own market position, many Latino-targeted networks have harnessed the Spanish-language to delineate, validate, and enhance the value of their commercial niche. One such example is the manner in which the largest Spanish-language network, Univisión, has repeatedly used expressions such as "tu idioma," "nuestro idioma," and "la herencia del idioma que nos une en hermandad" (your language, our language, and the heritage of our language that unites us) as common discursive devices (Dávila, 2001, p. 166). In doing so, they have strengthened social and cultural barriers that divide Latinos from non-Latinos, while highlighting the notion of a cohesive Latino community. The socio-linguistic barrier created by using Spanish in an English-dominant media environment is supplemented by the uniformity of the Spanish used. National news broadcasts are trained to avoid colloquialisms and to try and replicate a "Walter Cronkite Spanish," so as to further appeal to and bond Latinos despite national, regional, or cultural differences (Rodriguez, 1999). Many Spanish-language programs have consequently been viewed as "a source of symbolic reinterpretation of the

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U.S. Latin American immigration experience – an element of the process of social change that transforms Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central and South American immigrants into U.S. Hispanic 'ethnics'" as opposed to simply Americans (Rodriguez, 1996, p. 64).

Rhetorically Imposing Entitativity

This notion of a pan-ethnic Latino collective is further fortified in Spanish-language news programs through the regular use of references to the pan-ethnic Latino label. While pan-ethnic references to Latinos are occasionally incorporated into news stories on English-language news programs, they are an institutionalized part of Spanish-language news (Rodriguez, 1999), and are employed much more frequently than on English-language news (Constantakis Valdes, 2009). For example, while many English-language networks ran a story on a study revealing that four out of ten families depend on the income of the mother, Univision's nightly news broadcast ran the same story but highlighted the high number of Latina single moms included in this figure (Colomina, 2013). Similarly, Memorial Day news on English language networks highlighted the contributions of soldiers. On Univisión, however, the story focused on the contributions of los soldados *hispanos*, or Hispanic soldiers (Colomina, 2013).

The combined use of the Spanish-language and pan-ethnic label serve to reinforce the shared associations they each have with pan-ethnicity. Further illustrating this is the initial slogan of the Univisión network: "One vision, one language, one network: Univisión. The network that Spanish U.S.A. calls its own" (American Management Association, 1987). This explicit claim of a unified vision binding Univisión's audience,

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"highlights a conceptualization of Spanish as a symbol system that embodies essential characteristics of the ethnic group" (Rodriguez, 1999, 80). The language is used in a manner that is synonymous with pan-ethnicity, thus reinforcing an inextricability of the language and pan-ethnic Latino collective.

Creating a Political Ingroup

As a consequence of these structural elements of Spanish-language news media, Latinos are repeatedly exposed to political messaging that reinforces the notion of a pan-ethnic Latino community united symbolically, culturally, historically and/or linguistically. The institutionalized use of both language and labels so tightly bound to a pan-ethnic collective is likely to heighten the salience of one's membership in a Latino collective. Further, the manner in which these linguistic frames are woven into the news programs that many Latinos use to inform their political views cultivates a notion of Latino group membership in a context that is fundamentally political. With that being said, there remains quite a bit of uncertainty as to how these aspects of Spanish-language news media should affect how Latinos perceive their political identity relative to the American public at-large.

By strengthening the notion of a Latino collective, some have suggested that exposure to Spanish-language news programs should also enhance perceptions of the group's homogeneity (Dávila, 2001). The implicit and explicit claims of a shared identity and shared experience may overshadow understandings of the actual diversity that characterize the Latino population, and simplify one's classification in the U.S. – despite national ancestry, immigration status, generation, political views, etc. – to a singular,

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homogeneous, Latino (Rodriguez, 1999). Proponents of this idea have also highlighted the name employed by the largest Spanish-language media network, Univisión, or 'one vision' in English. In a way that illustrates the broader strategy employed by the network "the name was intended to convey a notion of the alleged unity of the Spanish-speaking population of the United States, and Univision's capacity to cater to it" (Sinclair, 1990, 48). This does not suggest that Latinos have actually become homogenous, nor does it suggest that politicians or media outlets are intentionally trying to subvert diverse Latino identities for the sole purpose of creating a more profitable pan-ethnic identity or market. The argument, however, is that the efforts to maintain a large audience and create the perception of an efficient advertising opportunity through the use of a uniform Spanish and frequent use of pan-ethnic references have had implications that extend far beyond consumer behavior. In effect, by increasing the saliency of one's membership in a Latino collective that is in many ways distinguishable from the rest of the U.S. population, exposure to Spanish-language political media reinforces, and possibly even reifies, the notion of a homogeneous Latino political identity that is distinct from the rest of the U.S.

However, there is strong evidence in social psychology pointing to a very different effect (Park & Judd, 1990; Brewer & Miller, 1988; Park, Ryan, & Judd, 1992). Premised on the common perception that "*they* are all alike," outgroup homogeneity theory posits that when an ingroup identity is made salient, reinforcing a sense of common identity in some regards, people generally perceive more diversity/heterogeneity within their ingroups (i.e., the groups with which they identify), than in their outgroups (i.e., groups with which they do not identify, see Tajfel, 1981). This propensity has been widely attributed to the tendency to recognize more subgroups within one's ingroup than

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in one's outgroup (Brewer & Miller, 1988; Park, Ryan, & Judd, 1992; Park & Rothbart, 1982). So, for example, Cubans have been shown to recognize and distinguish between Latino ethnic sub-groups more so than Anglos, who are more likely to see all Latinos as comparatively similar (Huddy & Virtanen, 1995).

This same pattern has been demonstrated in a range of other contexts as well, including groups that are relatively unfamiliar with one another (Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989), highly familiar groups (Park & Judd, 1990; Park & Rothbart, 1982), and even in situations where groups are created in a random or arbitrary fashion (Judd & Park, 1988; Mullen & Hu, 1989). Thus, by highlighting a Latino political collective, Spanish-language media may trigger greater perceptions of ingroup heterogeneity, in many regards, in contrast to the common prediction. Latinos should thus be more likely to perceive diversity of opinion among fellow Latinos relative to the larger American public when they identify Latinos as their ingroup as a result of exposure to Spanish-language news.

Although there is plenty of evidence documenting that enhancing the salience of the ingroup produces stronger perceptions of ingroup heterogeneity, it remains unclear how this should apply to Latinos in the context of American politics. In the case of Latinos and Americans, it is unclear what the relevant ingroups and outgroups are. Boundaries between one's ancestral, pan-ethnic and American identities can be relatively permeable. Depending on the context, the dominant ingroup identity may shift for many Latinos. This is to say, Latinos may perceive themselves as simultaneously Latino and American, thus crossing widespread notions of ingroup/outgroup, but at the same time, feel more affinity for one group over the other at various times.

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The shifting nature of ethnic identity is particularly evident among bilingual Latinos. The linguistic barriers that can restrict interactions and opportunities among monolingual Latinos do not impose the same barriers on bilingual Latinos. Due to this enhanced opportunity to cross into multiple linguistic and social contexts, it is particularly plausible that the language of one's media would prime notions of identity for bilingual Latinos. As the largest linguistic subgroup among American Latinos, the effect of Spanish-language news media on bilingual Latinos carries important implications for understanding how political identity is taking shape among Latinos in American politics (Population Reference Bureau, 2010; Taylor et al, 2012).

This experiment considers how viewing a news story in Spanish as opposed to English affects the dominant identity and perceived political uniformity of Latinos when compared to Americans as a whole. Given that both the use of Spanish and the regular use of the pan-ethnic Latino label have been linked to the idea of a pan-ethnic Latino community in powerful ways, I expect their inclusion in a news story to increase the salience of one's membership in a Latino collective. Consistent with outgroup homogeneity theory, I predicted that by heightening identification with a Latino in-group, the use of Spanish and inclusion of Latino references in Spanish-language news would also heighten perceptions of Latino heterogeneity relative to Americans as a whole. When respondents were exposed to the English version and those news stories that did not mention a Latino collective, on the other hand, I predicted that it would have the opposite effect. One's membership in a larger American collective would be comparatively salient, respondents' identification as American would be stronger, and this, in turn, would increase perceptions of American heterogeneity relative to Latinos.

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Methods

To explore the relationship between political content that is relayed in Spanish and/or uses a pan-ethnic frame, and the dominant identification expressed by Latinos, I used a population based survey experiment (Mutz, 2011). The experiment relied upon a brief clip of a news broadcast that manipulated the language of the broadcast (Spanish/ English), and whether the news story referenced a pan-ethnic Latino political collective or not (pan-ethnic references/ no references to a specific population). A fifth condition consisted of a control group that viewed a clip of abstract kaleidoscope images void of speech, political content or indirect or direct references to Latinos.

Although a number of methods could have been used to explore the relationship between Spanish-language political media and Latino political identity, a population-based survey experiment was the ideal methodological approach for a number of reasons. First, it permitted maximum control over the content that respondents were being exposed to. The content of the broadcasts, frequency of exposure (once), time period when the survey was taken, and recentness of exposure (immediately prior to taking the survey) was the same for all respondents, regardless of which news clip they saw.

Second, a survey experiment permitted me to randomly assign subjects to view each media treatment. Random assignment makes it possible to rule out potential spurious relationships between viewing Spanish versus English language media, and identifying more strongly as American versus Latino. Indeed, it seems obvious that in an observational study, Latinos who watched English language news would be more likely to identify as American than people who watched Spanish language news. But this would

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not necessarily be because one caused the other. The natural audiences for the two media will differ on so many other variables that it would be impossible to make a case for the impact of language of broadcast or references to the group as causal influences on group identification. Using a representative national sample of bilingual Latinos, in combination with random assignment to conditions, makes this kind of inference possible.

Lastly, this survey-experiment provided a degree of external validity that is not generally permitted in traditional laboratory-based experiments. The fact that respondents were allowed to watch the broadcasts and take the survey in their home, at a time of their choice, increases the generalizability of these findings relative to a study conducted in a laboratory or other unfamiliar context.

The experiment was administered by YouGov (formerly Polimetrix) of Washington, DC between July 27 and August 2, 2012 via the Internet. YouGov seeks panel members from a host of different sources, including standard advertising and strategic partnerships with a variety of websites. Once a new panel member accepts an invitation to join the panel, they receive a profile survey from which a host of socio-demographic information is recorded. Survey-specific samples are then constructed by stratified sampling based on the full 2007 American Community Survey sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling (Rivers & Bailey, 2009). It draws these demographically-representative samples from a panel of more than 3.3 million people worldwide. Survey responses are then weighted in line with demographic information to produce samples that mirror the demographic composition of the broader U.S. population. Studies show that YouGov samples are of very high quality (Ansolabehere,

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2009), and have been used widely in political science (Karpowitz, et al., 2011; Bramlett et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2011).

My survey population consisted of a demographically representative[4] sample of 875 bilingual Latino adults. Bilingual Latinos are the largest linguistic segment of the Latino population, with about 50% of Latinos being considered bilingual (Population Reference Bureau, 2010). This population was ideal for this study because I wanted experimental participants who classified themselves as Latino and were able to understand a news story in either Spanish or English. By using only bilingual Latinos, I was able to ensure that both the content of the news story and the reference to Latinos as a group would be understood by all. Furthermore, using a bilingual population as subjects also allowed generalizability of my findings to the largest linguistic segment of Latinos.

Latino ethnicity and whether the respondents were bilingual were determined when participants were pre-screened prior to enrollment in the survey panel. To establish whether or not respondents were Latino, the profile survey included a question asking respondents what ethnic and/or racial terms they used to describe themselves[10]. Those who selected "Hispanic or Latino" as the group which best described them were classified as Latino. To determine whether respondents were bilingual, I relied upon a question also in the profile survey in which respondents were asked if they "speak Spanish on a regular basis." Because the profile survey, as well the initial outreach, was administered in English, some English proficiency was required to participate in the

[4] The respondents were matched on gender, age, race, education, party identification, ideology and political interest. YouGov then weighted the matched set of survey respondents to known marginals for the U.S. Latinos using the 2007 American Community Survey, the 2008 Current Population survey and the 2007 Pew Religious Landscape Survey.

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sample, and inferred. Accordingly, respondents were classified as bilingual if they were enrolled in the panel and indicated that they spoke Spanish on a regular basis.

To ensure that subjects taking my study did not know it was a study of "Latino" opinion, they were recruited to take part in a study on "how people learn from political media." Further, any questions mentioning Latinos were deliberately left until the end of the survey to avoid the questions themselves providing a clue as to the study's true purpose. This avoids accidentally priming to them "think like a Latino" (Zaller & Feldman, 1992).

The original version of the news story used in the experiment was broadcast in Spanish on Univision's Despierta América in August of 2011. The story entailed two news broadcasters interviewing an analyst about the Republican candidates for the 2012 U.S. presidential election (see Appendix I). The experimental version was edited to create both an English and Spanish-language version, as well as to manipulate whether it included the original references to a pan-ethnic Latino community or not. The Spanish-language audio was created using professionally edited versions of the original Spanish-language news broadcast.

The English-language audio was a direct translation of the Spanish-language audio with an English rather than Spanish voice-over. To verify that the content of the news broadcasts was comparable in the English and Spanish versions, they were transcribed into Spanish, translated into English and then translated back into Spanish by three bilingual adults. Two of these individuals were native Spanish-speakers and all were raised in the U.S. in homes where both Spanish and English were spoken. The English-language audio was recorded and edited in a professional studio by professional

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news talent. I collaborated with a reporter from the local National Public Radio station to record the English version of the female anchor, and a former television news broadcaster recorded the English version of the male anchor. Footage of the news anchors was replaced with generic footage of Republican presidential campaigns so as to eliminate problems synchronizing the mouths of the anchors with the re-recorded English language speech, and to reduce possible recognition of the anchors. Additionally, the network symbols displayed in the corner of the screen were altered so that a Univisión icon was displayed for the Spanish-language conditions and a CBS network symbol was displayed for the English-language conditions. The quality of the videos was verified in a pre-test administered on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, a method for gathering convenience samples for experimental research (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012). The data from these initial pre-tests informed the revisions made to final versions of both the questionnaire and the videos.

Following exposure to the video, respondents answered a few questions in a post-test. The general structure of the post-test consisted of questions about their own issue positions on selected issues, followed by a series of questions about the opinions of Americans, and then a series about the opinions of Latinos and manipulation checks.

There are obvious limitations to effects that can be produced by a single, comparatively brief exposure to a news program. The goal in selecting issues for the post-test was thus to use issues for which there was no widely known deeply-engrained view among the majority of Latinos. They included questions asking about support for gays and lesbians serving openly in the military[11], and U.S. recognition of Palestine[12]. Because the content of the news broadcast was about the upcoming election, two

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additional questions were included to gauge how the language of the story affected how individuals responded to this content. These questions included one asking about respondents' party identification[13] and one asking about respondent's support for Obama[14].

In order to measure diversity in perceptions of Latino and American opinion, I had to develop a novel measurement approach. Previous studies that have explored perceptions of opinion have largely relied upon quantitative estimation techniques, such as asking people to estimate the percentage of people who would endorse a given attitude statement (Park & Rothbart, 1982), or to indicate how many out of a 100 group members would choose each of the response options (Linville et al., 1989). However, when asked to produce such percentages or distributions of large numbers, people are extremely unreliable and often produce distributions that do not result in 100 percent (Krosnick & Fabrigar, 2013). Other measures have asked respondents to label important points of a distribution, such as how the average and most extreme group members might view an issue (Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Simon & Brown, 1987). These approaches rely on a knowledge of distributions and statistical concepts that are not particularly intuitive to the general public.

To get around these barriers, I created a measurement tool that asked respondents to "use 10 stick figures to show us how you think Americans [or Latinos] feel about several issues." The task was to stack each of the 10 stick figures representing people into one of four or five response columns (using a + or – minus button beneath each of the categories). The columns, and the corresponding people stacked in them, were then displayed in a format akin to a vertical bar chart. This allowed people to clearly visualize

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the distribution of opinions on a single screen, without any familiarity with these concepts (see Figure 4.1). It also ensured that they did not need to understand percentages nor any statistical concept in order to answer.

[INSERT FIGURE 4.1 HERE]

Respondents were given an opportunity to practice using the question format prior to measuring the principle issues of interest in order to ensure that the questions served as accurate measures of their perceptions. This process entailed: 1) showing the respondents the question format prior to being asked to answer it, including an example of what one response might look like with the people sorted into categories; and then 2) asking them to complete a practice question on how people view affirmative action.

Following the practice question using the people sorting format, respondents were asked , "Just to make sure we understood what you indicated with the stick figures, do you think the majority of people in the U.S. would support or oppose affirmative action for racial minorities?" If their responses to this multiple choice question and the question using people-sorting were consistent, they were then asked to move on to the next question. If the responses were not consistent, respondents were told that their two responses seemed to say different things and asked to respond to the question using the people-sorting format again.

My goal was to ensure, so far as possible, that respondents understood how to use the technique that I had developed for tapping perceived opinion distributions. To test this, a survey using the mechanism for measuring perceived heterogeneity was administered on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Similar to what was done in the actual

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survey, an example was provided demonstrating how to use the people sorting format, and then an opportunity was provided to practice using the format. Following this practice people-sorting, respondents were asked how they believed "most people" felt about the issue. If the descriptive response matched the people sorting response, it was classified as using the people sorting format correctly. As it turned out, eight-nine percent of respondents answered the question correctly in the first practice question. This jumped to 96% of respondents in subsequent questions. In the actual survey, about 85% of respondents stacked the stick figures in a manner consistent with their multiple choice response on the first question. The difference in the rate of using the people sorting format correctly may have been attributable to the higher than average education and familiarity with computers among those in the Mechanical Turk sample. Regardless of their response on the trial question, respondents were retained in the sample so as to maintain a nationally representative sample in which assignment to conditions could not be affected by the treatment condition. To the extent that repeated practice questions did not correct those respondents' understanding of the question, the additional noise in the data should work against the likelihood of finding systematic results.

Data from these questions were combined to generate a measure of perceptions of heterogeneity. This measure was calculated such that both the number of people assigned per category was taken into account, as well as their distribution across the scale. For each of the four issue opinion questions, a perceived heterogeneity measure was constructed based on the formula for entropy:

Perceived Heterogeneity$_i$ =

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$$\frac{\sum\begin{pmatrix} StronglyOppose_i * (1-\mu_i)^2 + SomewhatOppose_i * (2-\mu_i)^2 + \\ SomewhatSupport_i * (3-\mu_i)^2 + StrongSupport_i * (4-\mu_i)^2 \end{pmatrix}}{\sum(StronglyOppose + SomewhatOppose + SomewhatSupport + StronglySupport)}$$

where i was the issue and μ was the mean placement of the stick figure for that issue on the attitude distribution scale. This index is essentially a measure of variance that 1) takes into the account that some people may not have sorted all ten stick figures, and 2) is weighted based on the number of people assigned to each category and their distance from the mean. A high score on this scale thus represented greater diversity or heterogeneity of perceived opinions for that issue. Respondents repeated this same process for perceptions of opinion on each of the four issues. All four items were standardized and combined.

In order to compare perceptions of heterogeneity among Latinos with perceptions of heterogeneity among Americans as a whole, respondents were asked about both perceived American public opinion and perceived Latino opinion, in that order. In order to avoid priming respondents to think about the Latino subgroup when answering previous questions, they were all asked about perceived Latino opinions last in the survey.

Items across the four issues were combined into an index of *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* and another for *Perceived American Heterogeneity*. The *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* index had a Cronbach's Alpha score of .80 and the *Perceived American*

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Heterogeneity index had a Cronbach's Alpha of .80, thereby indicating that these indexes were highly—and equally-- reliable.

At the end of the survey, a series of questions was included to gauge how the news broadcast affected the multiple possible identities that Latinos may embrace. Three questions asked respondents how likely they would be to describe themselves as "American," "Latino/ Hispanic," and the term used to describe their Latin American country of ancestry[15] [16]. The question was asked in a grid format so as to permit respondents to visually observe the relative strength of identification they indicated. Additionally, the question order was rotated so as not to bias one possible identity choice over others.

Two manipulation checks were included at the end of the surveys received by all but the control condition) to ensure that respondents had been exposed to and observed both the language of the story, as well as any references to Latinos. To verify that respondents observed the language of the news clip, they were asked what television network the news story was broadcast on[17]. Those who saw news stories in Spanish were significantly more likely to say it was broadcast on Univisión than those who saw it in English ($p<.001$). An additional question verified that respondents observed the references to the pan-ethnic Latino collective in the audio of the news story. This question asked respondents whether the broadcasters discussed any particular group of voters[18]. Those who saw the news clip referencing Latinos were more likely to indicate that it targeted Latinos relative to those who saw the news clips that did not reference Latinos ($p<.001$).

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Findings

How do Spanish-language news broadcasts affect perceptions of Latino political identity relative to English-language news broadcasts? I predicted that exposure to Spanish-language news media would heighten identification with a Latino political in-group, and increase perceptions of political diversity among Latinos relative to Americans as a whole. To examine my findings, I began by looking at how the language of the news broadcast affected the ethnic labels respondents used to describe themselves. A simple t-test revealed that when respondents heard the news clip in Spanish, they were more likely to describe themselves as Latino than American relative to when hearing the news story in English (see Figure 4.2). Conversely, when respondents heard the news clip in English, they were more likely to describe themselves as American than Latino compared to when hearing the news story in Spanish ($p<.05$). Unsurprisingly, those who did not see any news described themselves in a manner that did not differ significantly from either those who saw the Spanish or English-language versions. A glance at Figure 4.2 shows that exposure to English-language news appeared to increase identification as American, and exposure to Spanish-language news appeared to increase identification as Latino. But the difference in one's likelihood of identifying as Latino relative to American was only significant when comparing exposure to the Spanish-language news broadcast relative to the English-language news broadcast.

[INSERT FIGURE 4.2]

Interestingly, however, the use of pan-ethnic labels did not have any effect on how individual respondents described themselves. A second t-test revealed that those who saw

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the news that referenced Latinos were no more likely to describe themselves as Latino than those who saw the news that excluded references to Latinos. Similarly, those who saw the news without a Latino frame were no more likely to describe themselves as American than those who saw the news with a Latino frame. Thus, while the language of the political content clearly primed one's propensity to describe themselves as Latino or American, the use of explicit Latino references did not.

I next looked at whether there was an interaction effect between the language of the news and the use of pan-ethnic labels to frame it. To do so, I used a mixed model analysis of variance that included a within-subjects factor measuring the likelihood of describing oneself as Latino versus American and a between-subjects factor contrasting the views of respondents who viewed the story with, and without references to Latinos.

[INSERT FIGURE 4.3]

As it turned out, explicit references to a Latino political collective in a news story did prove to be a determinant of Latino identification patterns, but the effect depended on the language of the news story. As can be seen in Figure 4.3, when viewing the English-language version of the news story, the inclusion of references to Latinos did not have any effect on how Latinos described themselves. Such references neither enhanced nor mitigated identification as Latino or American. These findings were also quite similar to those found among respondents who saw the Spanish-language news story without a Latino reference. In these three conditions, respondents were more likely to identify as American than Latino ($p<.005$). Yet when viewing the Spanish-language story with the Latino reference, this propensity was reversed. Respondents were significantly more

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likely to identify as Latino than American relative to when it did not mention Latinos or was not in Spanish ($p<.05$). Although hearing a news story that mentioned Latinos did not increase identification as Latino by itself, the combination of hearing political content in Spanish and in a manner that emphasized a pan-ethnic Latino angle had a unique effect on priming a Latino identity and suppressing an American identity.

If the ethnic labels that respondents use to describe themselves are an indicator of whether they perceive Latinos or Americans to be their dominant ingroup, it should also help predict how politically heterogeneous they perceive Latinos to be relative to Americans as a whole. Outgroup homogeneity theory argues that individuals perceive members of their ingroups to be more heterogeneous than members of their outgroups. Since Latinos were more likely to describe themselves as Latino when viewing the Spanish-language news story and particularly when viewing the news story in Spanish with a Latino reference, I consider the subordinate Latino ingroup as the dominant ingroup relative to the larger, supraordinate American collective. Drawing from outgroup homogeneity theory, I argue that Latinos should perceive Latinos as more heterogeneous when viewing news stories with these components. To test this prediction, I again used a mixed model analysis of variance. I included a within-subjects factor measuring perceptions of Latino versus American political heterogeneity, as well as two between-subjects factors. One contrasted perceptions of political heterogeneity among Latinos who viewed the Spanish news story with those who viewed the news story entirely in English. The second contrasted these perceptions among Latinos who viewed the news story that included the Latino reference with those who saw the story that lacked any such reference.

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[INSERT FIGURE 4.4]

The results were partially consistent with this theory. Just as exposure to the Spanish-language version heightened identification with the Latino collective, respondents who saw the Spanish-language version of the story also perceived Latinos as more heterogeneous than Americans ($p<.05$, see Figure 4.4). Respondents who saw the English-language version, in contrast, perceived Latinos as more homogeneous than Americans. Interestingly, however, the inclusion of a reference to Latinos in the news story did not have an effect on perceptions of homogeneity, nor did the interaction of the language of the broadcast and the Latino reference.

Discussion

In this study, I considered how the language of news media is shaping how Latinos view their collective role in American politics. The language and ethnic frame of political news were, in fact, linked to perceptions of group political identity, but not in a way that people might assume. As expected, Spanish-language news media did increase the likelihood of identification as Latino over American. However, as opposed to reifying notions of Latino political homogeneity in a manner consistent with what conventional wisdom and some cultural theorists have suggested, it seemed to counter such views thereby diminishing notions of a Latino political bloc.

A first look at self-identification indicated that the English-language news broadcast was what was opening a divide between self-descriptions as Latino versus

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American. As is shown in Figure 4.2, the likelihood of describing oneself as Latino or American appeared about equal among respondents who saw the Spanish-language broadcast, but this contrast became relatively pronounced among those who saw the English-language broadcast. When viewing the news broadcast in English, respondents were much more likely to describe themselves as American, and less likely to describe themselves as Latino.

The significance of language to self-identification became clearer when the use of a Latino frame was accounted for. When respondents saw the news frame in Spanish *and* with a Latino frame, they were significantly more likely to describe themselves as Latino than in any other condition. This was actually the only condition in which respondents were more likely to describe themselves as Latino than American. Conversely, when respondents saw the English-language news broadcast (with or without the Latino frame), as well as the Spanish-language news broadcast without the Latino frame, they were more likely to describe themselves as American than Latino. Thus, bilingual Latinos were only more likely to describe themselves as Latino than American when exposed to Spanish-language news that highlighted a pan-ethnic Latino collective, as is generally done on Spanish-language news media.

Of particular interest in this paper was how Spanish-language political media is affecting perceptions of Latino political homogeneity, and how this related to ethnic self-descriptions. Counter to my initial expectations, there was little evidence of a relationship between the use of a Latino frame in news and perceptions of Latino political homogeneity. But the language of political media affected these perceptions quite a bit. In a manner consistent with outgroup homogeneity theory, and using self-identification as

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a measure of one's dominant ingroup, respondents generally perceived more political diversity within their more dominant identity group. Thus, when respondents viewed the English-language news broadcast, they were more likely to describe themselves as American, perceived greater American political diversity, and less Latino political diversity relative to when viewing the Spanish-language news. Consistent with this, Latino respondents perceived more political diversity among Latinos, and less among Americans, when viewing the Spanish-language news broadcast. In contrast to conventional wisdom, exposure to Spanish-language news media does not appear to increase perceptions of Latino homogeneity. To the contrary, it was actually exposure to Spanish-language political media that increased the sense of political diversity among Latinos, while English-language news media served to increase the sense of Latino political uniformity.

The application of outgroup homogeneity theory to this case also presented new insights about the broader relevance of the theoretical framework. In this case, there was no true outgroup in the sense that Latinos can validly classify themselves as both Latino and/ or American. Of course, all group boundaries have some element of ambiguity. In the past, this framework has been used to explore the intergroup dynamics of men and women, Rutgers and Princeton students, and psychology and business majors, among others. But in each of these groups, there are inevitable opportunities for overlap (i.e. transfer students, double majors, transgender individuals, etc). But that is quite different from the case of a Latino and American group, in which one collective (Latinos) is generally considered to be a subordinate[19] part of the other (Americans). However, the dominant identity, in this case manipulated by media exposure, operated in a way

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analogous to the ingroup, and the non-dominant identity operated in a way analogous to the outgroup. These results, in turn, offer support for the application of the theory well beyond ingroups and outgroups to subordinate and supraordinate group identities – an application that is of undeniable import at a time when ethnic group boundaries are more and more blurred.

Overall, the relationship between Spanish-language news and perceptions of Latino political diversity couldn't come at a more notable time in American political history. As both the size of the Latino population, as well as the number of media outlets targeting Latinos continues to grow (Coffey, 2009), it provides valuable insights on how this source of information is affecting how Latinos perceive their place in American politics. It illuminates the divisions raised by the language in which political information is disseminated. Further, the relationship between self-descriptions, and the language and ethnic frame of political media underscored how these elements of media can shift the groups with which Latinos align in American democracy. In doing so, they provide an illustrative characterization of the continually constructed nature of the Latino identity.

More broadly, the findings demonstrated in this paper highlight that Spanish-language media is, in fact, helping to strengthen a Latino identity in that it is actually increasing the tendency for Latinos to perceive and describe themselves as Latino over other ethnic identities, thereby altering how and where Latinos fit themselves into the American ethno-political landscape. Yet as it does so, it is simultaneously mitigating the tendency to lump Latinos into a homogeneous political "giant." Spanish-language news media served to disaggregate those compacted into the Latino audience/ demographic/ market/ voting bloc, and permit a more natural level of variation. This draws attention to

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the space provided by Spanish-language news media to counter notions of a Latino political monolith, and highlight the diversity that characterizes the population.

In demonstrating a relationship between Spanish-language media and Latino political identification, new questions are raised about the role of the source of Spanish-language media in driving perceptions of the Latino political collective. This is to say, would the demonstrated effects be evident in other forms of Spanish-language media? For example, does Spanish-language media employed by, or on behalf of, non-Latinos still heighten self-identification as Latino? Do non-Latinos have the same capacity to heighten identification as Latino by speaking Spanish? Further, when the Spanish-language message is deployed by non-Latinos, does it still heighten perceptions of Latino diversity? Or does it heighten the sense of otherness that can prooke perceptions of dominant group unity? Each of these questions merit further exploration in future work.

While increasing a sense of Latino political heterogeneity may not be useful to efforts seeking to achieve political power through illustrations of unity, it is useful in calling attention to the nuances within the Latino checkbox. Similarly, an appreciation for Latino political heterogeneity is essential to ensuring any power, be it political, social or economic, is allotted based on an accurate understanding of the diversity characterizing the experiences of Latinos in the U.S. In so doing, Spanish-language media seems to be one place where representation does not need to ascribe to the calls for simplicity imposed by the limitations and constraints of bureaucracy.

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FIGURE 4.1: Example of Survey Measure Used To Assess Perceptions Of Heterogeneity, With People Sorted

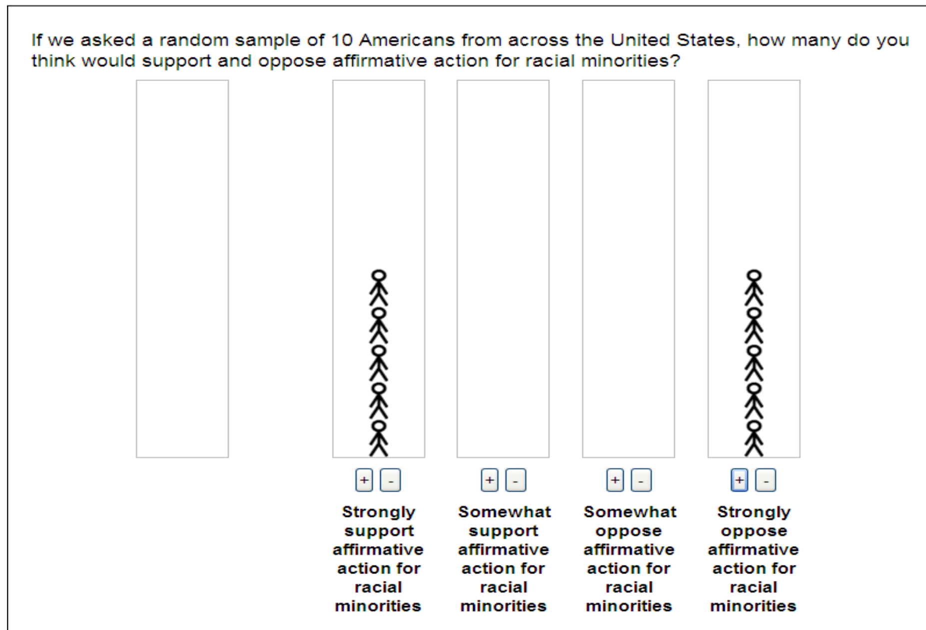

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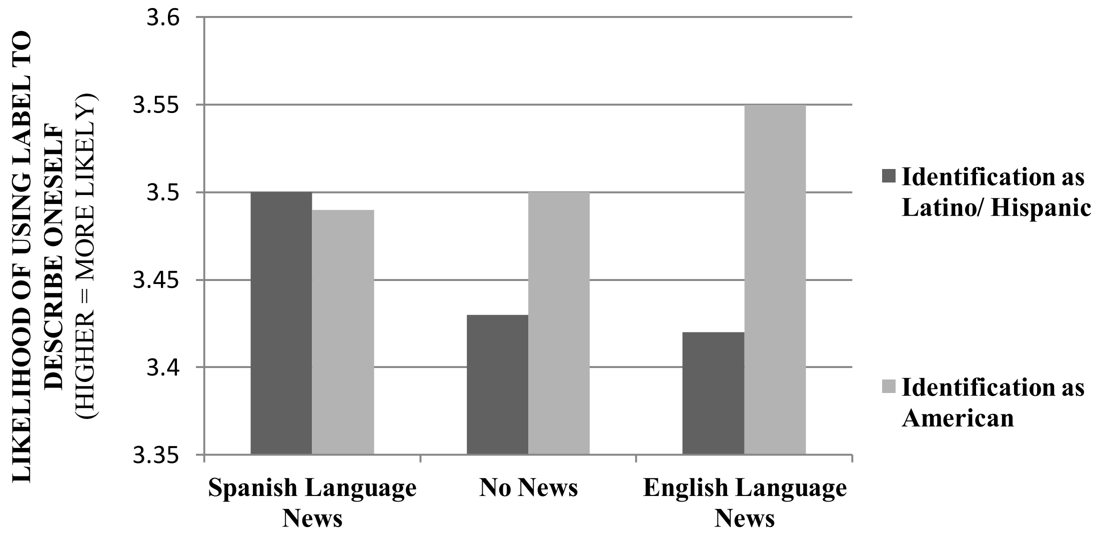
FIGURE 4.2: Effect of News Story Language on Identification, Among Bilingual Latinos



Note: Entries are means. The language of the news story had a significant effect on group identification ($p<.05$). Bilingual Latinos were more likely to describe themselves as American relative to Latino when viewing the English language news clip.

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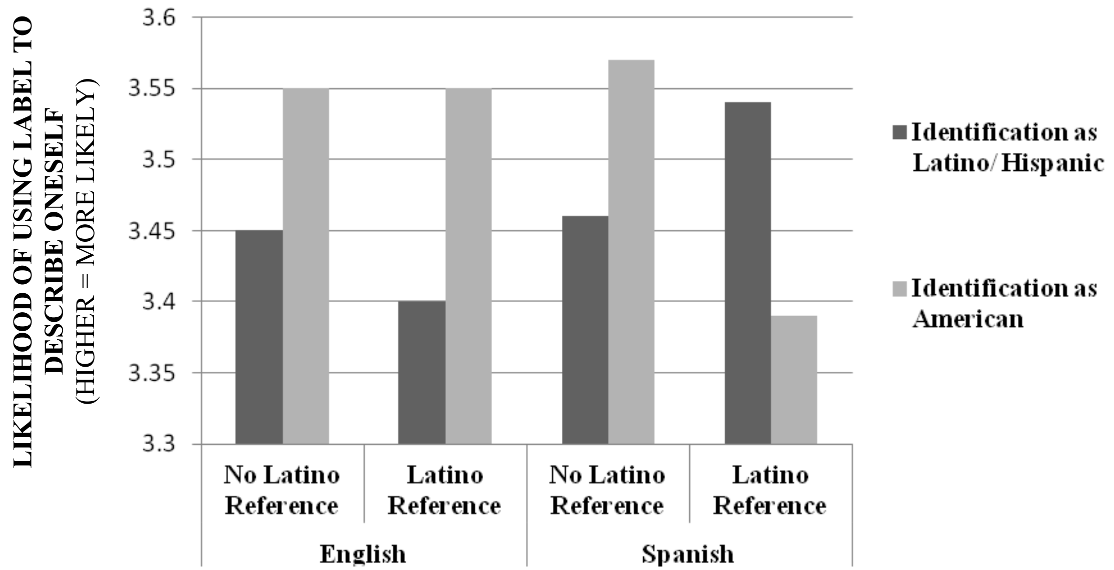
FIGURE 4.3: Effect of Latino Reference and News Story Language on Identification, Among Bilingual Latinos



Note: Entries are means. Bilingual Latinos who saw the news story in Spanish with references to Latinos were more likely to describe themselves as Latino than American when viewing the news story in Spanish with a Latino reference than those who saw the story in Spanish without a Latino reference or in English ($p<.005$).

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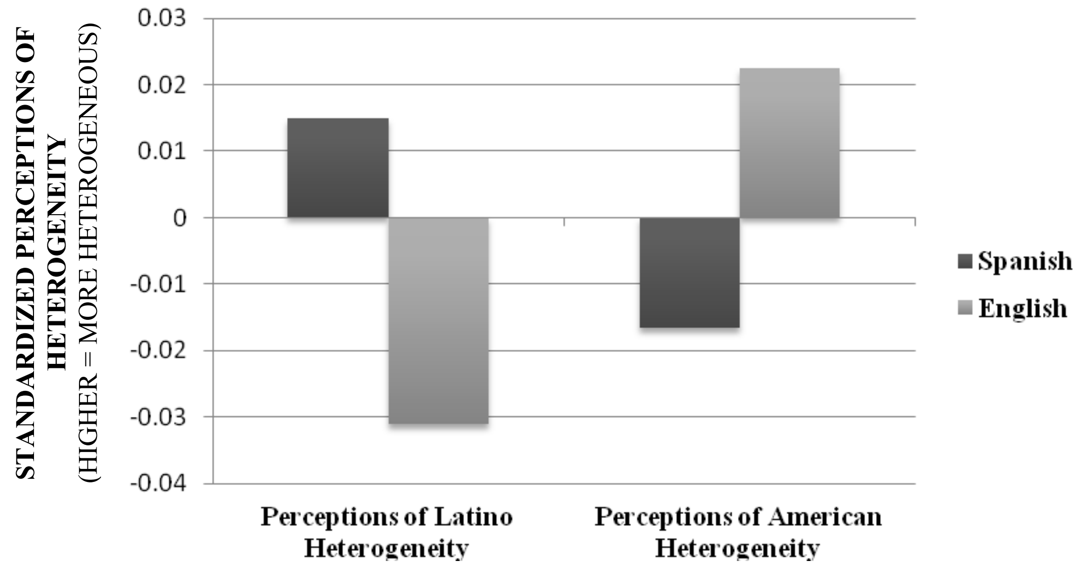
FIGURE 4.4: Effect of News Story Language on Perceptions of Heterogeneity, Among Bilingual Latinos



Note: Entries are means. All scales were standardized with a mean of zero. The language of the news story had a significant effect on perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity relative to American political heterogeneity ($p<.05$).

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Chapter 5:
The Search for a Sleeping Giant: Spanish-Language Campaign Ad Effects on Latino Political Identity
(ARTICLE TWO)

"Voten ustedes por el partido Demócrata el día 8 de noviembre. ¡Que viva Kennedy!"
- *Jacqueline Kennedy, 1960*

In 1960, Jacqueline Kennedy launched the first documented Spanish-language campaign advertisement. The Kennedy campaign was unique at the time not only in their efforts made to court Latino voters, but in using Spanish to do so. Since then, targeting the Latino electorate with Spanish-language advertisements has become ubiquitous in campaigns. In 2012, the two presidential campaigns spent approximately $23 million on Spanish-language television advertising, about eight times as much as was spent in 2008 (Burlij, 2012). Given the rapid growth of the Latino population, such interest is hardly surprising.

Yet the use of Spanish to appeal to Latinos is intriguing because the language has not only been used to appeal to Latinos politically, but also to define and classify them (Mora, 2009; Rodriguez, 1999). Past efforts to catalog a population that did not neatly fit into any of the existing demographic categories served to formalize a Latino collective and definitively link it to the Spanish-language (National Research Council, 2006). This use of the Spanish-language as a bureaucratic and commercial metric to delineate a sprawling population and render them recognizable, endows it with a social meaning that extends beyond its function to facilitate communication. Thus, even though all Latinos

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don't speak Spanish, or even have Spanish spoken in their homes, the Spanish-language has been intertwined with and engrained in the notion of Latino ethnicity in the United States. It is no longer simply a mechanism for communication, but in many ways, it has become the paramount symbol of a Latino pan-ethnic group. Reflecting its use by other entities, Spanish-language political appeals may also encourage the political melding of an otherwise diverse set of Latino individuals. This paper investigates this possibility: Do Spanish-language appeals make Latinos see themselves as more politically homogeneous? Or in other words, are Spanish-language political advertisements reifying the notion of a homogeneous Latino political bloc with a shared set of political beliefs?

Perceptions of homogeneity are important because they are often viewed as being at the heart of both stereotypes and power. On the one hand, a greater sense of political homogeneity has often been assumed to strengthen one's political voice. Faced with the fear of weakening the group, the "us," to which one belongs, individuals often suppress the differences within a political collective (Mansbridge, 2009). It is easier for a unified collective to make strong claims on behalf of a large number of people than for a population composed of disparate interests to do so. At the same time, however, it is the precise pattern of perceiving a group as unified, cohesive and homogeneous that has been linked to stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981). When a group is perceived as uniform, some voices are inherently ignored. This in turn can lead to both mistargeting and misrepresentations, often on a large scale (Beltrán, 2010). Accordingly, such perceptions of group homogeneity can engender significant impediments to the traditional "one person, one voice" notions of democratic participation and representation in America.

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Drawing on theories from multiple disciplines, I outline and test a set of theoretical predictions about how the use of Spanish in campaign appeals shapes Latinos' sense of a pan-ethnic political collective. In particular, I build a theoretical account of how Spanish-language media shapes Latinos' perceptions of both the homogeneity of Latino opinion, as well as the political power underlying it. Drawing on a unique population-based survey experiment, I show that the effects of Spanish ads on perceptions of Latino homogeneity are highly conditional on whether the respondent's primary language is English or Spanish. For Latinos who primarily speak Spanish, Spanish-language appeals reinforce their separation as a group from the broader American culture while also heightening their sense of political heterogeneity relative to Americans as a whole. For English-dominant Latinos, it does the opposite, reinforcing a sense of political homogeneity in a broader American community. Interestingly, among both linguistic sub-groups, it reinforces a notion of political power and influence.

My results shed new light on debates about the political assimilation of new immigrant groups into American politics, and the unappreciated role played by the language of campaign appeals in such processes. In particular, they speak to the tension between power and difference that emerges in efforts to achieve political voice. They suggest that Spanish language media are fostering senses of political power among those from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, but not in ways that unequivocally promote political unity. Instead, those who predominantly speak Spanish come to feel more politically diverse relative to American--but not, we shall also see, disempowered. Those who predominantly speak English feel both more united as Latinos relative to Americans; so in a different way they are also confident of Latino power in American politics. My

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work underscores the complexity of the meaning of a term like "Latino" or even "American" in the multi-ethnic 21st century. Given the rapid growth of the Latino population and other non-European immigrant groups, as well as their increasing significance in American politics, such understanding is more important now than ever before.

What Defines Latinos?

While American politics is replete with references to "Latinos" or "Hispanics" and their importance in American politics, many political operatives—and political scientists—often forget the political origins of Latino pan-ethnicity, as well as other racial and ethnic identities. Dating to the late 19th century, the U.S. government began to group together individuals based on whether or not they spoke Spanish. After demands were made by activists, mass media, and bureaucrats for better data on the social and economic conditions of Latinos, this loose linguistic metric had evolved into classifying Americans based on whether or not they "identify themselves as being of Spanish-speaking background" (National Research Council, 2006). Since 1980, this classification has been incorporated into the U.S. Census classification system, and a range of others, and formally labeled "Hispanic."

Acceptance of this term by the mass public has been far from organic. To the contrary, social, political and corporate actors actively campaigned to encourage Latinos to identify as Hispanic on the U.S. Census, even going so far as airing a public service announcement illustrating *how* to check the Hispanic box when filling out the Census form (Mora, 2009). These steps to classify a population that did not neatly fit into any of

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the existing demographic categories served to formalize a Latino collective and definitively link it to the Spanish-language. In doing so, the Spanish-language was no longer simply a mechanism for communication, but in many ways, it became the paramount symbol of the pan-ethnic “Latino” community.

While the term Latino does recognize a key commonality of that population—a shared history with the Spanish language—it can also obscure the diversity within the Latino community. There is no shared physical trait, period of immigration, experience with the United States, or set of beliefs that unites Latinos. Those classified as Latino in the United States have ancestries from over 20 different countries and territories. Some Latinos have resided in the United States prior to its establishment as a nation, while others arrived for the first time today. They speak languages and dialects that include variations of English, Spanish, and numerous indigenous languages. Reasons for immigrating to the U.S., income, and education also vary greatly as do musical and gastronomical preferences.

Political views among Latinos exhibit similar diversity. Views on immigration, the death penalty, partisan identification, and abortion, among others, diverge significantly among Latino ethnic and generational sub-groups (Leal, 2007). U.S. Hispanics include “some 25 million people who don’t know or care much about one [an]other, don’t think or talk alike, and have not until recently thought of themselves as having any common interests” (Fox, 1996, p. 22). Simply put, there are no essential qualities that link people with Latin American ancestry into a homogeneous “Latino” or “Hispanic” political collective.

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Regardless of the *actual* homogeneity or heterogeneity of political views, being *perceived* as a united collective has broader implications. Among them is the possibility that it may enhance perceptions of Latino political power. To the extent that they are perceived as distinctive and homogeneous, they may gain greater political voice as a voting bloc. It is for this reason, that the idea of Latino "sleeping giants," key Latino influence, and a Hispanic "tipping pointo" now pervade political news (Sanchez, 2013; Rodriguez, 2012; Coulter, 2012).Yet at the same time that allegations of homogeneity may lend political clout, such perceptions also run the risk of endorsing mass generalizations. Latinos are often depicted as part of a uniform bloc that is a "striving immigrant community, religious, Catholic, family-oriented and socially conservative (on abortion, for example)" or one that is definitively driven by the issue of immigration (Krauthammer, 2012; Fins, 2010). While such claims may direct more attention to a Latino political bloc, such allegations of mass Latino beliefs are of questionable value given that nearly half of Latinos describe their religion as something other than Catholic, and 43 percent of Latinos support the right to abortions in all or most cases (Newport, 2013; Taylor et al., 2012). Additionally, contrary to popular opinion, only 34 percent of registered Latino voters indicated that immigration should be a top policy priority for the president or congress – less than the 37 percent who indicated that the federal budget deficit should be a top policy priority (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2012).

Given this persistent pattern of referring to Latinos as a cohesive entity, it is no surprise that this image of a political homogeneous Latino has even persisted among Latinos themselves. In one focus group in which Latinos discussed mass appeals to the pan-ethnic collective, it was revealed that despite the respondents' "criticisms of the

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category and its representation in the media, they have in fact internalized, or made theirs, particular dynamics and conventions of commercial Latinidad" (Dávila, 2001, 215). Even when presenting distinctions or nuances to counter the idea of a Latino mass, they fell short of challenging, "and in fact reinscribe, the preeminence of whiteness and of the "non-ethnic" as the abiding reference against which each of them is rendered suspect" (Dávila, 2001, 215). Portrayals of a mass Latino collective are not simply narratives that are observed from a spectator seat, but depictions that can shape how Latinos see themselves in America.

So where does the perception that Latinos all share a common culture or set of beliefs originate? Many argue Spanish-language appeals play a key role in the construction and maintenance of conceptions of a common "Latino" cultural identity (Dávila, 2001; Rodriguez, 1999; Levine, 2001). Amid the diversity that characterizes the cultures, beliefs and experiences of Latinos, the Spanish-language has often been viewed as the most definable, concrete characteristic that could set them apart and unify a broadly conceptualized pan-ethnic Latino (Rodriguez, 1999). The Spanish-language makes Latinos seem distinct and foreign relative to the larger non-Latino, English-speaking public, seemingly linking Latinos to one another in a semi-exclusive way. It limits access and erects social barriers, and in doing so, is endowed with a certain "us/ them" element (Dávila, 2001).

Further, campaigns see these sorts of Spanish-language appeals as vital to attracting Latino voters. As one political consultant wrote: "You may be able to reach them [Latinos] in English, but you have to convince them in Spanish" (Republican National Committee, 1984, 51). Latinos are frequently portrayed as a distinctive group in

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American politics, one with its own set of beliefs that needs to be reached differently than other Americans. Such arguments highlight how Spanish has come to be treated as a dominant, almost innate, characteristic of Latino identity. In turn, it has been argued that appeals in Spanish lead Latinos to perceive themselves as a homogeneous, collective whole (Rodriguez, 1999). In effect, hearing messages in Spanish suggests to Latinos (and non-Latinos) that they share a set of common interests, which may be reifying the notion of a homogeneous Latino political collective that is set apart from the rest of the U.S.

This viewpoint—that appeals in Spanish reinforce a sense among Latinos that they form a cohesive political bloc and are highly homogeneous—represents the conventional wisdom in the popular and academic presses (Dávila, 2001; Rodriguez, 1999). However, outgroup homogeneity theory suggests that when an ingroup is made salient, as it is through Spanish-language media, it will increase perceptions of ingroup heterogeneity relative to outgroup homogeneity (Park & Judd, 1990; Brewer & Miller, 1988; Park, Ryan, & Judd, 1992). Spanish-language media should consequently increase Latinos' perceptions of Latino heterogeneity relative to Americans as a whole.

Although there is plenty of evidence that enhancing the salience of the ingroup produces stronger perceptions of outgroup homogeneity, it remains unexplored how this should apply to Latinos in the context of American politics. In the case of Latinos and Americans, it is unclear which is the relevant ingroup and outgroup. Among Latinos, boundaries between one's ancestral, pan-ethnic and American identities can be relatively permeable. In particular, ethnic self-descriptions can differ markedly by the amount of time one has resided in the U.S. While third-generation Latinos are more likely to use the term "American" to describe themselves than a term for their country of ancestry or a

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pan-ethnic label, immigrant and first generation Americans are most likely to describe themselves by their Latin American country of origin (Taylor et al, 2012). Because one's time in the U.S. is highly correlated with language dominance, this distinction in identities can also be seen clearly when contrasting Spanish-dominant Latinos, that is Latinos who rate their ability to speak and read in Spanish as better than in English, with English-dominant Latinos, whose ability to speak and read in English is better than these abilities in Spanish. So while 66% of English-dominant and 69% of third and higher generation Latinos said they would describe themselves as a "typical American," only 31% of Spanish-dominant Latinos and 34% of foreign-born Latinos said they would identify themselves as such (Taylor et al, 2012).

This points to a significant disparity in how Spanish- and English-dominant Latinos perceive themselves, and how they perceive their relation to other Americans. Despite the fact that Latinos can make legitimate claims to both a Latino ingroup as well as an American ingroup, the different identification tendencies point to what one might call different *dominant* ingroup identities. This is to say, Latinos may perceive themselves as simultaneously Latino and American, thus crossing widespread notions of ingroup/outgroup, but at the same time, feel more affinity for one group over the other. Spanish-language media may consequently affect Spanish- and English-dominant Latinos differently. Given the tendency of Spanish-dominant Latinos to describe themselves as Latino or as members of their national ancestry group, as opposed to American, exposure to Spanish-language media in a largely English-speaking nation may heighten their sense of belonging to a Latino ingroup facing a largely English-speaking, American outgroup. These views might, in turn, increase their perception of Latino ingroup heterogeneity and

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American outgroup homogeneity. However, this same prediction makes little sense for English-dominant Latinos. For those already more assimilated into an American identity, media targeting Latinos is less likely to prime Latinos as an ingroup separate from an outgroup. Instead, among English-dominant Latinos, exposure to Spanish-language media may heighten the sense that Latinos are a distinctive part, but still a part, of the larger English-speaking American collective. This belief may, in turn, increase their perceptions of a heterogeneous America relative to a comparatively homogeneous Latino sub-group.

By taking Latinos' dominant language into account, a strong proxy for one's time in the United States and level of assimilation, one can produce a clearer understanding of how Spanish-language media affect how Latinos perceive their position as a collective relative to the larger American citizenry (Taylor et al., 2012). Among Spanish-dominant Latinos, I expect exposure to Spanish-language political media to highlight the notion of an American outgroup and a Latino ingroup, and to increase the sense of Latino heterogeneity relative to Americans as a whole, perhaps reducing their perceptions of their individual and collective political power. Among English-dominant Latinos, those more likely to be assimilated to and integrated into mainstream American social, cultural and political processes, I expect the opposite. In strengthening the notion that Latinos are a distinct part of an American ingroup, I expect Spanish-language media to produce perceptions of Latino political views that are more homogeneous than perceived Americans' political views. These perceptions may increase their senses of Latinos' individual and collective political power.

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This study is the first to examine these research questions through analysis of quantitative survey data in the context of an identity that can shift between dominant ingroups. Furthermore, it sheds new light on the nature of Latino political identity in the U.S., and how Spanish-language political advertisements affect how they perceive their position in the context of American politics. Does exposure to Spanish-language media help reify the heavily contested idea of a homogeneous, "sleeping giant," Latino political collective? Or is it increasing the sense of internal heterogeneity when the group identity is made salient?

Methods

To test the effects of Spanish-language political advertisements on the political perceptions of Latinos, I used a population-based survey experiment (Mutz, 2011). The stimulus was a 30-second Obama campaign ad. Subjects were randomly assigned to see the ad broadcast entirely in English or with both English and Spanish content – neither of which would be unusual for English- or Spanish-dominant Latinos to see. The topics of the political ad were education, the war in Iraq, and health care (see Appendix I). Both of the ads used in the study were original ads from Obama's 2008 presidential campaign, and therefore, realistic and of professional quality[20]. A small amount of additional editing was done to eliminate explicit references to Latinos that might unintentionally prime ethnicity through a mechanism other than the use of the Spanish language. All editing was done in a studio with professional editing software, support and equipment. The visual content of the ads was identical, as was the semantic meaning of the audio content.

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The survey experiment was administered in June, 2012 by Knowledge Networks (now GfK) of Menlo Park, CA as part of their KnowledgePanel Latino. Respondents are recruited to join the panel using random-digit-dialing and address-based sampling methods, and the resulting data are a nationally representative sample. Such data have been shown to be of very high quality, and comparable to other random samples, in previous research (Chang & Krosnick, 2009; Yeager et al, 2011), and have been widely used throughout political science (Clinton, 2006; Malhotra & Kuo, 2008).

When respondents join the Knowledge Networks panel (far in advance of receiving my specific survey), they are given an initial screening survey where the firm records their ethnicity, and their preferred language (as subjects can take the surveys in either English or Spanish languages). The subjects did not, however, choose the languages of the ads they actually saw. I use their language selection and identification as a Latino in the pre-screening survey to define English-dominant and Spanish-dominant Latinos in my study. The sample included 808 Latinos overall, and 299 Spanish-dominant and 509 English-dominant respondents[5].

Randomized experiments with a nationally representative sample provided me with a number of unique methodological and substantive advantages. In an observational context where subjects were allowed to choose whether to watch the ad in either English or Spanish, no causal inferences can be drawn, as language of video is not orthogonal to

[5] To ensure that English- and Spanish-dominant Latinos differ as expected, I examined the ethnic labels respondents used to describe themselves. Consistent with previous work (Taylor et al, 2012), I find that Spanish-dominant Latinos are far more likely to use the pan-ethnic label, or a particular country of origin, to describe themselves. English-dominant respondents, on the other hand, were more likely to describe themselves as American than with a country of ancestry or pan-ethnic label ($p<.001$). See Appendix II for more details.

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the viewer's characteristics. In contrast, an experimental design allows me to break this link and draw sharper causal inferences.

Second, my study is the first to avoid priming respondents with the design of the study. Previous studies of Latino opinion begin with a series of questions that ask the respondent if they identify as Latino, and if they would like to take the study in Spanish (see, for example, the Pew Hispanic 2006 National Survey of Latinos and the Latino National Survey, 2006). In contrast, I was able to identify Latino respondents using the initial screening survey conducted by GfK when respondents joined the panel, prior to my study. So subjects taking my study did not know it was a study of "Latino" opinion; they were recruited to take part in a study on "how people learn from political media." Further, any questions mentioning Latinos were deliberately left until the end of the survey to avoid the questions themselves providing a clue as to the study's true purpose. This avoids accidentally priming to them "think like a Latino" (Zaller & Feldman, 1992).

Third, the use of a nationally representative sample of Latinos provided the study with a degree of external validity that is not generally permitted in traditional laboratory-based experiments. The fact that respondents were allowed to watch the ad and take the survey in their homes, at a time of their choice, using a laptop that was given to them for their personal use, and in similar conditions to that in which they would view a traditional campaign ad, increases the generalizability of these findings relative to a study conducted in a laboratory or other unfamiliar context. Further, because I have a nationally representative sample of Latinos, I can be certain that my results are not the product of a particular convenience sample in a particular town or city.

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The inclusion of representative samples of both English- and Spanish-dominant Latinos is also crucial to the success of my project. Significant differences exist between these two sub-groups beyond their language preferences that may affect how they respond to Spanish-language political media. Spanish- or English-dominance is highly correlated with assimilation and length of time in the United States. Moreover, Spanish-dominant Latinos tend to differ from non-Latino Americans more than English-dominant Latinos (Taylor et al, 2012).

A manipulation check was included at the end of the survey to ensure that respondents observed the ad and noticed that for half of respondents, it was targeted toward Latinos by virtue of including Spanish. To verify this, they were asked whether they thought the ad was targeted toward a "specific group of voters, such as a specific region, ethnic group or age group." If they answered affirmatively, they were then asked in an open-ended format, which group of voters they thought the ad was targeting. Respondents who saw the Spanish ad were significantly more likely to say that the ad was targeting Latinos, Hispanics, Spanish-speakers or Mexicans than those who saw the ad entirely in English ($p<.005$).

All of the measures of public opinion heterogeneity (described below) were administered just after exposure to the video stimulus, as is standard in these sorts of experiments. This means that the effects below are likely larger than they would be as a result of any single exposure. That said, however, in real life, subjects would be repeatedly exposed over time to multiple ads, so the cumulative effects might be large as well. These results should be viewed as an important benchmark, and later studies can consider the effects of multiple messages over time.

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The goal in selecting issues for the post-test was thus to use issues with which an effect is more likely to be observed after such an abbreviated replication of actual exposure. I consequently focused on issues on which there did not appear to be a deeply-engrained view among the majority of Latinos, and which were more likely to be subject to change when presented with new information. These were issues that were either too novel for most people to have a formed attitude, issues that generated a high number of "don't know" or "undecided" responses in previous surveys, or issues that resulted in very inconsistent attitudes between surveys. They included questions asking about support for gays and lesbians serving openly in the military[21], and U.S. recognition of Palestine[22]. Because the content of the advertisement was clearly intended to persuade viewers to support Barack Obama, the democratic presidential candidate, two additional questions were included to gauge how the language of the ad affected response to this content. These questions included one asking about the respondent's party identification[23] and one asking about the respondent's support for Obama[24].

To verify that the semantic meaning of the questions was comparable in the English and Spanish version of the survey, the survey was drafted in English, translated into Spanish, and then translated back into English by four graduate students at the University of Pennsylvania. Two of the graduate students assisting with the translation were native Spanish-speakers and two were raised in the U.S. in homes where both Spanish and English were spoken. Both versions of the surveys were also checked by the translation team at GfK.

My study also introduces a new measure of the perceived heterogeneity of opinion. Previous studies that have explored perceptions of opinion have largely relied

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upon quantitative estimation techniques, such as asking people to estimate the percentage of people who would endorse a given attitude statement (Park and Rothbart, 1982), or to indicate how many out of a 100 group members would choose each of the response options (Linville et al., 1989). However, when asked to produce such percentages or distributions of large numbers, people are extremely unreliable and often produce distributions that do not result in the correct total (Krosnick & Fabrigar, forthcoming). Other measures have asked respondents to label important points of a distribution, such as how the average and most extreme group members might view an issue (Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Simon & Brown, 1987). These approaches rely on a concept of distribution and statistical concepts that are not particularly intuitive to the general public.

To get around these barriers, I created a measurement tool that asked respondents to stack each of 10 stick figures representing people into one of four or five response columns (using a + or – minus button beneath each of the categories). The columns, and the corresponding people stacked in them, were then displayed in a format akin to a vertical bar chart. This allowed people to clearly visualize the distribution of opinions on a single screen (see Figure 5.1). It also ensured that they did not need to understand percentages nor any statistical concept in order to answer.

[INSERT FIGURE 5.1 HERE]

Respondents were given an opportunity to practice using the question format prior to measuring the principle issues of interest in order to ensure that the heterogeneity questions served as accurate measures of their perceptions. This process entailed: 1)

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showing the respondents the question format prior to being asked to answer it, including an example of what one response might look like with the people assigned to categories (see Figure 5.1); and then 2) asking them to complete a practice question on how people view affirmative action[25,26]. This question was used because it is a frequently discussed and relatively familiar issue, and therefore one that would be somewhat easy to conjure about a respondents perception of public attitudes. Additionally surveys show a lot of division on the issue (Pew Hispanic Center, 2004). This was useful in that it encouraged respondents to practice sorting people into multiple boxes, and not just putting all of the stick figures into one box.

Following the practice question using the people sorting format, respondents were asked in a multiple choice format, “just to make sure we understood what you indicated with the stick figures,” whether they thought the majority of people in the U.S. supported, opposed or were evenly split on affirmative action. If their responses to the question using people-sorting and the multiple choice format were consistent, they were then asked to move on to the next question. If the responses were not consistent, respondents were told that their two responses were not consistent and asked to respond to the question using the people-sorting format again.

My goal was to ensure, so far as possible, that respondents understood how to use the novel technique that I had developed for tapping perceived opinion distributions. About 85% of respondents stacked the stick figures in a manner consistent with their multiple choice response[27]. Regardless of their response on the trial question, respondents were retained in the sample so as to maintain a nationally representative sample. To the extent that repeated practice questions did not correct those respondents’ understanding

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of the question, the additional noise this produces in the data should work against the likelihood of finding systematic results.

Subjects were asked to rate their perceptions of the heterogeneity or homogeneity of both Latino and American public opinion on the four aforementioned issues: support for gays and lesbians serving openly in the military, and U.S. recognition of Palestine, support for Obama, and partisan identity. To calculate this quantity, I used the following formula:

Perceived Heterogeneity$_i$ =

$$\frac{\sum\begin{pmatrix} StronglyOppose_i * (1-\mu_i)^2 + SomewhatOppose_i * (2-\mu_i)^2 + \\ SomewhatSupport_i * (3-\mu_i)^2 + StrongSupport_i * (4-\mu_i)^2 \end{pmatrix}}{\sum (StronglyOppose + SomewhatOppose + SomewhatSupport + StronglySupport)}$$

where *i* was the issue and μ was the mean placement of the stick figure for that issue on the attitude distribution scale. This is essentially a measure of variance that 1) takes into the account that some people may not have sorted all ten stick figures, and 2) is weighted based on the number of people assigned to each category (occasionally respondents failed to sort all ten stick figures) and their distance from the respondents' perceived mean. A high score on this scale thus represented greater diversity of perceived opinions for that issue. Respondents repeated this same process for perceptions of opinion on each of the four issues for both perceived Latino opinion and American public opinion. All four items were combined into an index of *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* and another for *Perceived American Heterogeneity*. The *Perceived Latino Heterogeneity* index had a

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Cronbach's Alpha score of .78, and the *Perceived American Heterogeneity* index had a Cronbach's Alpha of .73, thereby indicating that both indexes were highly reliable.

In addition to measures of heterogeneity, an index of questions assessed perceptions of the political power of Latinos. Unified collectives are generally perceived as more politically influential than those characterized by disparate and/or disorganized interests. So if Spanish-language political media is in fact increasing perceptions of the political heterogeneity of Latinos, this could contribute to diminished perceptions of their political power. To explore this relationship, respondents were asked 1) how important they thought the votes of Latinos/ Hispanics are in winning presidential elections today, and 2) how much influence they thought Latinos/ Hispanics have on who is elected President of the United States. These items were found to be highly correlated ($p<.001$), and thus standardized and combined into an index, *Latino Political Importance.*

Findings

How uniform did Latinos perceive the political views of Latinos to be when viewing the English and Spanish-language ads? And, how did this compare to their perceptions of the uniformity of political views among Americans as a whole? I predicted that exposure to Spanish-language political media would evoke different responses from Spanish- and English-dominant Latinos, because what is an ingroup versus outgroup differs based on their level of assimilation to, and identification with, those groups.

To ensure that these respondent groups differed as initially anticipated, I began by looking at the ethnic labels respondents used to identify and describe themselves. As has been illustrated in past survey research, Spanish-dominant Latinos in this survey were

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more likely to describe themselves using a pan-ethnic label, or with a country of ancestry, than with the term American. English-dominant respondents, on the other hand, were more likely to describe themselves as American than with a country of ancestry or pan-ethnic label ($p<.001$, see Figure 5.2).

[INSERT FIGURE 5.2]

If the ethnic labels that respondents used to describe themselves are an indicator of whether they perceive Latinos or American to be their ingroup, it should also help predict how politically heterogeneous they perceive Latinos to be relative to Americans in a manner consistent with outgroup homogeneity theory. The findings support my theoretical argument (see Figure 5.3). Spanish-dominant Latinos perceived Latinos to be more heterogeneous than Americans, and English-dominant Latinos perceived Americans as more heterogeneous than Latinos. Thus, both linguistic groups classified the group which they were likely to identify more strongly with as more heterogeneous, and the group with which they were likely to identify less strongly as more homogeneous.

[INSERT FIGURE 5.3]

How did exposure to the political ads in Spanish and English affect these patterns? By making Latino identity salient, did the Spanish ad exacerbate the outgroup homogeneity tendency among Spanish-dominant Latinos, causing them to regard Latinos as more heterogeneous and other Americans as less so? Conversely, among English-

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dominant Latinos, did it encourage the perception that Latinos are less heterogeneous relative to Americans as a whole? To test these hypotheses, I ran a mixed model analysis of variance including two factors. A within-subject factor contrasted perceptions of Latino heterogeneity with American heterogeneity. A between-subjects factor contrasted perceptions of political heterogeneity among Latinos who viewed the Spanish ad with those who viewed the ad entirely in English. Again, I predicted that exposure to Spanish-language media would lead Spanish-dominant Latinos to see Latinos as more heterogeneous and Americans as more homogeneous, and the reverse would be true for English-dominant Latinos. Figure 5.4 presents the results.

[INSERT FIGURE 5.4]

When viewing the Spanish-language ad, Spanish-dominant Latinos did, in fact, see Latinos as significantly more heterogeneous relative to the general American public than when viewing the English-language ad ($p<.05$). While Spanish dominant Latinos always saw Latinos as more heterogeneous than Americans, the difference was significantly more pronounced when viewing the Spanish-language ad, thereby increasing the perceived difference in heterogeneity levels among Latinos and Americans. Consistent with the outgroup homogeneity effect, this highlights the perceptions among Spanish-dominant Latinos of a Latino ingroup that is distinct from an American outgroup, as well as internally heterogeneous.

English-dominant Latinos, on the other hand, illustrated a very different reaction. Viewing the Spanish-language ad significantly *decreased* perceptions of Latino heterogeneity relative to that of Americans compared to those who saw the English-

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language ad (p<.05). As opposed to highlighting a Latino ingroup and increasing perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity relative to that of Americans, it heightened perceptions of Latino homogeneity relative to Americans more broadly. Just as it is a mistake to assume homogeneity of Latino opinion, it is likewise mistaken to assume that all Latinos will be affected in the same way by Spanish-language media.

Finally, I looked at how the language of the campaign ad affected perceptions of *Latino Political Influence*. A simple t-test between those who viewed the Spanish versus English ad revealed that all Latinos, regardless of language dominance, perceived Latinos as being of greater importance in the American political process if they viewed the Spanish language ad (p<.05, see Figure 5.5).

[INSERT FIGURE 5.5]

Surprisingly, perceptions of Latino political importance were not linked to perceptions of Latino political homogeneity as anticipated. Interestingly, however, regardless of ad language, Spanish-dominant Latinos thought Latinos had greater political influence than did English-dominant Latinos (p<.001). Thus, the group perceiving greater ingroup heterogeneity nonetheless viewed the ingroup as more politically powerful. This runs counter to the commonly held idea that united groups will generally perceive themselves as more influential than heterogeneous ones.

Thus, perceptions of Latino heterogeneity differed among English and Spanish-dominant Latinos in a way that reflected both the ethnic labels they use to describe themselves, as well as predictions made in outgroup homogeneity theory. Among English-dominant Latinos, the Spanish-language ad heightened the sense of Latino

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homogeneity relative to that of Americans. Conversely, among Spanish-dominant Latinos, the Spanish-language ad increased the perception of Latino heterogeneity relative to that of Americans. Nonetheless, among all Latinos, the Spanish-language ad increased the perception of Latino political importance.

Discussion

This study explored how Spanish language appeals shape Latinos' perceptions of Latino public opinion, as well as how Latinos' perceive the opinion of the broader American public. As this study revealed, Spanish-language political media have significant and important effects on how Latinos perceive themselves in American politics. Among both groups, ads targeted to Latinos increased Latinos' sense of their own political power. Being targeted seemed to convey that they are both politically important and influential. However, the effects of Spanish media on Latinos' perceptions of themselves and their larger superordinate group, depended critically on whether the subjects primarily spoke English or Spanish. Among Spanish-dominant Latinos, the ad with Spanish-language content increased perceptions of Latino ingroup heterogeneity relative to more homogeneous Americans. English-dominant Latinos, in contrast, saw Latinos as more politically homogeneous than Americans after viewing the Spanish-language ad, who were than perceived as comparatively diverse.

Several important points can be inferred from these findings. First, the use of Spanish in political ads invariably increased the perception of Latino political importance. Regardless of whether Latinos identified more with a pan-ethnic or American collective, it is clear that the Spanish-language political ads increased the sense

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that Latinos carried weight in the American political process. In doing so, it further reified the idea of a Latino political collective, and highlighted how all Latinos see themselves as an increasingly important force in American electoral politics.

Second, the language of campaign ads is clearly affecting the commonly held notion of a Latino political bloc. The use of Spanish in a single, 30-second campaign ad was sufficient to cause English-dominant respondents to view Latinos as having more cohesive political views relative to Americans compared to when viewing the same ad in English. In doing so, it helped to reify a pan-ethnic political community. Among Spanish-dominant Latinos, however, the Spanish-language political ads had the *opposite* effect. As opposed to reinforcing the commonly purported notions of a uniform set of Latino political beliefs, the Spanish-language ads actually seemed to be countering such views and fostering senses of the diversity of the population amassed under a Latino label. The Spanish-language advertisement consequently seemed to reinforce a Latino political stereotype among those more incorporated into mainstream American culture (English-dominant Latinos), in a way that reflects the views often assumed by the larger American population (Coulter, 2012; Talbot, 2012; Fins, 2010; Zoellner, 2012). Yet it seemed to counter these same mass perceptions among those less culturally integrated (Spanish-dominant Latinos).

The implications of this are far-reaching. Given the proximity of the U.S. to Latin America and the cultural and economic interdependence of the Americas, it is likely that patterns of pan-American migration will persist and Spanish-dominant Latinos will continue to have a strong presence in the United States for the foreseeable future. Spanish-language campaign ads were shown to play an important role in the political

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experiences of Spanish-dominant Latinos, helping Spanish-dominant Latinos to engage with the American political process as highly diverse members of an American-bred ethnic classification. Yet in addition to increasing the sense of Latino political heterogeneity, Spanish-language media is fortifying a distinctive Latino identity within American politics that these Latinos see as powerful.

With that being said, growth in the English-dominant Latino population is outpacing that of the Spanish-dominant Latino population. Latino births in the U.S. now outpace Latino immigration as the greatest source of population growth among Latinos in the U.S., and there are now more second generation Latino children (52%) than first generation Latino children (11%) (Fry & Passell, 2009). Given that over 90% of second generation Latinos speak and read English very well, it is those findings pertaining to English-dominant Latinos that are likely to have the greatest impact on America's political future (Taylor et al., 2012). With this in mind, it appeared that attempts to reach out to and appeal to English-dominant Latinos using Spanish-language campaign ads are, in fact, reifying notions of a homogeneous Latino bloc in a diverse American context. In doing so, these findings suggest that it may also be causing many Latinos to subscribe to the stereotypes associated with being non-Anglo in America. Consistent with past evidence suggesting that commercial representations of Latino were actively used by Latinos to assert their own and others' place and level of 'belonging' in the panethnic category, it appears that English-dominant Latinos are internalizing and employing politicized conventions of the Latino vote to assert their own identity in American politics. (Dávila, 2001).

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Overall, the relationship between Spanish-language political ads and perceptions of Latino political diversity couldn't come at a more notable time in American political history. As both the size of the Latino population, as well as the number of media outlets targeting Latinos continues to grow, it provides valuable insights on how this source of information is affecting how Latinos perceive their place in American politics (Coffey, 2009). It illuminates the different senses of political identity fostered by the language in which political information is disseminated. The relationship between self-descriptions, and the language and ethnic frame of political media, underscored the continually constructed character of Latino identities, like all political identities, as well as how these elements of media can shift where and how Latinos align themselves in relation to American democracy.

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FIGURE 5.1: Example Of Survey Measure Used To Assess Perceptions Of Heterogeneity, With People Sorted

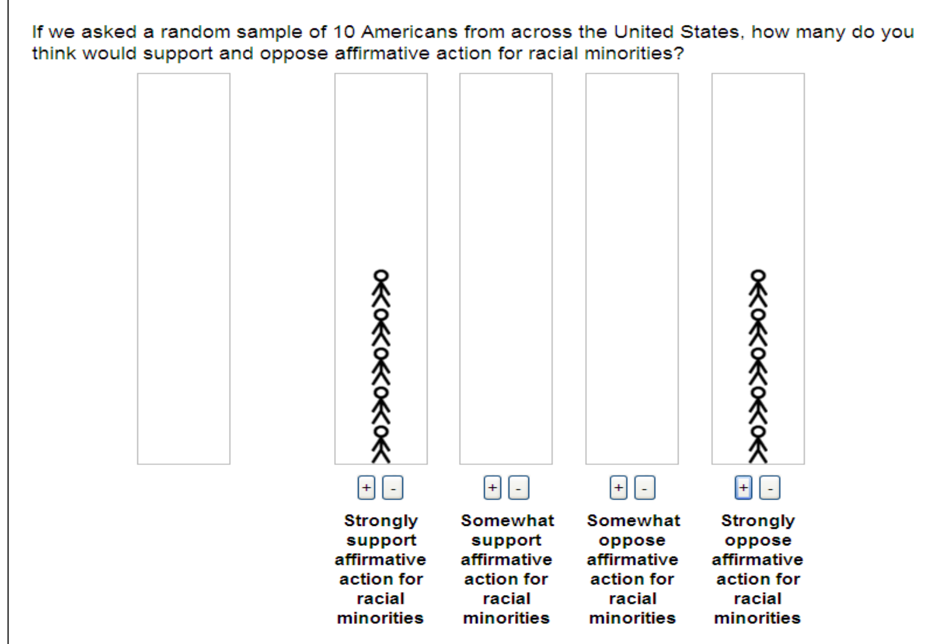

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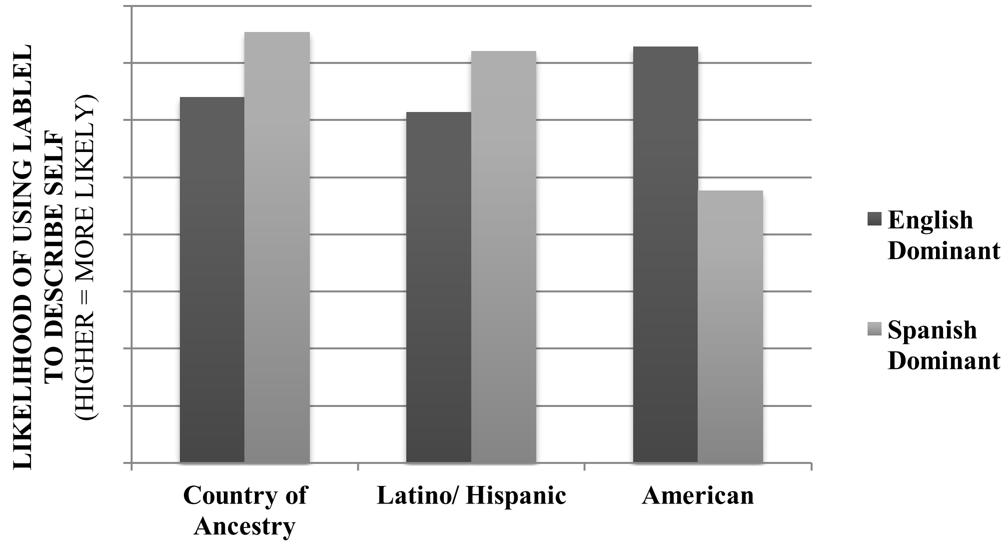
FIGURE 5.2: Likelihood of Using Label to Describe Self



Note: Entries are means. English-dominant Latinos were more likely to describe self as American, and Spanish-dominant Latinos were more likely to describe oneself as Latino/ Hispanic and by one's country of ancestry ($p<.001$).

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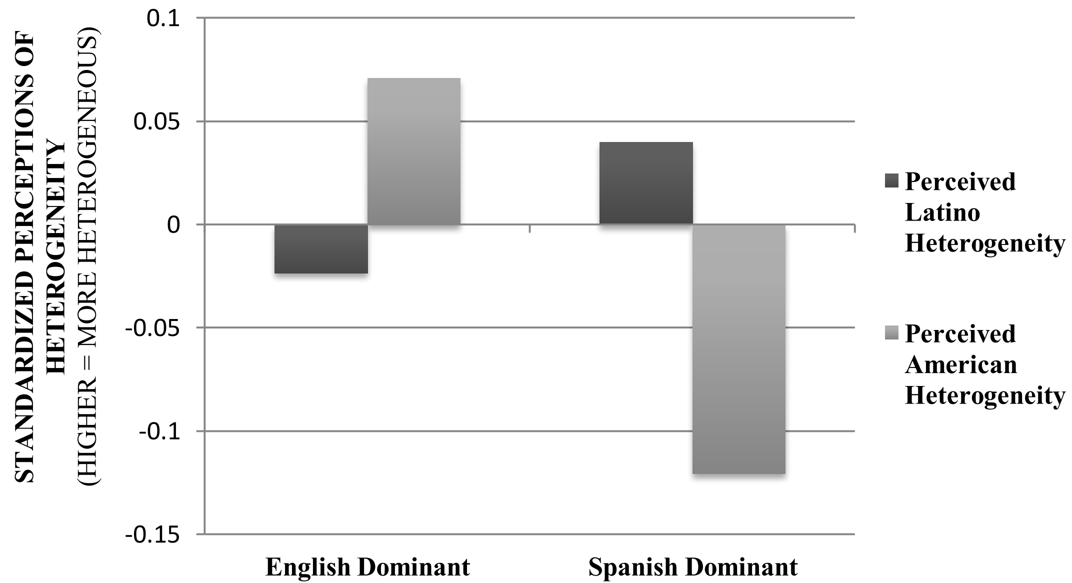
FIGURE 5.3: Perceptions of Latino and American Heterogeneity



Note: Entries are means by dominant language. All scales were standardized among all Latinos with a mean of zero. Language dominance had a significant effect on perceptions of Latino political heterogeneity relative to American political heterogeneity (p<.005).

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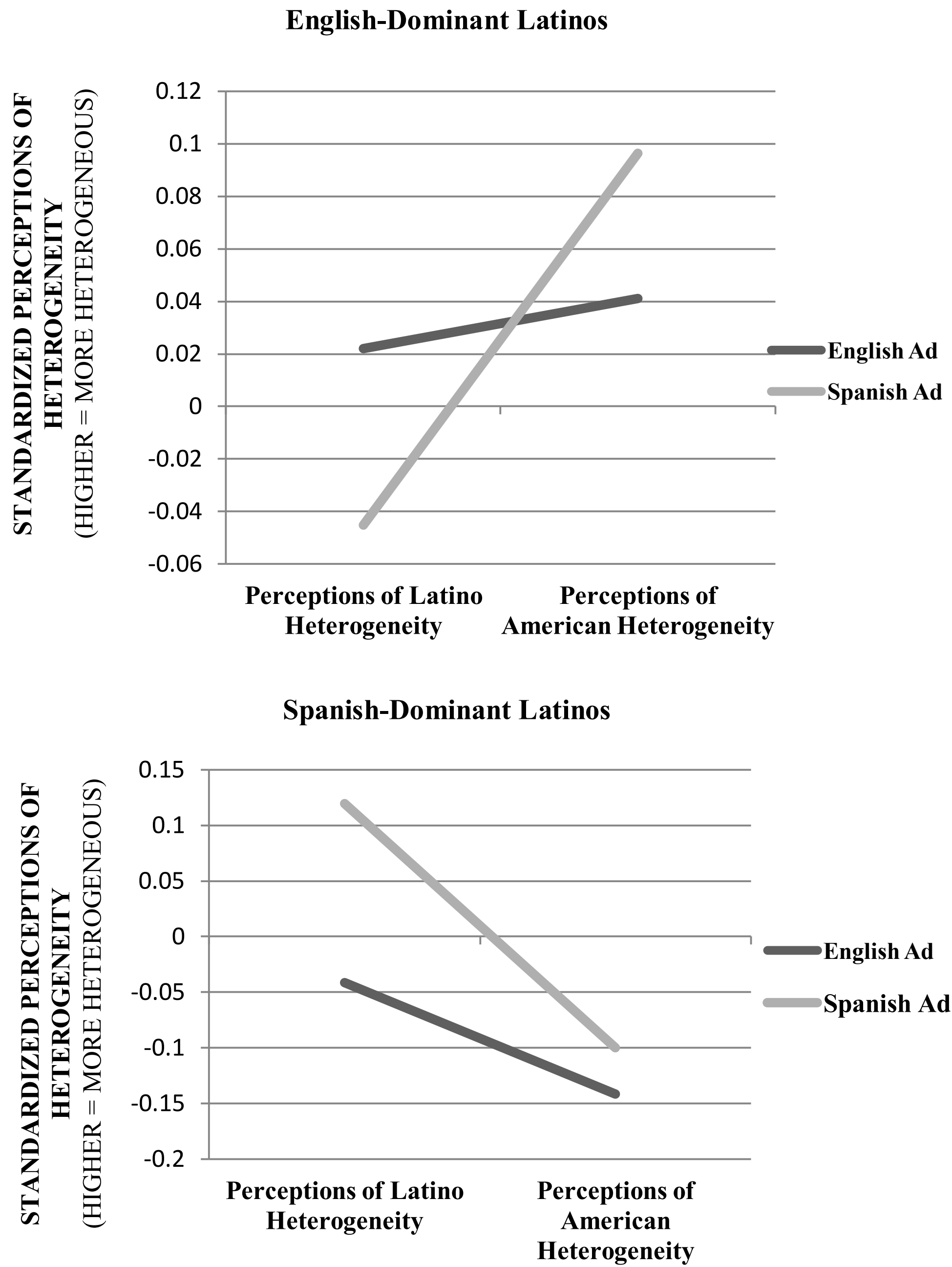
FIGURE 5.4: Effects of Ad Language on Perceptions of Latino and American Political Heterogeneity



Note: Entries are differences in means by experimental condition. All scales were standardized among all Latinos with a mean of zero. Ad language had a significant effect on differences in perceived Latino and American heterogeneity ($p<.05$).

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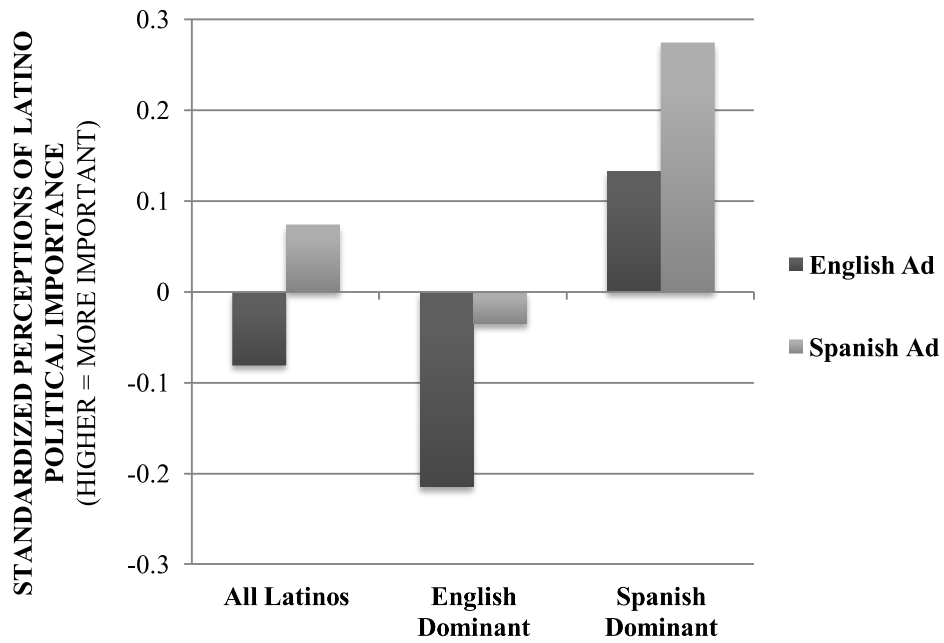
FIGURE 5.5: Effects of Ad Language on Perceptions of Latino Political Importance



Note: Entries are means by experimental condition. All scales were standardized among all Latinos with a mean of zero. Ad language had a significant effect on perceptions of Latino political importance all Latinos ($p<.05$).

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Chapter 6: Conclusion

When Tim Pawlenty dropped out of the race for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination, the co-anchor of Univisión's morning news show posed a question to the network's regular political analyst. "What does it mean for Hispanics, those who are of most interest to us?[6]" The recurring theme on Spanish-language news programs is what "it" – the change in the candidates, the election, the piece of legislation – means for Latinos in the United States. This type of news coverage highlights that there is an angle of news that is relevant to a Latino political collective, and it is distinctive from that which matters to the rest of the American public. In doing so, this frame implicitly reinforces the idea that there is a Latino collective that is sufficiently homogeneous to render them politically meaningful. Yet despite these characterizations, it is not clear that Latinos perceive themselves as such a cohesive political unit. In fact, there is little empirical research at all available on the development of a Latino political identity. And unlike the broad field of scholarship exploring the effects of English-language political media on public opinion and political behavior, comparable research on Spanish-language political media is quite sparse.

In this dissertation, I attempted to fill that gap by exploring how Spanish-language media affects how Latinos form their own political identities, and how they view the idea

[6] Original in Spanish: "Pero ese correncia a la derecha, ¿qué representa para los votantes Hispanos, los que más nos interesan?

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of a larger pan-ethnic political collective. In particular, I explored how Spanish-language political media affects the strength of identification with a pan-ethnic, as opposed to an American identity, and how this ties into both perceptions of Latino political homogeneity and Latino political importance in the U.S. Consistent with past work, the findings presented in this dissertation illustrate that Latinos can and do identify as simultaneously American and Latino. But I also illuminate the manner in which the strength of these identities can fluctuate. Further, I highlight the role that Spanish-language political media plays in shifting the relative strength and salience of these identities.

Self-Identification

The language of news, in particular, was shown to play an important role in shaping how Latinos viewed themselves in the context of American politics. Even when conveying the same content, whether news was broadcast in English or Spanish had a notable effect on the ethnic labels that Latinos used to describe themselves. Spanish-language news media encouraged identification with the Latino, relative to the American, ethnic label, while English-language news media did just the opposite. Interestingly, references to Latinos as a group within the news did not appear to produce an across-the board effect on identification as Latino. However, among those viewing Spanish-language media, the pan-ethnic references did add to the likelihood of identifying as Latino relative to American. News that included both Spanish-language content and incorporated pan-ethnic references consequently caused Latinos to become significantly more likely to describe themselves as Latino than American, relative to either news

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without the pan-ethnic reference or in English. Thus, it was the combined use of the Spanish-language and the pan-ethnic references, the format generally used in Spanish-language news, that was exerting the most powerful effect on ethnic identification.

Perceptions of Latino Political Homogeneity

Of particular interest in this dissertation was how Spanish-language political media is affecting perceptions of Latino political homogeneity, and how this related to ethnic self-descriptions. Contrary to some conventional wisdom, identifying with the pan-ethnic Latino label and perceiving Latinos to be homogeneous did not go hand in hand. In fact, precisely the opposite was found to be true. The ethnic group people identified with most, whether that was American or Latino, was shown to be perceived as more rather than less heterogeneous. So Spanish-language news media not only heightened the degree to which Latinos identified themselves as Latino relative to American, but it also heightened perceptions of Latino political diversity relative to Americans as a whole. Those who saw the English-language news broadcast, on the other hand, were more likely to describe themselves as American than Latino, and perceived Latinos as more politically homogeneous than American as a whole. The manner in which perceptions of relative homogeneity changed directions in a way that reflected identification tendencies offered strong support for outgroup homogeneity theory. Spanish-language news media not only shifted group identities, but also how Latinos were understood in American politics.

This pattern was reinforced when looking at English- and Spanish-dominant Latinos in the second experiment. English-dominant Latinos, who were more likely to

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describe themselves as American than Latino, perceived Americans as significantly more politically heterogeneous than Latinos after viewing the Spanish-language ad. In a similar fashion, Spanish-dominant Latinos, who were more likely to describe themselves as Latino than America, perceived Latinos as significantly more politically heterogeneous than Americans after viewing the Spanish-language ad. Spanish-language media consequently heightened perceptions of relative political heterogeneity among their dominant identity group.

Perceptions of Latino Political Importance

Were these perceptions of Latino political homogeneity linked to the perceived political importance of a Latino collective? Suprisingly, no. Latinos who saw the campaign ad in Spanish did perceive Latinos as more politically important, but they also perceived Latinos as more politically heterogeneous, thereby dismissing the hypothesized relationship between perceived political homogeneity and importance. Furthermore, perceptions of Latino political homogeneity were also found to be unrelated, positively or negatively, to perceptions of Latino political importance after viewing the news broadcast. No effect at all was found on perceptions of Latino political importance among those who viewed the news broadcast. Neither the language of the content, nor the use of pan-ethnic references in the news broadcast was found to have any bearing on how politically important respondents perceived Latinos to be.

With that in mind, the effect of the Spanish-language advertisement on perceptions of Latino political importance is notable. Merely hearing a narrator talk about Obama in Spanish shifted how Latinos saw their role and position in the American

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political process. It highlighted a sense of political importance that was not otherwise present when viewing the advertisement in English. In so doing, the advertisement not only highlighted the existence of a Latino political collective, but their relevance to American politics.

General Overview

While many questions still remain, the research presented in this dissertation presents strong evidence of a relationship between Spanish-language media, ethnic identity and perceptions of Latino political unity. The use of an experimental design permitted me to maximize control over the content that respondents were being exposed to. The content of the broadcasts, frequency of exposure (once), time period when the survey was taken, and recentness of exposure (immediately prior to taking the survey) was the same for all respondents, regardless of which ad or news clip they saw.

Additionally, using a survey experiment permitted me to ensure that subjects were randomly assigned to view one of the media treatments. Field experiments and other empirical approaches that often rely on respondents selecting into their own treatment group introduce the possibility of factors other than the treatment, such as the amount of time one has resided in the U.S., education, and/or age, generating the different effects.

Along these lines, the use of two nationally representative samples of Latino respondents strengthened the likelihood that these findings are illustrative of actual patterns among Latinos in the United States. The inclusion of representative samples of English-dominant, Spanish-dominant and bilingual Latinos further amplified the relevance of these findings to real world contexts in which linguistic difference are linked

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to important differences in the life experiences of Latinos. This external validity was complemented by the fact that respondents were able to take the survey in their home, at their leisure, in a context that is quite similar to that in which respondents might be exposed to actual news or campaign ads.

All together, these findings demonstrate that exposure to Spanish-language media is in fact helping to reify a Latino political identity. Among bilingual Latinos, it strengthens identification as Latino relative to American. Yet as it does so, it is simultaneously mitigating the tendency to lump Latinos into a homogeneous political "giant." This draws attention to the space provided by Spanish-language news media to counter notions of a Latino political monolith, and highlight the diversity that characterizes the population. Increasing this sense of Latino political heterogeneity is particularly useful in calling attention to the nuances within the Latino checkbox that merit political recognition and representation. An appreciation for Latino political heterogeneity is essential to ensuring any power, be it political, social or economic, is allotted based on an accurate understanding of the diversity characterizing the experiences of Latinos in the U.S. In so doing, Spanish-language media seems to be one place where representation does not need to succumb to the calls for simplicity imposed by the limits of bureaucracy.

Yet at the same time, these findings illustrate that as Latinos become more assimilated, Spanish-language media is helping to reify a Latino political identity in a different way. Among English-dominant Latinos, Spanish-language media is more likely to give rise to perceptions of Latino political homogeneity, as opposed to diversity, relative to the larger American public. The exaggeration of propensities to view Latinos

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as a comparatively homogeneous collective may be attributed to various factors. It may be due to the fact that with their greater amount of time in the U.S., they have been subject to depictions of Latino uniformity more. The more assimilated Latinos have spent more time immersed into a culture in which media mentions of Latino "sleeping giants," key Latino influence, and a Hispanic "tipping pointo" now pervade political news coverage (Sanchez, 2013; Rodriguez, 2012; Coulter, 2012). While the mass media have vacillated between discussing a growing Latino threat to American culture (Huntington, 2004; Coulter, 2012) and a unified Latino political force to be reckoned with (National Council of La Raza, 2012), the depiction of Latino uniformity has been quite consistent. In so doing, it has helped instill these perceptions into American culture and the process of American assimilation.

So with time in the U.S., Spanish-language media goes from priming identification with a diverse Latino political collective, to that of priming identification with a diverse American political collective that includes a homogeneous Latino political bloc somewhere within it. It highlights the capacity of Spanish-language media to pull Latinos toward distinct identities with different understandings of the political meaning of Latino, while simultaneously fostering notions of unity among many of them. These patterns raise a number of additional questions. In particular they highlight questions about how it affects actual Latino public opinion. Does exposure to Spanish-language media actually make those who view Latinos as more homogeneous shift their options in line with that perception? Further, how do these heightened perceptions of Latino diversity and unity affect notions of Latino political representation?

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Future research that considers the effects of Spanish-language political media on Latino identity, opinion and behavior should consider the rapidly evolving context of Spanish-language media. In general, as market segments grow, they see an increase in the number of options seeking to serve that audience. This growth in options is then followed by fragmentation into microniches that become their own market segments. These new segments, in turn, give way to new media life cycles (McQuail, 2000). Spanish-language media has not been an exception. While Univisión and Telemundo still dominate the television airwaves targeted towards Latinos, there are now over 100 other options now available, including Spanish-language outlets, English-language outlets, and various combinations of the two (Coffey, 2009). As Univisión, Televisa, and Telemundo continue to lose their monopoly over Spanish-language media in the U.S., they will also cede a great deal of space to construct the meaning of Laitno in the U.S. The effects this will have on how the pan-ethnic collective is understood in American politics merits further attention.

Overall, the relationship between Spanish-language political news and perceptions of Latino political diversity couldn't come at a more notable time in American political history. As both the size of the Latino population, as well as the number of media outlets targeting Latinos continues to grow, it provides valuable insights on how this source of information is affecting how Latinos perceive their place in American politics (Coffey, 2009). It illuminates the divisions raised by the language in which political information is disseminated. The relationship between self-descriptions, and the source of political media underscored the continually constructed nature of Latino

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identity, as well as how these elements of media can shift the groups with which Latinos align in American democracy.

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Appendices

APPENDIX I: Experiment 1, Ad Script

ENGLISH:

Obama: I'm Barack Obama and I approve this message.

Narrator: Born on an island, his family didn't have much. But Barack Obama understands the worries of parents. That explains why the Obama plan is the best plan.

Obama: The time has come to reform our education system, where students get the resources that they need to finally achieve their dreams. I'll be a president who finally makes health care affordable and I'll be a president who ends this war in Iraq and finally brings our troops home.

SPANISH:

Obama: I'm Barack Obama and I approve this message.

Narrator: Nacido en una isla de una familia de pocos recursos, Barack Obama entiende las preocupaciones que llevan los padres. Eso explica porque el plan de Obama es el mejor plan.

Obama: The time has come to reform our education system, where students get the resources that they need to finally achieve their dreams. I'll be a president who finally makes health care affordable and I'll be a president who ends this war in Iraq and finally brings our troops home.

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APPENDIX II: NEWS BROADCAST SCRIPT

ENGLISH:

Male Anchor: What could redeem this party **(for the Latino community?/ EXCLUDE)** Or do you believe that they don't have a message in reference to the concerns mentioned **(that could attract the Latino voter/ EXCLUDE)?**

Arnoldo: I believe that these candidates, **(until now, have not been talking to the Latino community. They/ EXCLUDE)** have been talking to the residents of Iowa and the other states that begin the primaries – New Hampshire being another. Maybe the message will change when they go before **(Latino audiences/ OTHER STATES). (But right now, the message is being presented to audiences that really do not include many Latinos. / EXCLUDE)**

Female Anchor: Thank you so much, Arnoldo, for accompanying us live from Sacramento.

SPANISH:

Male Anchor: Que se podría rescatar de ese abanico (**para la comunidad latina/ EXCLUDE)**? O usted cree que no hay un mensaje por parte de los que hemos mencionado (**que pueda entusiasmar el votante Latino/ EXCLUDE**)?

Arnold: Yo creo que estos candidatos, hasta ahora, (**no están hablando a la comunidad Latina**./ **EXCLUDE)** Están hablando a los residentes de Iowa y los otros estados que comienzan sus primarias – New Hampshire siendo otro estado. (**No están hablando, no se han enfrentados a esa comunidad**/ **EXCLUDE**). Quizás el mensaje cambiará cuando van ante de (**audiencias** (**Hispanas/ OTROS ESTADOS**). **(Pero ahora mismo, el mensaje se está presentando a la gente que realmente no tiene muchos Latinos en esa audiencia/ EXCLUDE).**

Female Anchor: Muchísimas gracias Arnoldo por acompañarnos en vivo desde Sacramento, California.

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[1] What racial or ethnic group best describes you? 1) White; 2) Black or African-American; 3) Hispanic or Latino; 4) Asian or Asian-American; 5) Native American; 8) Middle Eastern; 6) Mixed Race; or 7) Other.

[2] Do you support or oppose gays and lesbians serving openly in the military? a) Strongly support gays and lesbians serving openly; b) Somewhat support gays and lesbians serving openly; c) Somewhat oppose gays and lesbians serving openly; and, d) Strongly oppose gays and lesbians serving openly.

[3] Do you support or oppose U.S. recognition of Palestine as its own nation, independent from Israel? a) Strongly support U.S. recognition of Palestine; b) Somewhat support U.S. recognition of Palestine; c) Somewhat oppose U.S. recognition of Palestine, and 4) Strongly oppose U.S. recognition of Palestine).

[4] Generally speaking, which of the following best describes you? a) a strong Democrat, b) a not so strong Democrat, c) an Independent, d) A not so strong Republican; e) A strong Republican.

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[5]Please rate your feelings towards Barack Obama. Is your overall impression of him… a) favorable; b) somewhat favorable; c) neither favorable or unfavorable; d) somewhat unfavorable; and e) unfavorable.

[6] What television network was the news clip you just viewed broadcast on? a)NBC; b) Univisión; c) Fox; and d) CBS.

[7] Did the broadcasters discuss any particular group of voters in the news clip? a) women; b) unions; c) Latinos/ Hispanics; and, d) No, they did not mention any specific group of voters

[8] For details on this company's strategy for non-volunteer sample recruitment, see http://www.knowledgenetworks.com/knpanel/docs/KnowledgePanel(R)-Design-Summary-Description.pdf

[9] "Nuestro idioma," or "our language" in English, is a phrase that has been used on Spanish-language news programs to emphasize the language helping to bind and unify their audience-community.

[10] What racial or ethnic group best describes you? 1) White; 2) Black or African-American; 3) Hispanic or Latino; 4) Asian or Asian-American; 5) Native American; 8) Middle Eastern; 6) Mixed Race; or 7) Other.

[11] Do you support or oppose gays and lesbians serving openly in the military? a) Strongly support gays and lesbians serving openly; b) Somewhat support gays and lesbians serving openly; c) Somewhat oppose gays and lesbians serving openly; and, d) Strongly oppose gays and lesbians serving openly.

[12] Do you support or oppose U.S. recognition of Palestine as its own nation, independent from Israel? a) Strongly support U.S. recognition of Palestine; b) Somewhat support **U**.S. recognition of Palestine; c) Somewhat oppose **U**.S. recognition of Palestine, and 4) Strongly oppose **U**.S. recognition of Palestine.

[15] How likely would you be to use the following term to describe yourself? a) very likely; b) somewhat likely; c) somewhat unlikely; and, d) not likely at all.

[16] Because no comprehensive data was collected on the country/ ies of ancestry in the YouGov profile survey, the three questions on respondents identity choice were preceded by a question asking respondents to "Please select one of the Spanish-speaking countries where you or your ancestors came from before living in the US. The following countries were available for the respondents to select in a drop down box: Argentina, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Philippines, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Spain, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

[17] What television network was the news clip you just viewed broadcast on? a)NBC; b) Univisión; c) Fox; and d) CBS.

[18] Did the broadcasters discuss any particular group of voters in the news clip? a) women; b) unions; c) Latinos/ Hispanics; and, d) No, they did not mention any specific group of voters

[19] To be clear, "subordinate" in this case is used to mean included within, and not inferior to.

[20] The original version of the Spanish-language ad included Spanish-subtitles when English was spoken. Because the ads were also designed for, and used in, a study on the views of non-Latinos, to maintain comparability English subtitles were also added to the ads including Spanish content when Spanish was spoken.

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[21] "Do you support or oppose gays and lesbians serving openly in the military? a) Strongly support gays and lesbians serving openly; b) Somewhat support gays and lesbians serving openly; c) Somewhat oppose gays and lesbians serving openly; and, d) Strongly oppose gays and lesbians serving openly."

[22] **"**Do you support or oppose U.S. recognition of Palestine as its own nation, independent from Israel? a) Strongly support U.**S**. recognition of Palestine; b**)** Somewhat support U**.S.** recognition of Palestine; c**)** Somewhat oppose U.**S**. recognition of Palestine, and 4) Strongly oppose U**.S.** recognition of Palestine)."

[23] "Generally speaking, which of the following best describes you? a) a strong Democrat, b) a not so strong Democrat, c) an Independent, d) A not so strong Republican; e) A strong Republican."

[24] "Please rate your feelings towards Barack Obama. Is your overall impression of him… a) favorable; b) somewhat favorable; c) neither favorable or unfavorable; d) somewhat unfavorable; and e) unfavorable."

[25] "If we asked a random sample of 10 Americans from across the United States, how many do you think would support and oppose affirmative action for racial minorities? a) Strongly support affirmative action for racial minorities; b) Somewhat support affirmative action for racial minorities; c) Somewhat oppose affirmative action for racial minorities; and, d) Strongly oppose affirmative action for racial minorities."

[26] While it is plausible that the use of this particular issue drew attention to race and ethnicity, it did so uniformly among all respondents regardless of the ad they saw. It therefore could not be responsible for any effects resulting from ad exposure. To the extent that it did prime race or ethnicity, it would likely work against the likelihood of finding any results by calling more attention to race/ ethnicity among those who saw the English-language ad then it otherwise would. This, in turn, would likely reduce the difference in ethnic salience among those who saw the English and Spanish-language ads that I argue is behind any such effects.

[27] No respondents were excluded to ensure that it remained a fully nationally representative sample.

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