

Latino Tú Latino Yo

Group Threat and Latino Political Identity in California

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Abstract

This paper examines the rise of a politicized Latino identity in California during the 1990s. I hypothesize that the impact of political threat motivated the formation of a politicized Latino identity and that this is driven by Latinos who perceived the discriminatory nature of California's proposition politics in the 1990s. By examining data of Latino respondents from multiple surveys between 1989-2004, I find support for the hypothesis that perceived discrimination is positively associated with a politicized Latino identity in California, when immigrants were politically under attack. Interestingly, perceived group discrimination after this time period is no longer associated with Latino identity, even though reported levels of a politicized identity have continued to increase. This finding suggests that perceived discrimination may activate group consciousness and have long lasting effects in promoting group identity long after feelings of threat have subsided.

What Latinidad means to the many ethnic groups that comprise the Latino population in the United States is an empirical challenge for scholars. Between partisan differences among ethnic groups, different migration histories, and cultural factors, some question if there is anything about the U.S. Latino experience that actually serves to bond these different ethnic groups together. While panethnic identification is increasing, it is not entirely clear if and what the political consequence of a strengthened Latino identity may be (Beltrán, 2010; Rumbaut, 2009). Additionally, despite the growth of the Latino population and a general acceptance of a Latino/Hispanic identity, the political behavior of Latinos varies significantly by state. A prime example of this variation among group members can be seen in Latino voter turnout rates at the state level. In California, turnout in 2012 for Latino voting age citizens was at 48 percent. In comparison, Latino voter turnout in Texas, a state with a large Latino population similar to California's was just 38 percent¹.

Developing a sense of group identity is an important step in increasing group engagement. Studies have found that a politicized identity can lead to increased levels of political participation (Barreto, 2010; Gutierrez et al., 2019; Masuoka & Junn, 2013; Miller et al., 1981; Stokes, 2003). An example of this can be found in the get out the vote literature which found that identity messaging can help increase voter turnout but only when individuals hold a strong attachment to these politicized identities (Valenzuela and Michelson, 2016).

In this paper, I explore when why and how Latino identity became politicized in the state of California. By examining the political history of California, we can better understand why the Latino electorate in California might exhibit higher levels of identity and group consciousness.

The 1990s was a tumultuous time for politics in the state. Partly in response to the rapidly changing demographics, Republican Governor Pete Wilson ran for re-election in 1994 on a strongly anti-immigrant campaign that supported voting yes on proposition 187 (Bergman, Segura, et al., 2014; Bowler et al., 2006). The goal of Prop. 187 was to make undocumented individuals living in the state ineligible for public benefits such as healthcare and education (Hajnal & Baldassare, 2001). In addition, it made doctors, nurses, and educators responsible for reporting individuals whom they thought might be in the county illegally. The campaign in support of proposition 187 was full of racially coded language and commercials that portrayed Latin American immigrants as criminals coming to the United States to steal jobs and take social welfare away from deserving Americans². Following proposition 187³, proposition 209 was proposed, which upon passing, effectively removed affirmative action in California's state colleges and universities⁴. Two years later, in 1998, proposition 227 was passed, which eliminated bilingual education for limited English proficient students and most bilingual education classes in the state. At the time, the Republican Party in California was still a strong player in state politics and the Republican party had a sizable Latino contingency. But registration trends turned after 1994, in their quest to increase their vote margin by targeting non-voters, the Republican Party alienated many Latinos in the state who

¹ For state level data on Latino voting age citizens, registered voters, and turnout go to

https://wcv.org/latino_voter_research/latino_voter_statistics/tx_lv.html

https://wcv.org/latino_voter_research/latino_voter_statistics/ca_lv.html

² <https://www.kqed.org/news/10346251/political-effects-linger-20-years-after-prop-187-targeted-illegal>.

³ Prop 187 passed in 1994 but quickly faced an injunction by the courts and was never enacted.

⁴ Worded as an initiative meant to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, sex, or ethnicity, this initiative eliminated admissions programs that sought to increase college admissions among underrepresented populations.

perceived their community to be under attack (Bergman, Damore, et al., 2014).

I argue that the threat imposed by California's state politics which were motivated by anti-immigrant attitudes, increased group unity and political mobilization. The threat induced political participation sets Latinos in California apart from Latinos in other states at the time. When immigration and other ethnically salient issues are on the political agenda, Latinos whether U.S. born or immigrant become the political "other". It is in this climate that Latino identity and group consciousness is most likely to grow. While some have argued that a common Latino identity means little in terms of political unity because of the diverse nature of the group, it is probable that in the case of California, the expansion of Latino identity is synonymous with a political Latino identity (Beltrán, 2010). By lumping Latinos together as "others" and reminding them of their Latino identity in a politically charged climate, the repercussions are necessarily political. Individuals who recognize that the negative political messaging and hostility from these campaigns are aimed at Latinos are more likely to recognize their Latino identity and respond politically. Additionally, I expect that the activation of this identity will last well beyond the initial threat and serve as a political motivator for years to come. Group consciousness is not likely to ebb and flow. Once formed, group consciousness should remain even when the threat has subsided. Using a collection of cross-sectional data from the 1989 through 2004, I use California's political climate as a test of the unifying political power of threat which may potentially explain what accounts for increased levels of Latino political participation in the state.

There is strong reason to believe that these propositions, especially 187 and 227 were perceived as targeting Latino immigrants. Campaign ads for proposition 187 depicted people crossing over the U.S. Mexico border, while proposition 227 restricted the amount of non- English class time. To further corroborate how closely linked Latinos were to the proposition debate, I conducted a text analysis of Los Angeles Times newspaper articles to see how frequently Latinos were mentioned in articles about the propositions.

Figure 1 displays the number of articles containing the propositions in the title for every year between 1994 and 2000. The orange bar shows the number of times articles (including op eds) reference one of the three propositions in the title. The blue portion displays the number of unique panethnic or Latin American national origin identifiers used in the articles for each year. I find that there is a very high incidence of mentioning Latinos in the articles about the propositions. Latino mentions are especially high in 1994 when prop 187 was on the ballot. With the exception of 1996, the number of ethnic identifiers mentioned in the text is nearly half that of the number of articles published about the propositions.

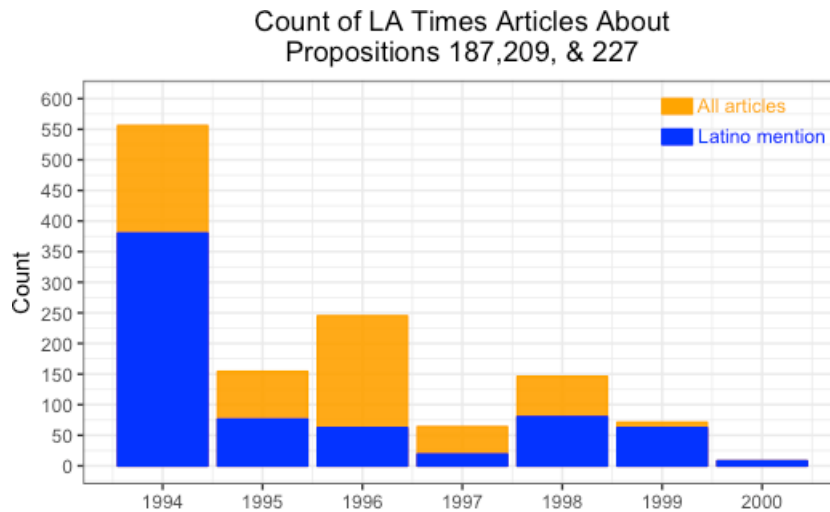


Figure 1: Figure 1 displays the number of times an article was written in the LA Times about propositions 187, 209, and 227 in a year from 1994-2000. The blue portion of the graph represents the number of unique Latin American country of origin or Latino/ Hispanic identifiers mentioned in these proposition articles in a given year.

Furthermore, the political effects of these propositions on Latinos in the state have been widely studied by race ethnicity scholars. Pantoja et. al. (2001) found that voter turnout increased among Latino immigrants who naturalized and registered to vote during the 1990s when compared to those who naturalized prior, and Barreto et al. (2005) found that the increase in voter registration and turnout in the state was not simply a matter of a larger pool of Latino voters, but a greater interest in politics among Latinos living in the state. Furthermore, in Los Angeles County, the number of newly registered Latinos who registered as Republican was falling precipitously (Barreto, 2005). Similar trends of increased Democratic partisanship among Latinos at the state level, and greater concern about racial issues among immigrants have also been found (Bowler et al., 2006; Pantoja & Segura, 2003). But I argue that there is an intermediary step between threat and political engagement. Individuals are less likely to be motivated by threat to engage with the political system if they themselves don't identify with the group that is being threatened. If people of Latin American origin do not identify as members of the group, then we are unlikely to experience an increase in political participation or support for policies and politicians that benefit the group.

Psychological Roots of Identity

Understanding how a person feels about their identity is important for determining the role that that identity will be in shaping their views on politics and policy. Bedolla (2005) for example, examines the importance of identity in her research on Latino students growing up in Montebello and East Los Angeles during the 1990s. She finds that adaption to the U.S. and identity formation is a complicated process. For the students to feel like full members of the U.S. political community, they must feel empowered to act, and develop a positive attachment to their group despite its stigmatized status (Bedolla, 2005). When the subjects have a positive attachment, they are more likely to engage in the political process and fight against the perceived injustices occurring in their communities as is predicted by group consciousness (Miller et al., 1981). This is also in line with numerous works that have found that positive group attachment is key to combatting feelings of isolation and depression (Greene et al., 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman,

2009; D. J. Pérez et al., 2008). Feeling like one's identity is stigmatized may also hinder a person's willingness to engage politically (Branscombe et al., 1999; Whitbeck et al., 2002). This social stigma can either strengthen or weaken Latino identity. Identity itself is not simply viewed as positive or negative, but instead can be viewed as something that enhances or jeopardizes a person's sense of self depending on the context (Bedolla, 2005; Ellemers et al., 2002). Furthermore, individuals with a stigmatized identity are more likely to internalize discrimination and feel a lower sense of self-worth making it more likely that they will withdraw (Krieger, 1999).

How individuals come to accept or reject their identity is often examined by studying in-group and out-group behavior. Tajfel and Turner (1979) find that individuals evaluate and define their identity by referencing other groups through value laden attributes and characteristics. When people deem their social identity to be unsatisfactory, they will try to disassociate themselves from the stigmatized identity and attempt to make their identity more positively distinct (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). But while some may try to distance themselves from a group, if there are increased levels of intergroup conflict, this may increase the hostility of interactions between different groups, making it more difficult to disassociate (Tajfel, 1970). Societal threat can also strengthen in-group unity and group cohesion which increases group unity (Huddy et al., 2013). If discrimination is an isolated event targeted at the individual, then individuals are more likely to internalize discrimination and let it affect them negatively but if what is experienced is perceived discrimination aimed towards a group, group members are more likely to increase the connection between themselves and the group (Armenta & Hunt, 2009).

The attachment and strength of the identity is also important to how people respond to threat. Pérez (2015) finds that when faced with xenophobic rhetoric strong Latino identifiers will reaffirm their group identity when the group is threatened. However, weak identifiers opt to move further away from the group, under threat. Similarly, studies have found that when faced with discrimination, individuals will make active attempts to maintain feelings of belonging and personal self-esteem by becoming more identified with their group despite the group-based discrimination (Armenta & Hunt, 2009). Perceived group discrimination may lead to an increase in in-group identification, which helps maintain psychological well-being. Group discrimination is able to work in this way because it is a societal rejection of a larger identity rather than the individual.

The psychological process is important to understanding how group members react when faced with threat, but questions surrounding the persistence of a strong group conscious identity remain. Should we expect to find that group consciousness subsists once the initial threat fades? Or does perceiving group threat at one point in time and activating a group identity mean that feelings of group consciousness remain? I hypothesize that group discrimination will be positively associated with group consciousness, and that the effects of perceived discrimination will be long lasting among Latinos living in California during the 1990s. Thus, perceived threat should continue to be associated with group identity, and group identity should remain strong even after the threat has subsided.

Panethnic Identity & Group Consciousness

What poses a greater challenge for group consciousness among panethnic groups, is the fact that there are many different identities nested under a panethnic label. Scholars note that over time panethnic identifiers are becoming more commonly used, but whether or not increased levels of

panethnicity mean that there is an enhanced sense Latino political power is still debated (Beltrán, 2010). However some works have found that panethnicity can be employed situationally as a means for increasing political power (Padilla, 1985). Similarly, group consciousness may be a more explicitly politically oriented form of Latino identity. As Miller et al. (1981) note, group consciousness extends beyond simple identification with the group, it is a combination of identifying with the group, recognizing the group's lower position in society, and a commitment to improve their group's standing in society. In many ways group consciousness can be viewed as a stricter measure of political unity in which panethnicity is a necessary precondition. Group consciousness is widely used to study group identity as a political force. Stokes (2003) argues that diverse interaction among ethnic groups with the help of political leaders will serve to increase participation among the different Latino ethnic groups. Other works on Latino group consciousness find that group consciousness may also be changing the way in which policy debates are perceived (Sanchez, 2006). But how do Latinos become group conscious?

Hypotheses

To study a politicized Latino identity, items that are best described as a group conscious measure serve as my outcome of interest. I use surveys with large Latino samples in California from 1989 to 2004. Starting with the 1989/ 1990 Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) allows me to include a baseline for group consciousness prior to the propositions in the mid 1990s that created a hostile climate for Latinos in the state. I expect that prior to the anti-immigrant, anti-Latino propositions of the 90s, perceived discrimination will be weakly correlated with group consciousness, with respondents exhibiting lower levels of group consciousness in the state. However, I expect that this will change during and after propositions 187, 209, and 227 which were voted on between 1994 and 1998. I hypothesize that between 1994 and 1998 when these propositions were debated and voted on, perceived discrimination will become strongly and positively correlated with group consciousness as a result of the political environment. Each of these propositions were viewed as harmful to minorities in the state, especially the Latino population and those that recognize it are most likely to want to change the situation of their group.

By introducing political threat at the state level via these proposed propositions, I expect that more Latinos in the state will report that Latinos face systematic discrimination. Because Latino's out-group status is highlighted during this time period many group members will perceive that non-Latinos in the state view them as an unwelcome minority. Because of this, I expect to see that group threat will strengthen their Latino identity. This will lead those who positively associate as Latinos to recognize the societal marginalization to want to improve their group's standing in society.

I hypothesize that the relationship between perceived discrimination and Latino identity will not be as strong in the survey periods prior to the propositions because Latinos living in the state have not yet been exposed to political discrimination at the state level in the same way that they are between 1994-1998 because of these propositions. I argue that this is because the social climate during these propositions is increasing the saliency of the discrimination Latinos as a group face. However, as the 1990s continue and these propositions arise, I expect that perceived discrimination will be positively correlated with a politicized Latino identity as measured by group consciousness. Recognizing that society perceives Latinos to be different than the white in-group coupled with being reminded of Latino's lower status in society is part of what is pushing them to want to increase their group's societal standing by working together politically. Since proposition 187 and

227 most likely affect foreign born respondents, their awareness and sensitivity to these propositions should be higher than U.S. born Latinos. Additionally, Latinos with some college education or who are college graduates should also more likely to watch the news and be politically aware. If I am correct that perceived discrimination is increasing group consciousness, the findings should hold for both of these groups.

Data & Methods

In order to examine the connection between perceived discrimination and group consciousness during this time, I have collected numerous surveys with large samples of Latinos in California. These surveys are the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) of 1989/1990, The Los Angeles County Social Survey (LACSS) of 1994, The Multi-City study of Urban Inequality (1992-1994), The Washington Post Kaiser Foundation Harvard National Survey of Latinos 1999, the Mexican American Study Project II, which was conducted between 1997 and 2000, The Kaiser Pew 2002 National Survey of Latinos, and The Pew Kaiser Latino Survey on Politics 2004⁵. These seven surveys not only contain a large sample of Latino respondents living in California at the time, but also contain a measures of group consciousness as well as perceived discrimination. By limiting my sample to only the California respondents in these surveys, I able to measure the relationship between perceived discrimination and group consciousness in the state. Ideally, I would have liked to have enough respondents in other states such as Texas so that I could use difference in difference as an alternative estimation strategy, but because of the different geographies and sampling strategies of these surveys, I am unable to do so.

The LNPS was the first nationally conducted survey of Latinos. It has a total of 809 California respondents from Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican ancestry⁶. Because the measurement of group consciousness is varied, I looked for questions that most closely capture the definition of group consciousness as outlined by (Miller et al., 1981). Their definition of group consciousness involves feeling like you belong to a group, recognizing that the group is marginalized in society, and wanting to work together with other members of the group on behalf of their political goals (Miller et al., 1981). With the LNPS, I was able to construct a political similarity scale by using respondents' answers about political similarity among Latino ethnic groups. Respondents were asked three questions about the similarity of political concerns regarding the three largest Latino ethnic groups. Each survey item has the same possible responses: "very similar," "somewhat similar," or "not at all similar." I combined these three items into a scale such that a value of "0" represents a respondent reporting that all these Latino ethnic groups are not at all similar, and "1" represents respondents reporting that all these Latino ethnic groups are very similar. The internal consistency of this scale was strong (Cronbach's α .68). In order to make the different surveys comparable across years, I then collapsed all respondents into a binary group consciousness measure in which one represents respondents who viewed these three groups as either mostly or somewhat politically similar and the rest as zero. Only the respondents on the highest third of the scale were coded as one. Additionally, the LNPS asks about discrimination faced by the respondent's ethnic group. This asked "How much discrimination or unfair treatment do you think different groups in the U.S. face? A lot of discrimination, some, a little or no discrimination at all"

⁵ While the LNS of 2005-2006 seems like a natural candidate, the LNS unfortunately does not ask about perceived discrimination in a way that is comparable to the seven other surveys.

⁶ While the first national survey of Latinos, one of the initial challenges was knowing which state respondents were from. With the original notes from the project, I was able to identify the respondent's state of residence at the time of interview. For more information go to my web page.

This was asked of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Cubans, the response given for the respondent's ethnic group is used as perceived discrimination. Responses are coded 1 for those who said there is a lot or some, and 0 for a little or none. In total the LNPS provides 641 complete observations from California.

The Multi City Study of Urban Inequality also had a large Latino sample in California. The interviews from California were conducted between 1993-1994. Because one of the survey's objectives is to capture racial and ethnic attitudes of minorities, they include large samples of Latinos, Asians, and Blacks in addition to asking questions about how minorities view themselves as well as view other groups. The Multi City Study of Urban Inequality conducted 865 Latino interviews in Los Angeles over 1993 and 1994. The perceived discrimination variable in this survey asks how much discrimination they think Hispanics face that hurts them economically. Respondents who stated "a lot" and "some discrimination" are coded 1, and respondents who stated there was "none" or "a little discrimination" are coded zero. This survey used linked fate as their identity question. Latino respondents were asked, "do you think what happens generally to Hispanic people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" Responses are coded 1 for those who said yes and 0 for those who said no.

Next, I examine the Los Angeles County Social Survey of 1994. While limited to Latinos living in the greater Los Angeles area, this survey was conducted during the height of prop 187 so if the political climate is influencing identity, we might find an increase in group consciousness during this year. The item that I use to measure group consciousness in this survey asks "When thinking about social and political issues, do you think of yourself as a member of a particular racial or ethnic group or do you think of yourself as mainly American?". Responses are collapsed into a binary variable coded 1 for those who think of themselves as only ethnic, or ethnic and then American, and zero otherwise. The discrimination variable in this survey is worded "How often do members of your group experience discrimination." Responses are coded 1 for experiencing discrimination, and 0 represents respondents who report never experiencing discrimination.

From 1998 to 2000, the Mexican American Study Project II was conducted in the greater Los Angeles and San Antonio areas. It has 384 complete observations of Mexican Americans living in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. While it is limited to only Mexican American respondents, California's Latino population is largely comprised of Mexican Americans (they make up roughly 80% of all Latinos in the United States). Respondents to the MASP survey were asked "Do you agree that Mexican Americans should work together politically" Responses were coded 1 for those who stated they should work together for political or social reasons, or zero for those who stated otherwise. Perceived discrimination in this survey asks, "How much discrimination do you think there is today against people of Mexican origin?" This variable is coded 1 for those who perceive discrimination, and 0 for those who say there is no discrimination.

In 1999, the Washington Post Kaiser Family Foundation Harvard University National Survey of Latinos was conducted. This survey has 301 respondents from California. From this survey, two questions were combined and scaled to a single additive index variable to capture group consciousness. The questions used to make the scale ask, "Do you agree/disagree with the statement that Latinos in the United States share FEW political goals?" and "Do you think that if various Latino groups worked together politically Latinos would be better off, worse off, or it wouldn't make much difference?" These responses were scaled between 0-1, in which 0 represents respondents with no group consciousness, and 1 represents respondents with the highest level of

group consciousness. This scale was then recoded into a binary 0-1 variable. Of the intermediate responses only those who gave the highest response on one of the questions and a middle response in the other are coded 1. All other values are collapsed into the zero category. While the α for this scale seems low (.17) these two characteristics of common goals and improving the group's standing by working together are how group consciousness is conceptualized and similar scales have been used in the past (Masuoka, 2006). Perceived discrimination in this survey is stated, "is discrimination against Latinos in our society today a problem, or not a problem?" This variable is coded 1 for discrimination is a problem, and 0 for discrimination is not a problem.

The Pew Hispanic Center and Kaiser Family Foundation also conducted a survey in 2002. From this survey two measures were combined to measure group consciousness. The first question asks respondents if they think that "Latinos from different counties share one Hispanic/Latino culture or all have separate and distinct cultures." The second question used to make up the group consciousness measure asks if "Hispanics/Latinos from different countries are working together to achieve common political goals, or are not working together politically." The perceived discrimination measure in this survey asks in "general, do you think discrimination against Latinos/Hispanics is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem in preventing Latinos in general from succeeding in America?" Respondents who said discrimination is not a problem are coded 0 while those indicating it is a major or minor problem are coded 1. In total, this survey provides me with 611 respondents from California.

The final survey I will use in my analysis is the 2004 Kaiser Family Foundation Pew Hispanic Center Latino Survey on Politics conducted in 2004. This survey had fewer questions that are related to group identity, so group consciousness is measured using a single item, "Which comes closer to your views Hispanics/ Latinos from different counties today are working together to achieve common political goals or are not working together politically." Respondents who say Latinos are working together are coded 1 and those who believe they are not working together are coded 0. In total this survey provides me with 615 additional California respondents.

Figure 2 displays the responses for perceived discrimination by survey. While the number of respondents who perceived discrimination is high even in the earlier surveys, there is a slight uptick during the proposition period with perceived discrimination towards Latinos declining in the 2000s. This seems to be in line with the idea that these propositions increased the saliency of threat and discrimination towards the group. I expect that this increase in perceived discrimination will become correlated with group consciousness after the initial experience of threat.

To conduct my analysis, I start by running a logistic regression on each survey⁷. For each survey I model group consciousness as my dependent variable, and focus on perceived discrimination as my key independent variable. In these models I control for citizenship status and whether or not the respondent is U.S. or foreign born, and partisanship. In addition to these questions, I also control for language of interview, gender, age, education and income. As a robustness check, I also ran ordinary least squares regressions on each survey allowing for the original number of categories in the group consciousness models, the results from these regressions can be found in the appendix along with the original distributions of the group consciousness variables. The OLS regression results provide similar findings to the logistic regression models.

⁷ for the individual regressions, the data are not weighted

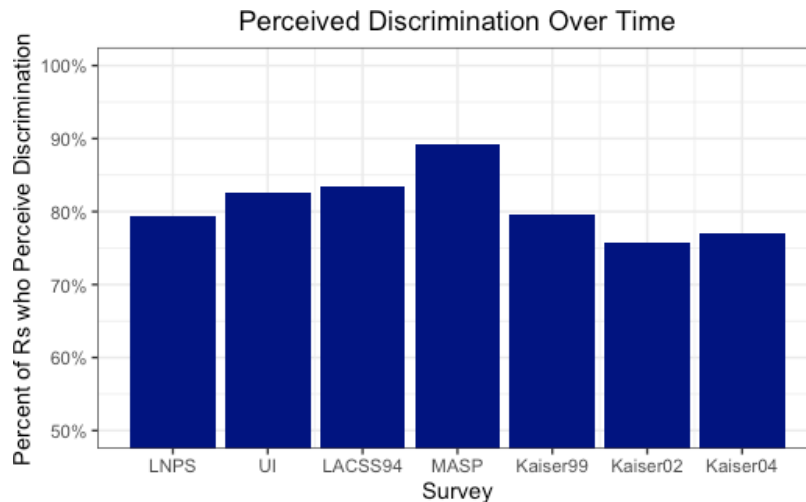


Figure 2 Perceived Discrimination by Survey

After running my analysis on each individual survey, I also pooled all of the surveys together into a single dataset that spans 15 years. The data was then reweighed using census demographic data on age, gender, and education information on the California Latino population. I used the 1990, 2000, and 2010 census data points and conducted a linear imputation of the census data so there wouldn't be any drastic shifts in the survey weights as the years progressed. For the pooled analysis, I also create dummy variables for the time frame of interview. Interviews conducted between 1989 and 1993 are in the pre-proposition period, interviews between 1994-1998 are in the "during" period, and interviews conducted in or after 1999 are in the "post" period. Interviews in the pre proposition period are used as the reference category in my model. In total, I have 3,850 respondents across the 14 years. Interviews in the pre-proposition period are used as the reference category in my model. I run interactions between the time period and perceived discrimination for the pooled analysis. I expect that perceived discrimination interacted with the proposition time period to have a large and statistically significant effect, while perceived discrimination prior to the propositions will not have any effect on group consciousness. Furthermore, I expect that perceived discrimination will continue to be statistically significant and positively correlated with group consciousness even in the post proposition time period. In addition to these main findings, I expect that respondents who are foreign born are going to be more likely to perceive discrimination because they are likely to both know more undocumented immigrants and relate to the challenges of the undocumented given that they too are foreign born and immigrated to the United States. I also test whether there appears to be a stronger effect for college educated individuals who are more likely to have heard of these propositions.

Results

The results from the individual surveys generally indicate that my hypotheses are correct. Examining the results from the LNPS which was conducted prior to the proposition period, perceived discrimination is not a predictor of group consciousness. In fact, in the time period prior to the propositions in the LNPS, the only variable that is associated with an increase in group consciousness at a statistically significant level is income (see figure 3). Feelings of group unity and perceived common goals are not yet based on discrimination.

For the first surveys in which data was collected during the proposition period, I find that perceived discrimination is positively associated with group consciousness and the effect is statistically different from zero. This is a sign that something is changing among Latinos in the state. The marginal effects plot for the Multi City Study of Urban Inequality can be found in figure 4. Those who perceive discrimination are associated with a 15% marginal increase in group consciousness. A similar trend can be found in the LACSS survey of 1994. In the 1994 survey, respondents who perceive group discrimination are 17% more likely to report group consciousness compared to those who say they do not perceive discrimination.

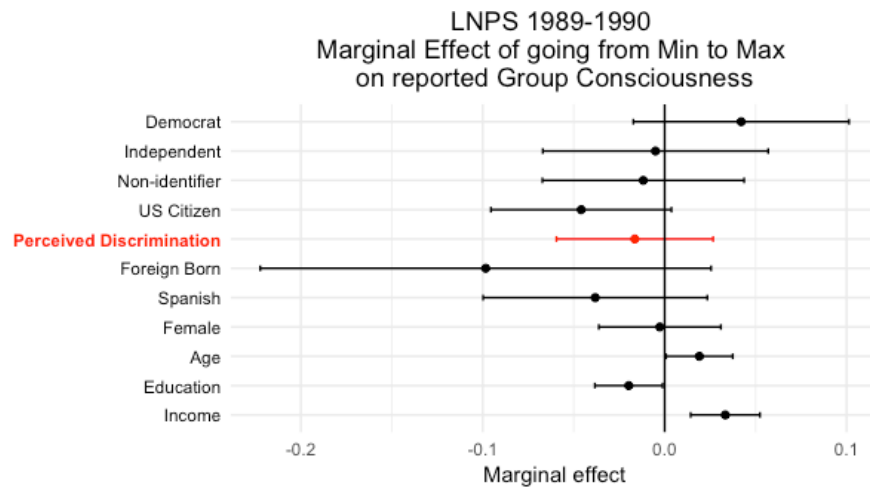


Figure 3: LNPS (89-90) Marginal Effects

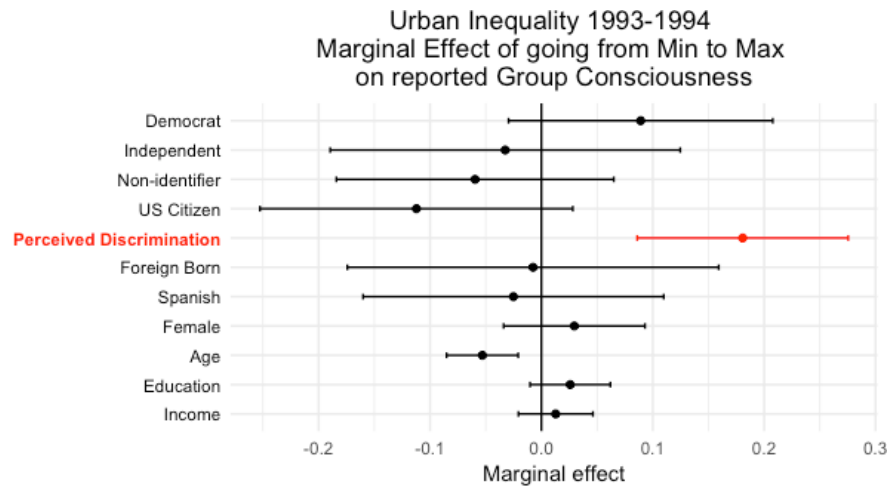


Figure 4: Urban Inequality (93-94) Marginal Effects

The marginal effect of perceived discrimination in the LACSS can be found in figure 5. For the surveys that were conducted at the tail end and after the proposition period, the survey results are mixed. In the MASP which was conducted between 1998-2000, I find that perceived discrimination is still positively associated with group consciousness. While the MASP was conducted both during and after the proposition period, I find that respondents who report that they perceive discrimination towards Latinos are associated

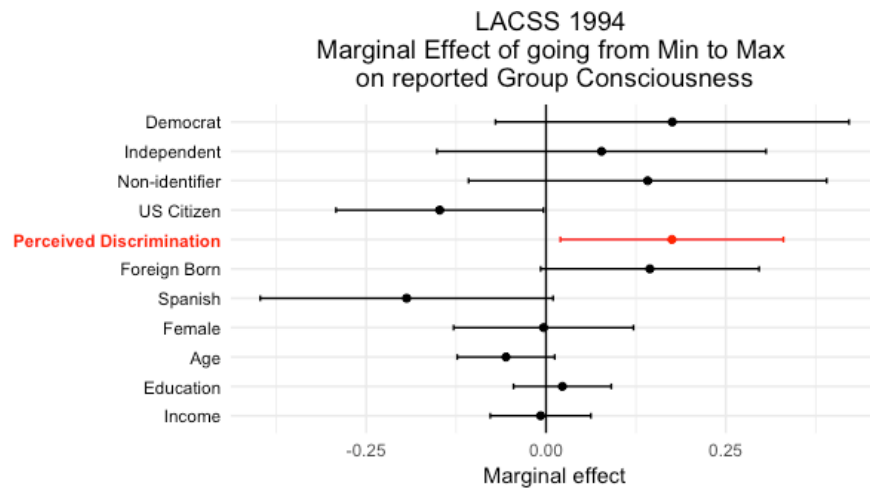


Figure 5: LACSS (94) Marginal Effects

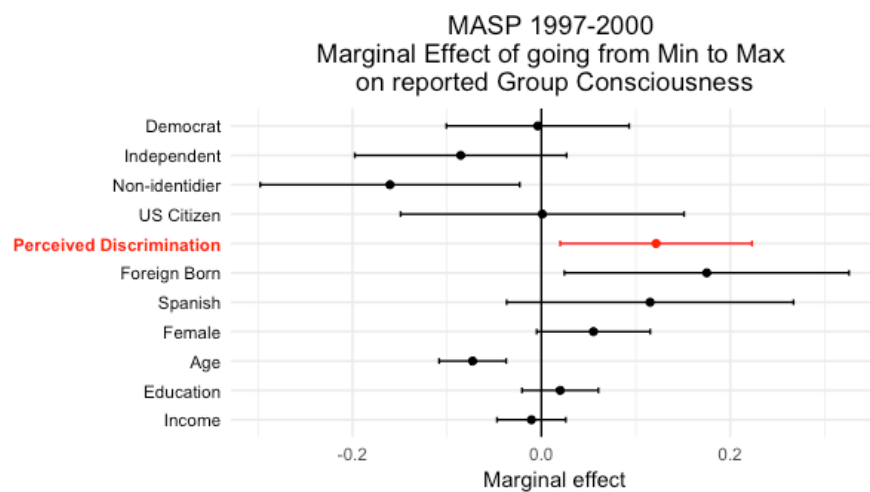


Figure 6: MASP (98-00) Marginal Effects

with a 19% increase in their predicted probability of reporting group consciousness. The Kaiser Washington Post Harvard study was conducted after the proposition period in 1999, and in this survey, we see that perceived discrimination fails to reach statistical significance. This may indicate that perceived discrimination is only associated with an increase in group consciousness during the proposition period⁸. Similar to the 1999 results, in the 2002 and the 2004 samples perceived discrimination is no longer correlated with group consciousness at a statistically

⁸ In the OLS model when group consciousness has many categories perceived discrimination is statistically significant in 1999 but this is not the case for 2002 or 2004

significant level.

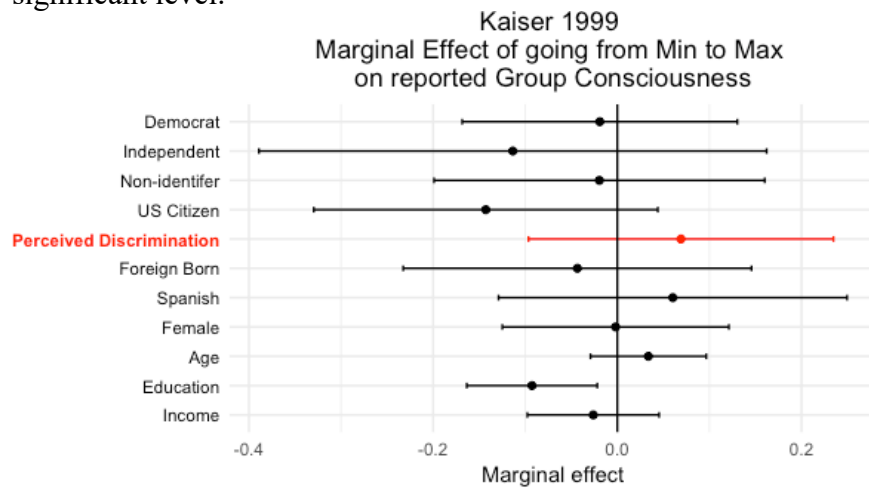


Figure 7: Kaiser 1999 Marginal Effects

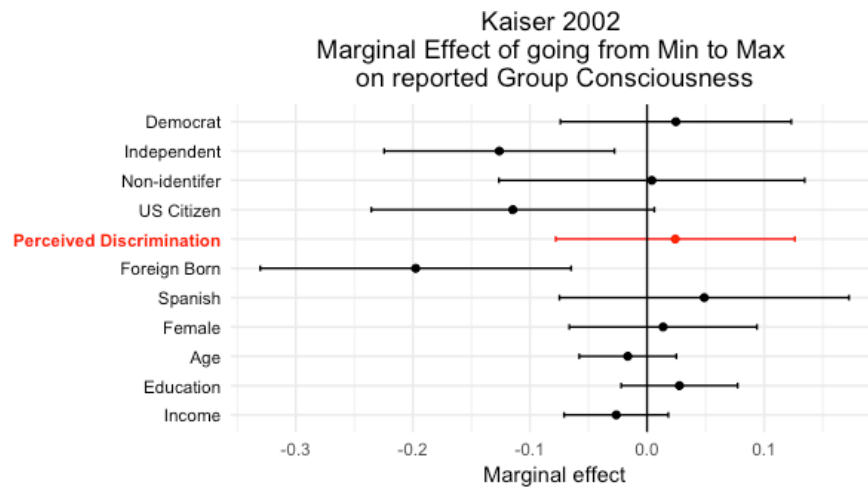


Figure 8: Kaiser 2002 Marginal Effects

In 2002, the only variable that is statistically significant is being foreign born, and it actually negatively associated with group consciousness. This may be because the group consciousness measure includes a measure of cultural distinctiveness among national origin groups. However, in 2004, I find that being foreign born is positively associated with group consciousness.

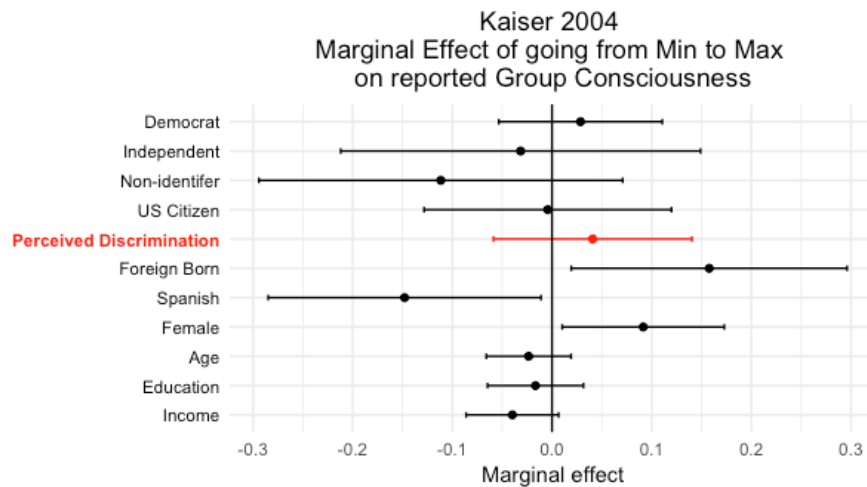


Figure 9: Kaiser 2004 Marginal Effects

Pooled Models

The pooled analysis helps provide a clearer picture between the relationship of perceived discrimination and group consciousness over time. Instead of grouping respondents by survey, I group respondents by period of interview. This allows me to separate respondents from surveys that were conducted during multiple time periods. The period prior to the propositions includes all respondents who were interviewed between 1989-1993, the during period includes respondents from 1994-1998, and the post period includes respondents who were interviewed from 1999-2000. Using the pre-proposition period as my reference category, and running interactions with time period and perceived discrimination, I find that being in the time period during the propositions (1994-1998) and after the propositions (1999-2000) is associated with a substantial increase in the predicted probability of reporting group consciousness. Furthermore, when perceived discrimination is interacted with time period, there is a strong and positive effect of perceived discrimination during the proposition period. However, the interaction between perceived discrimination and the post proposition period is not statistically significant, indicating that the perceived discrimination's relationship to group consciousness was most salient during the proposition period. In the pooled analysis, I also find that identifying as a Democrat is associated with an increase in the respondent's predicted probability of reporting group consciousness. Given that the Republican Party supported these propositions, this finding is unsurprising. Interestingly, being a U.S. citizen is associated with a decrease in group consciousness. Roughly half of the respondents in the survey are U.S. citizens. This suggests that people who are either legal residents or undocumented likely felt more politically threatened by these propositions than U.S. citizens.

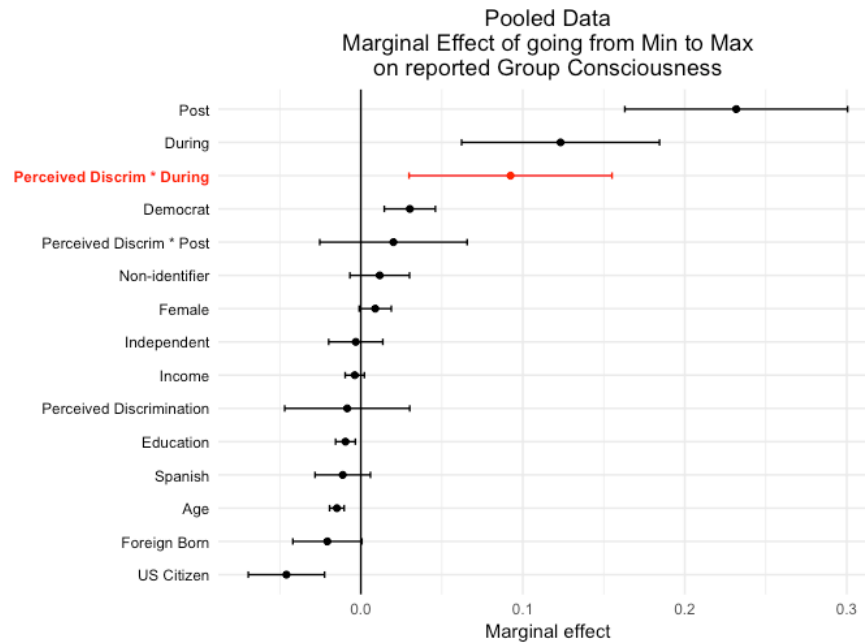


Figure 10: Pooled Data Marginal Effects

What is interesting, is that perceived discrimination is only correlated with group consciousness during periods of heightened group threat. This relationship more clearly demonstrated in Figure 11. Prior to prop 187 the correlation between perceived group discrimination and group consciousness is basically 0. But during the proposition period perceiving discrimination is associated with a 23% increase in the predicted probability of being group conscious. After the proposition period perceived discrimination is positively correlated, but not at a statistically significant level. This suggests that while perceived discrimination is important when group consciousness is formed, it is not necessary to sustain group consciousness as time goes on.

In order to measure exposure to the propositions, I ran the pooled model only on respondents with at least some college and then ran a separate analysis on respondents with no college⁹. I expect that those who are more educated are more likely to be more informed and perceive higher levels of discrimination which will be associated with an increase in group consciousness. The results indicate that the more educated are likely to perceive discrimination and that it would be positively associated with group consciousness during the proposition time period. But those with no college experience a similar size increase in group consciousness when they perceive discrimination. Looking at figure 12, the results indicate that in the time period prior to the propositions, individuals who have at least some college, and perceive discrimination may have actually been less group conscious although not at a statistically significant level.

⁹ All split sample models are unweighted.

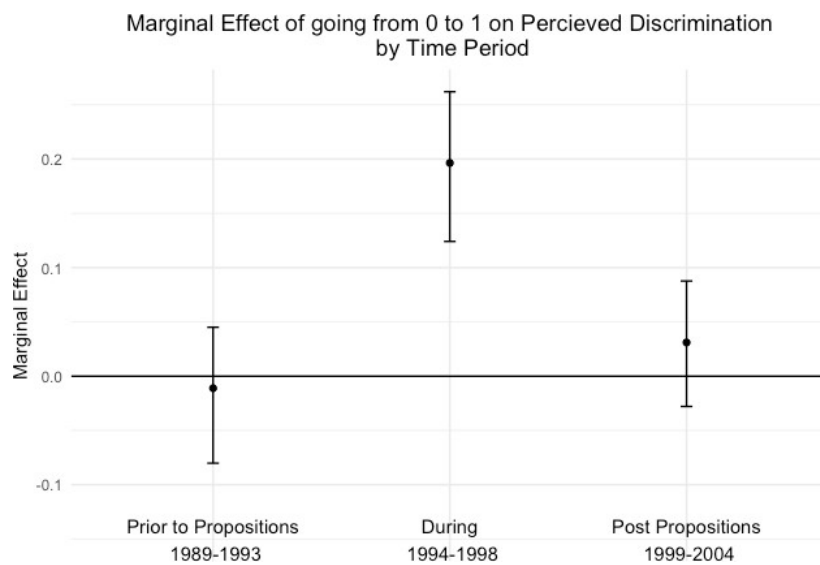


Figure 11: Perceived Discrimination by Time

This may suggest that Latinos who were well educated actually distanced themselves from other Latinos and were less likely to view themselves as part of the group. However, during the proposition period, for individuals with at least some college perceiving discrimination is associated with a 28% increase in their predicted probability of responding that they had group consciousness. We see the correlation between perceived discrimination and group consciousness diminish after the proposition period among all three samples.

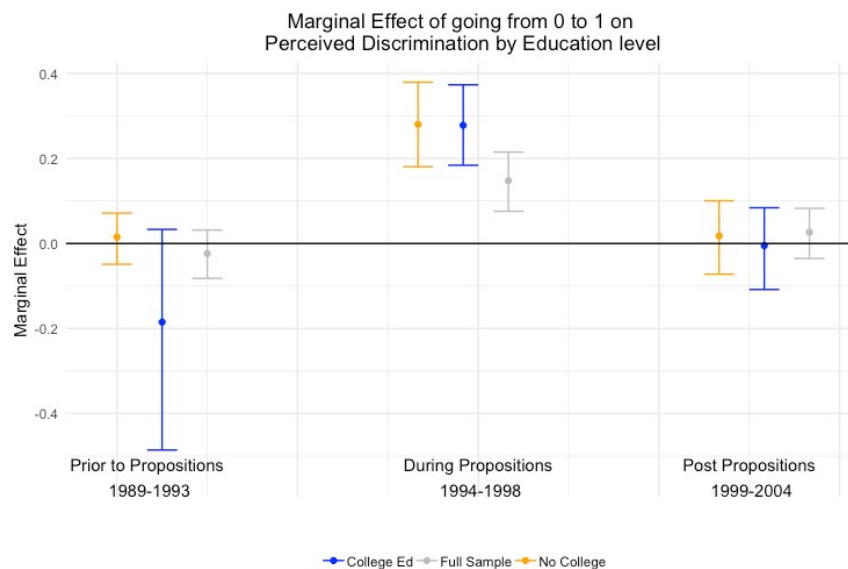


Figure 12: Marginal Effect by Education

In addition to the higher educated, I also hypothesized that foreign born respondents would be more aware of these propositions. Since some of the foreign-born respondents are undocumented, or know others who are undocumented, I expect that they are more likely to find these propositions as threatening. My subsample analysis indicates that the correlation between perceived discrimination and group consciousness is largely driven by foreign born respondents. For foreign

born respondents, perceiving discrimination is associated with a 25% increase in their predicted probability of reporting group consciousness. This shift from 0 to 25% for immigrants. I speculate that this is the case because many immigrants come to the United States full of promise. However, seeing the commercials and learning about the anti-immigrant propositions likely increased their awareness of the out-group status of Latinos in US society. This is less likely to be the case for US respondents who were socialized in the US and are more aware of the racial hierarchy, which may be why perceived discrimination fails to reach a statistically significant effect.

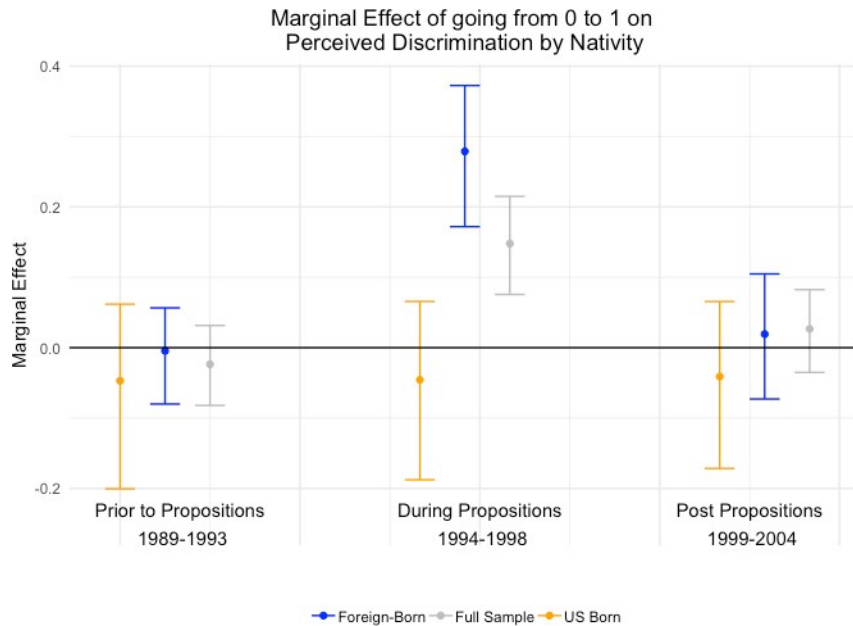


Figure 13: Ladder Plot by Nativity

Discussion

While many have studied these propositions, this study is the first to look at the growth of group consciousness before, during, and after the proposition period. Testing the connection between group consciousness and perceived discrimination, I find that respondents who were surveyed during the proposition period and perceive discrimination are more likely to report higher levels of group consciousness. The results for the proposition time period are distinct from the pre-proposition period in which the effect of perceived discrimination on group consciousness is null. After the proposition period, while perceived discrimination appears to be positively associated with group consciousness it fails to reach statistical significance.

This suggests that perceived discrimination serves as a catalyst that starts to raise awareness about belonging to a larger group and wanting to work to improve the group's condition, rather than a situational identity that that experiences large shifts based on the circumstances. While perceived discrimination and group consciousness increases during particularly hostile time periods, as the immediate political threat fades, so too does that initial link. But this does not result in lower levels of group consciousness instead group consciousness remains high even after the proposition period. While the connection between perceived discrimination and group consciousness may fade, it is possible that group consciousness becomes socialized without its initial source of political discrimination. This would lead to a community that is more likely to identify with and work on behalf of their group without perceiving wide spread discrimination. The results from the sub-

sample analysis on foreign born respondents also indicates that threat may help foster a sense of group consciousness among the segment of the Latino population that would be most unfamiliar with the discrimination that racial minorities face in the United States.

These initial results are promising. They suggest that perceived discrimination can serve to increase group consciousness during contentious political times which may lead to a more involved and efficacious Latino population in the state of California. While there are some shortcomings in studying identity in with cross sectional data, it is one of the only ways that we as researchers are able to retrospectively answer critical questions about identity activation among the largest minority group in the United States. I hope that future research will work to improve upon our conceptualization of a politicized identity and work to understand the connection between threat, identity, and political participation.

This research may also serve as a framework to understand what is happening with Latino identity and political participation at the national level. Given the current political climate, the activation and persistence of a group conscious Latino identity can have many important implications for politics in the United States. The Latino population in the U.S. is much younger than other segments of the population. The recognizing group threat may lead many young Latinos to register to vote and become politically involved. If 2016 served as a national moment of group threat, then we may expect to see a persistent trend of Latino voters supporting candidates that serve the best interest of the group. However, if politicians do not deliver on the political promises made to Latinos, then it is likely that many will be disillusioned, thus reducing efficacy among the segment of the population that was spurred to action.

Appendix

Figure 14: Unstandardized Identity Measures by Survey

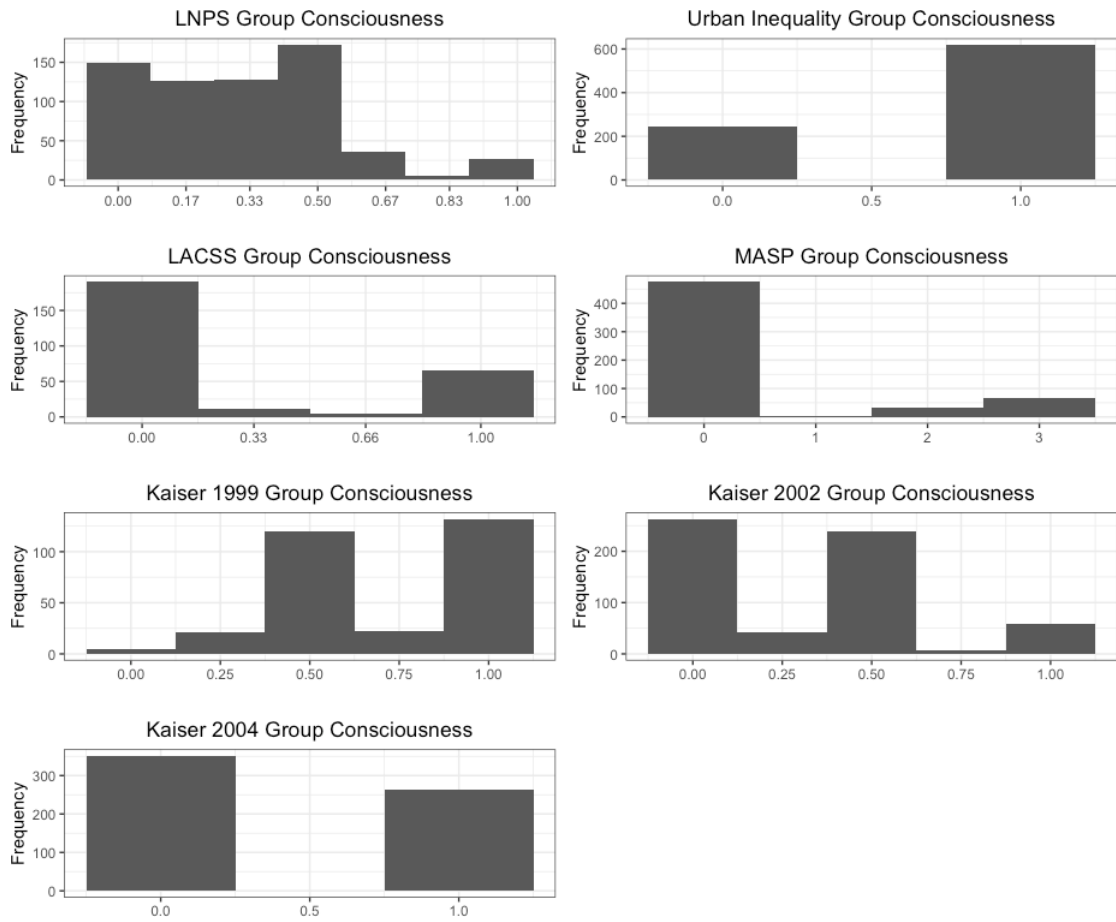


Figure 15: Dependent Variable Over Time

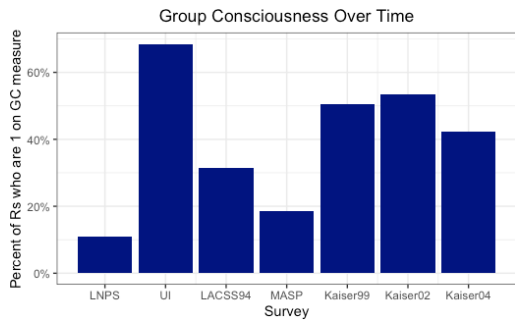


Table 1 Modeling correlates of group consciousness in each survey Logistic Regression

	LNPS	Urban Inequality	LACSS 94	MASP	Kaiser 99	Kaiser 02	Kaiser 04
Democrat	0.539 (0.387)	0.514 (0.349)	0.777 (0.555)	-0.026 (.334)	-0.077 (.309)	0.100 (0.204)	0.122 (0.179)
Independent	-0.085 (.387)	-0.159 (.392)	0.364 (0.550)	-0.749 (0.502)	-0.479 (.593)	-0.544* (0.216)	-0.131 (0.382)
Non-identifier	-0.209 (.0501)	-0.327 (0.348)	0.637 (0.572)	-2.456* (1.075)	-0.079 (0.372)	0.017 (0.271)	-0.454 (0.379)
U.S. citizen	-1.233 (0.680)	-0.513 (0.328)	-0.978* (0.487)	0.007 (0.523)	-0.576 (0.384)	-0.461 (0.248)	-0.018 (0.267)
Perceived Discrimination	-0.240 (0.321)	0.796*** (0.213)	1.263* (0.571)	1.279* (0.545)	0.285 (0.349)	0.099 (0.214)	0.169 (0.210)
Foreign Born	-1.023 (0.657)	-0.038 (0.434)	0.948 (0.508)	0.923* (0.405)	-0.174 (0.388)	-0.805** (0.276)	0.639* (0.286)
Interviewed in Spanish	-0.498 (0.410)	-0.131 (0.359)	-0.850 (0.456)	0.649 (0.437)	0.242 (0.387)	0.202 (0.261)	-0.599* (0.283)
Female	-0.042 (0.272)	0.145 (0.159)	-0.017 (0.323)	0.435 (0.242)	-0.008 (0.254)	0.056 (0.167)	0.374* (0.169)
Age	0.020* (0.010)	-0.019** (0.006)	-0.025 (0.015)	-0.042*** (0.011)	0.010 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)
Education	-0.336* (0.161)	0.142 (0.101)	0.082 (0.125)	0.104 (0.108)	-0.275* (0.107)	0.084 (0.077)	-0.050 (0.074)
Income	0.653*** (0.191)	0.121 (0.161)	-0.055 (0.264)	-0.086 (0.152)	-0.131 (0.182)	-0.142 (0.123)	-0.208 (0.124)
Constant	-1.869 (1.004)	0.860 (0.627)	-1.658 (1.153)	-1.121 (1.071)	1.026 (0.704)	0.840 (0.527)	0.083 (0.495)
Observations	643	864	242	579	296	611	615
Log Likelihood	-200.502	-491.970	-129.074	-242.576	-189.657	-413.093	-409.686
Akaike Inf. Crit.	425.004	1,007.941	282.148	509.152	403.315	850.185	843.373

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 2: Regression results from combined data

	Full Sample	Foreign Born	U.S. Born	No College	College
Democrat	0.345*** (0.092)	0.223 (0.131)	0.235 (0.138)	0.276* (0.115)	0.060 (0.169)
Independent	-0.042 (0.114)	-0.518*** (0.156)	0.027 (0.191)	-0.330* (0.139)	-0.028 (0.244)
Non-identifier	0.145 (0.117)	-0.033 (0.149)	0.187 (0.205)	0.194 (0.131)	-0.014 (0.259)
US citizen	-0.493*** (0.129)	-0.475*** (0.129)	-13.767 (324.744)	-0.238 (0.138)	-0.788** (0.256)
Perceived discrimination	-0.106 (0.248)	-0.001 (0.330)	-0.285 (0.422)	0.134 (0.274)	-1.254 (0.804)
During	1.057*** (0.267)	1.432*** (0.353)	0.570 (0.448)	1.386*** (0.296)	-0.370 (0.832)
Post	1.627*** (0.246)	1.964*** (0.342)	1.139** (0.420)	1.801*** (0.292)	0.737 (0.714)
Foreign Born	-0.246 (0.129)			0.192 (0.164)	-0.115 (0.205)
Interviewed in Spanish	-0.139 (0.109)	0.097 (0.150)	-0.051 (0.199)	0.110 (0.138)	0.050 (0.220)
Female	0.123 (0.070)	0.121 (0.094)	0.055 (0.111)	0.034 (0.082)	0.252 (0.142)
Age	-0.014*** (0.002)	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.021*** (0.003)	-0.009 (0.005)
Education	-0.096** (0.032)	-0.060 (0.044)	-0.165** (0.055)		
Income	-0.066 (0.053)	-0.053 (0.081)	-0.089 (0.073)	-0.125 (0.066)	-0.130 (0.091)
Perceived * During	0.857** (0.296)	1.154** (0.396)	0.429 (0.490)	0.563' (0.327)	2.175* (0.937)
Perceived *Post	0.240 (0.277)	0.075 (0.381)	0.362 (0.459)	-0.063 (0.325)	1.243 (0.827)
Constant	-0.641* (0.296)	-1.349*** (0.391)	13.632 (324.744)	-1.144*** (0.327)	0.068 (0.767)
Observations	3,850	2,239	1,611	2,909	941

Note: p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 3 OLS Regression Results allowing for GC variable to range full scale

	LNPS	Urban Inequality	LACSS 94	MASP	Kaiser99	Kaiser02	Kaiser04
Democrat	0.042 (0.028)	0.090 (0.068)	0.099 (0.083)	-0.020 (0.130)	-0.012 (0.039)	0.036 (0.032)	0.028 (0.043)
Independent	0.013 (0.036)	-0.028 (0.078)	0.004 (0.082)	-0.312 (0.177)	-0.039 (0.076)	-0.079* (0.034)	-0.032 (0.092)
Non-identifier	-0.034 (0.034)	-0.060 (0.069)	0.021 (0.090)	-0.529** (0.200)	-0.045 (0.047)	0.031 (0.043)	-0.104 (0.086)
US citizen	-0.006 (0.041)	-0.102 (0.066)	-0.192* (0.079)	0.060 (0.205)	-0.058 (0.049)	-0.049 (0.039)	-0.003 (0.064)
Perceived discrimination	-0.010 (0.024)	0.171*** (0.045)	0.162* (0.073)	0.351* (0.139)	0.090* (0.044)	-0.006 (0.034)	0.039 (0.050)
Foreign Born	0.015 (0.040)	-0.023 (0.084)	0.122 (0.079)	0.405** (0.150)	-0.027 (0.050)	-0.071 (0.043)	0.151* (0.068)
Interviewed in Spanish	-0.084** (0.030)	-0.019 (0.066)	-0.143 (0.075)	0.190 (0.154)	0.075 (0.050)	0.035 (0.041)	-0.140* (0.066)
Female	-0.003 (0.021)	0.028 (0.031)	-0.047 (0.054)	0.147 (0.085)	-0.004 (0.032)	0.027 (0.026)	0.088* (0.040)
Age	0.001 (0.001)	-0.004** (0.001)	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.015*** (0.003)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Education	-0.020 (0.011)	0.026 (0.018)	0.026 (0.022)	0.028 (0.041)	-0.026 (0.014)	0.010 (0.012)	-0.012 (0.018)
Income	0.038* (0.016)	0.021 (0.030)	-0.037 (0.043)	-0.044 (0.057)	-0.014 (0.023)	-0.023 (0.019)	-0.049 (0.029)
Constant	0.301*** (0.068)	0.694*** (0.123)	0.332 (0.172)	0.785* (0.375)	0.730*** (0.090)	0.410*** (0.083)	0.517*** (0.119)
Observations	643	864	242	579	296	611	615
R ²	0.054	0.055	0.141	0.075	0.121	0.028	0.033
Adjusted R ²	0.038	0.043	0.099	0.058	0.087	0.010	0.015

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

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