

University of New Mexico

UNM Digital Repository

Political Science ETDs

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Spring 2020

HORA DE LAS NOTICIAS: THE IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH- LANGUAGE NEWS MEDIA FOR US LATINOS

Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga
University of New Mexico

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/pols_etds



Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), and the [Other Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara. "HORA DE LAS NOTICIAS: THE IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH- LANGUAGE NEWS MEDIA FOR US LATINOS." (2020). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/pols_etds/86

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Political Science ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga

Candidate

Political Science

Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Gabriel R. Sanchez, Ph.D., Chairperson

Jessica T. Feezell, Ph.D.

Michael S. Rocca, Ph.D.

Matt A. Barreto, Ph.D.

***HORA DE LAS NOTICIAS: THE IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH-
LANGUAGE NEWS MEDIA FOR US LATINOS***

by

BARBARA GOMEZ-AGUINAGA

B.A., Political Science, University of New Mexico 2015

M.A., Political Science, University of New Mexico 2017

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Political Science

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2020

DEDICATION

To the health of my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee for their support during the doctoral program and the dissertation process. I want to extend my sincere appreciation to Dr. Jessica Feezell, who inspired my interest in political communication and provided insightful comments. I am thankful to Dr. Michael Rocca for his encouragement and support, especially during the toughest moments of this journey. I am also grateful to Dr. Matt Barreto for serving as external member and being a great mentor. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my advisor and committee chair, Dr. Gabriel Sanchez, who believed in me, supported all my projects, and prepared me for a career in academia and applied work; I sincerely appreciate the time that Dr. Sanchez invested in my professional development and his efforts to guide me towards the right path.

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the support of multiple organizations. I am extremely grateful to the Center for Social Policy and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy at the University of New Mexico. Beyond financial support throughout the doctoral program, their faculty, staff and fellows provided a welcoming and nurturing environment that challenged me and encouraged me to be a better researcher. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Center for Regional Studies, which provided funding for the last phase of the doctoral program. I am also grateful to the Project of New Mexico Graduates of Color, a student-led program dedicated to building community among underrepresented graduate students. These organizations enriched my academic experience and gave me a sense of community in academia.

I would also like to recognize colleagues and mentors who played important roles in this journey. Dr. Shannon Sanchez-Youngman provided invaluable support and has been an excellent role model for underrepresented scholars. As graduate consultants, Carlyn Pinkins and Rajan Bishwakarma provided excellent support and feedback in several research projects. I am appreciative of Professors Timothy Krebs, Deborah McFarlane, Jami Nuñez, Wendy Hansen, Sergio Asencio, Edward Vargas, Melina Juárez Pérez and Christos Christodoulou who helped me navigate the academic job market. I also appreciate the support from Dr. Richard Schaefer, who encouraged me and believed in me since the first day I met him as an undergraduate student. I am also grateful for my friends and colleagues from the Department of Political Science, the RWJF Center for Health Policy and the Center for Social Policy at UNM.

Most importantly, I want to thank my family, the most important people in my life. My husband Josh provided me with endless support, patience, love and empowerment throughout this journey; I could have not accomplished this without him, and I am fortunate and forever grateful to have him by my side. Mauricio is not only my brother but also the best mentor one could have; I could have not embarked the journey of moving abroad to pursue higher education without his guidance and support. Mauricio's presence, tenacity and adventurous soul motivate me to pursue meaningful goals. También quiero agradecer a mis padres, quienes trabajaron y sacrificaron tanto por sus hijos, predicaron con el ejemplo y han estado presentes en todas las etapas de mi vida. Siempre estaré agradecida por su aliento, confianza, amor y apoyo incondicional. I would also like to thank my husband, my closest friends, the Kotobi family and Tesla for making the US my new home. This accomplishment belongs to my family.

***HORA DE LAS NOTICIAS: THE IMPORTANCE OF
SPANISH-LANGUAGE NEWS MEDIA FOR US LATINOS***

by

Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga

B.A., POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO 2015

M.A., POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO 2017

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

POLITICAL SCIENCE

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the mechanisms that set Spanish-language (SL) news media apart from mainstream media, and how they influence political behavior and identity among US Latinos. Specifically, it analyzes (1) the role of content coverage of SL news on issue salience, (2) the use of Spanish as a US minority language in the dissemination of information and its effects on Latino identity, and (3) the presence of Latino reporters and its implications on media trust. By leveraging original data collection, including conceptual content analyses and population-based survey experiments, and by engaging in multiple theories from political science and other fields to analyze the mechanisms that differentiate SL news media from mainstream media, this project highlights the importance of ethnic media in US politics and provides a better understanding on the reasons for which SL news media has significant political implications among Latinos in the United States.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xi
CHAPTER 1: Introduction	1
Scope and Purpose of Dissertation	3
Theoretical Background	6
Outline of Dissertation	13
CHAPTER 2: One Group, Two Worlds? Latino Perceptions of Policy Salience among Mainstream and Spanish-Language News Consumers	17
Introduction	17
Literature Review	19
Theory and Hypotheses	22
Data and Methods	29
Results	32
Conclusion	42
CHAPTER 3: <i>¿Mismo Mensaje, Diferente Impacto?</i> Quantifying the Impact of Spanish-Language Messages and Media on Identity among Latinos	45
Introduction	45
Literature Review	48
Theory and Hypotheses	51
Accessibility Framework	51
Linguistic Accommodation Theory	53
Minority Languages and Pan-ethnic Identities	54
Minority Languages, Ethnic Media, and Group Identity	56
Research Design and Methods	57
Results	62
Conclusion	70

CHAPTER 4: The Role of Co-ethnic Media Elites and Source Credibility	74
Introduction	74
Literature Review	78
Theory and Hypotheses	84
Ethnic Media and Source Credibility	87
Research Design and Methods	89
Results	93
Conclusion.....	101
 CHAPTER 5: Conclusion.....	 105
Introduction	105
Review of Main Findings	107
Discussion	109
Avenues for Future Research	113
 APPENDICES.....	 118
Appendix A. Distribution of the Latino Perceptions of Salient Policy Issues	118
Appendix B. Content Analyses of Immigration and Terrorism-Related Stories Published in Spanish and English-Language Online Newspapers by City	119
Appendix C. Series of Robustness Checks for Models.....	122
Appendix D. Split Sample Analyses of Health and Racism/Race Relations by Linked Fate and Nativity	125
Appendix E. Predicted Probabilities of Multinomial Logistic Regression of Treatment Effect on Linked Fate (Table 3.3, “no linked fate” as reference group)	127
 REFERENCES.....	 128

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Traditional approach of political implications of Spanish-language news consumption	4
Figure 1.2 Figure 1.2 Author’s approach of political implications of Spanish-language news consumption	6
Figure 2.1 Adjusted Predicted Probabilities of Identifying Immigration as a Salient Policy Issue.....	34
Figure 2.2 Adjusted Predicted Probabilities of Identifying Immigration as a Salient Issue by Linked Fate.....	37
Figure 2.3 Adjusted Predicted Probabilities of Identifying Immigration as a Salient Issue by Nativity	38
Figure 2.4 Predicted Probabilities of Interactions between News Consumption and Linked Fate of Identifying Immigration Saliency	41
Figure 3.1 Language Proficiency among US Latinos	46
Figure 3.2 Percent of Bilingual Latinos Who Reported In-Group Linked Fate by Language of Message	63
Figure 3.3 Percent of Bilingual Latinos by Reported Linked Fate and Language of Message	64
Figure 3.4 Predicted Probability of Reporting In-Group Linked Fate by Group.....	66
Figure 3.5 Predicted Probability of Reporting Linked Fate by Reported Linked Fate and Language of Message	68
Figure 3.6 Predicted Probability of Logistic Regression of Reporting Linked Fate by Media Consumed Among Latinos Who Received the Message in Spanish.....	69

Figure 3.7 Predicted Probability of Multinomial Logistic Regression of Reporting Linked Fate by Media Consumed among Latinos Who Received the Message in Spanish..	70
Figure 4.1 Percent of Latinos who reported trust in reporting by assigned media elite ...	94
Figure 4.2 Predicted probabilities of reporting trust in reporting by exposure to media elites.....	97
Figure 4.3 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among of consumers of Spanish-language news.....	99
Figure 4.4 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among English-language news consumers.....	100
Figure 4.5 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among of Latinos who consume both English and Spanish-language news	100
Figure 4.6 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among news avoiders	101

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Summary Statistics	31
Table 2.2 Logistic Regression Analyses of Latino Issues by Types of Media Consumed among Latinos	33
Table 2.3 Split Sample Analysis –Immigration Saliency by Linked Fate and Nativity of Respondents.....	39
Table 3.1 Logistic Regression of Treatment Effect on In-Group Linked Fate	65
Table 3.2 Multinomial Logistic Regression of Treatment Effect on Linked Fate	67
Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics	92
Table 4.2 Effect of co-ethnic media elite experiment on perceptions of trust in reporting among Latinos	96

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Rapid technological changes in the past decades have had important effects on the way people consume news (Prior 2007; Bimber 2003; Bakshy et al. 2015). Not only has technology made news more accessible and readily available for the general public, but it has also given voices to politically disadvantaged groups such as ethno-racial minorities in the United States through ethnic and non-traditional media (Browne 2005; Deuze 2006; Jeffres 2000; Viswanath and Arora 2000). Ethnic media, which is commonly defined as “broadcast, print, and digital communication” alternatives to mainstream media designed to “serve a particular cultural or racial group” (Johnson 2010) is a crucial area of study in a country with rapid demographic changes such as the United States. US Latinos, for example, are currently the largest ethno-racial group in the United States, going from 35 million in 2000 to 51 million in 2010 (Flores 2017). Moreover, every month 50,000 US-born Latinos turn 18 and become eligible to vote (Navarrette 2011). Most importantly, recent reports have found that the vast majority of Latinos (3 of every 4) consume non-traditional media, such as Spanish-language news, on a regular basis (Bendixen and Associates 2005). Hence, this area of study deserves further examination not only because the political effects of ethnic media have been understudied, but also because Spanish-language media has specific mechanisms that substantially differentiate it from mainstream media.

Along with their continuous population growth in the United States (US Census, 2016), Latinos have increasingly made their voices heard through alternative options to traditional media, primarily Spanish-language news media (Browne 2005; Cambridge

2005; Deuze 2006; Jeffres 2000; Viswanath and Arora 2000). Recent studies have found that Spanish-language news media in the United States is on the rise. Lopez (2013), for example, finds that Spanish-language television has gained and maintained momentum as Univision, a major American Spanish-language broadcast television network, defeated major English-language news networks, such as FOX and NBC, in viewership among young audiences aged 18 to 49. From 2000 to 2010, the Spanish-language media market had a continuous growth while the English-language media market was in decline (Nealy 2010). Moreover, with the increasing number of Latinos moving to non-traditional destinations such as the South and the Midwest (Gomez-Aguinaga, Sanchez, and Barreto 2019), the availability of Spanish-language news media has increased in new areas within the United States (Medina Vidal 2012).

The prevalence of Spanish-language news media, however, goes beyond growing consumption and increasing viewership as recent studies have highlighted significant sociopolitical effects among US Latinos (Branton and Dunaway 2008; Kerevel 2011; Negrón 2011; Brodie et al. 1999; Rivas 2003). Scholars have found major political implications of exposure to ethnic media, ranging from greater political participation and civic engagement (Félix, González, and Ramírez 2008; Garcia-Rios and Barreto 2016); formation of attitudes towards specific policy issues, such as health and immigration (Abrajano and Singh 2008; Galano 2014; Kerevel 2011); and higher likelihood of attachment to ethno-racial groups (Jeffres 2000; Moran 2006; Subervi-Velez 1999; Gained 1998). While these findings highlight the relevance of Spanish-language news media in

our current political environment, studies have yet to analyze the mechanisms¹ that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media and their implications on US Latinos, which is the goal of this dissertation.

Scope and Purpose of Dissertation

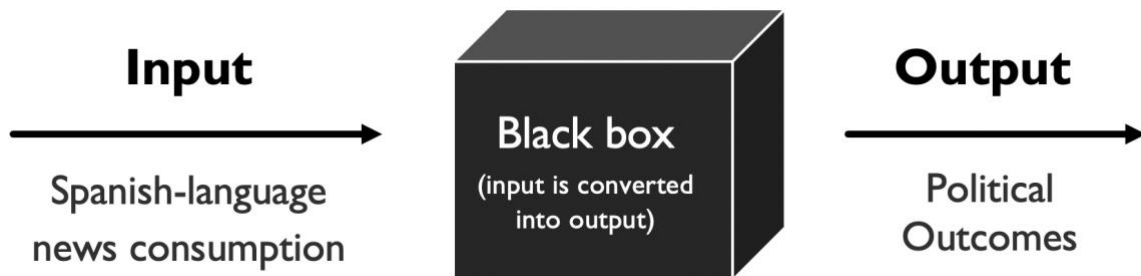
“To explain is to provide a mechanism, to open up the black box and show the nuts and bolts, the cogs and wheels of the internal machinery”
–Elster 1983 (24)

This dissertation seeks to answer questions related to the consumption of Spanish-language news media and the mediating mechanisms that set it apart from mainstream media. Although research on ethnic media has increased in recent years, the study of the political implications of ethnic media and Spanish-language news media is limited. The vast majority of studies analyzing the political implications of ethnic and Spanish-language news media are limited to associations between news consumption and political outcomes. Scholars, for example, have found that consumption of Spanish-language news media is associated with greater political participation, formation of attitudes towards policy issues, and higher attachment to ethno-racial groups (Félix, González, and Ramírez 2008; Garcia-Rios and Barreto 2016; Abrajano and Singh 2008; Kerevel 2011; Jeffres 2000; Moran

¹ The terms “mechanisms” and “mediating mechanisms” are used interchangeably in this dissertation. For the purpose of this project, mechanisms or mediating mechanisms are defined as “frequently occurring and easily recognizable causal patterns that are triggered under generally unknown conditions or with indeterminate consequences” (Elster 1998).

2006; Subervi-Velez 1999). In this way, studies have presented the consumption of Spanish-language news media as an input that converts into political outputs among Latinos, as Figure 1.1 shows.

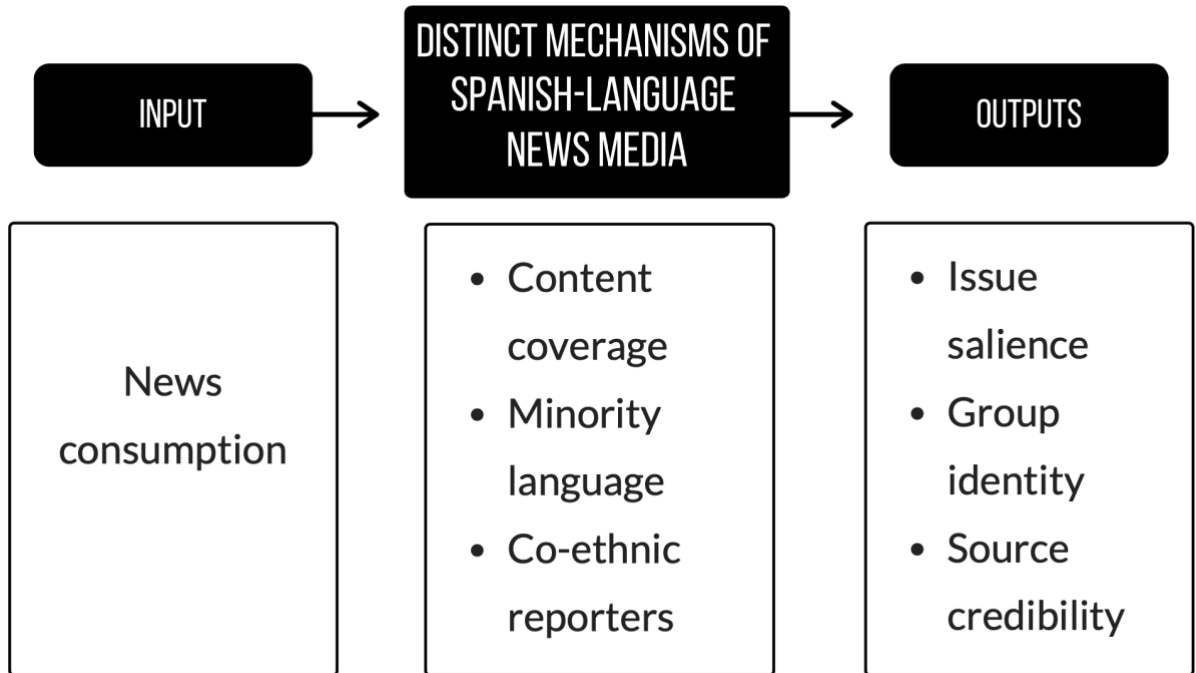
Figure 1.1 Traditional approach of political implications of Spanish-language news consumption



Existing literature, however, has yet to explore the mediating mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media and their diverging outcomes on Latinos who consume Spanish and English-language news, which is the goal of this project. Social scientists across fields have argued that in order to have a better understanding of complex phenomena, in this case the political outcomes of Spanish-language news consumption, studies shall break elaborate systems into easily recognizable mechanisms (Demeulenaere 2011; Elster 1998; Sampson 2011). As Elster (1983) states, “to explain is to provide a mechanism, to open up the black box and show the nuts and bolts, the cogs and wheels of the internal machinery.” Hence, in this dissertation, I explore three major mechanisms that distinguish Spanish-language news media from mainstream media, and the extent to which they impact political attitudes and perceptions of identity among Latinos in the United States.

The first mechanism analyzed in this dissertation is the role of content coverage and its effects on perceptions of issue salience among US Latino consumers of mainstream and Spanish-language news media; using the theory of agenda setting, I analyze whether the perceptions of policy salience among Latinos differ with exposure to Spanish-language news compared to mainstream media. The second mechanism is the use of Spanish as a US minority language in the dissemination of information of Spanish-language news and its implications on Latino identity; making use of the Social Identity Theory and the Linguistic Accommodation Theory, I examine whether exposure to content in Spanish influences identity formation among Latinos, and if so, whether the exposure to Spanish-language content and the consumption of Spanish-language news amplifies these identity effects among bilingual Latinos. The third mechanism studied in this dissertation is the presence of co-ethnic reporters, also referred to as media elites, and its implications on media trust; making use of literature on source credibility and descriptive representation, I examine whether Latinos who are exposed to news created by a co-ethnic reporter are significantly more likely to report greater levels of source credibility than their Latino counterparts who are exposed to news created by a non-Hispanic reporter. Together, the analyses of the three mechanisms allow to have a better understanding of the reasons for which the consumption of Spanish-language news is associated with different media effects among Latinos in the United States. Figure 1.2 presents the approach for determining political implications of the consumption of Spanish-language news media used in this study.

Figure 1.2 Author's approach for determining political implications of Spanish-language news consumption



Theoretical Background

Existing literature in the fields of political science and political communication has extensively explored the role that media plays in the formation of public opinion of the American public, ranging from the changing role of media in campaigns and political advertising, to the influence of digital media on civic and political engagement. Most of this literature, however, has solely focused on the role of mainstream media. While studying the effects that mainstream media has on the American electorate is relevant for the study of US politics, there are other non-traditional avenues in which US groups, particularly ethno-racial minorities, obtain access to news and other information on a

regular basis. These alternative sources of information are called ethnic media, which are “broadcast, print, and digital communication” alternatives to mainstream media designed to “serve a particular cultural or racial group” (Johnson 2010). Prominent examples of ethnic media among Blacks are African-American radio stations that are listened to by “substantial majority of African-American adults” on a regular basis such as Majic 102.1 in Houston, TX, V-103 – Atlanta, GA, and Hot 97 from New York City, NY (NBC News 2005; Cision 2012). Examples of Latino ethnic media include Univision and Telemundo, which have local affiliate stations that also carry their own original news programming, as well as various local Spanish-language newspapers such as *El Diario La Prensa* from New York City, *El Nuevo Herald* from Miami, FL, and *La Opinión* from Los Angeles, CA (Pew Research Center 2018).

In addition to targeting specific ethno-racial groups, studies have shown that US ethnic media has substantially different mechanisms that make ethnic news an appealing research area that deserves further attention. Scholars have found that ethnic media tend to have different agendas when compared to mainstream media such as greater share of geo-ethnic news and general news addressing how issues are relevant to ethno-racial groups (Lin and Song 2006; Oliver 2011; Halen, Olsen, and Fowler 2009).

Researchers have long studied the effects of mass media on the national agenda and perceptions of issue salience among the American public. One of the most prominent theories that explores the influence of news media in public opinion is agenda-setting, which emphasizes the news media’s ability to shape the salience of certain issues or events among the public (Shaw and McCombs 1977). According to this theory, the more attention a topic receives in the media, the more likely the public is to think that such issue is salient

(Abbe et al. 2003; Baumgartner and Jones 1995; McCombs and Shaw 1972; Peake 2001). Although scholars have argued that one of the biggest challenges that the theory of agenda setting has faced in past decades is the growth of new information technologies (Bennett and Manheim 2006; Prior 2014; Yadamsuren and Erdelez 2010), recent studies have found that news media can still influence the public agenda regardless of increased selectivity, greater usage of social media, and news avoidance in the digital world (Feezell 2017; Gottfried and Shearer 2016).

One of the most important benefits that the rise of new information technologies has had is giving voice to politically underrepresented groups such as Latinos and other racial groups through ethnic news, which tends to have substantially different content coverage when compared to mainstream media (Ojo 2006; Meadows 1995; Mahtani 2008; Oliver 2011; Lin and Song 2006; Halen, Olsen, and Fowler 2009). Through content analyses performed in the 2000s, some researchers have found that Spanish-language media is characterized by a larger volume of coverage of certain policy issues, such as immigration and healthcare, when compared to English-language media (Abrajano and Singh 2009; Branton and Dunaway 2008; Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano 2010; Kerevel 2011; Negrón 2011; Mollyann Brodie et al. 2010). Given that Spanish-language news media has had a different agenda compared to mainstream media, and that the theory of agenda setting posits that the more attention an issue has in the news, the more likely people are to believe that an issue is salient, I expect that Latinos who consume Spanish-language news are significantly more likely to report different salient political issues when compared to their co-ethnic counterparts that primarily consume English-language news.

One of the most prominent mechanisms of ethnic media in the United States is the use of languages other than English², which is the case of Spanish-language news media. This issue is an important area of study because scholars from other fields have found that exposure to minority languages can have significant implications on individuals' evaluations, thoughts and attitudes (Noriega and Blair 2008; Luna and Peracchio 2005; Koslow et al 1994; Stayman and Unnava 1997). While studies in political science have focused on how survey respondents in languages other than English tend to reveal different political attitudes and knowledge (Perez 2011; Wong et al. 2011; Lee and Perez 2014), studies in other fields have found that exposure to messages in minority languages can have an impact on the identity and sentiments of linguistic minorities. Studies have found that among multilingual speakers, exposure to their first languages can arouse memories of their families, groups, and even countries of ancestry; as a result, warmer attitudes towards messages can occur (Noriega and Blair 2008). Additionally, studies in marketing have found that advertisements in minority languages can not only boost the evaluation of products, but also increase the sensitivity and attention that linguistic minorities place on the message (Koslow et al. 1994; Noriega and Blair 2008; Luna and Peracchio 2005; etc.). These issues occur because exposure to minority languages can prompt affection when the

² In this dissertation, I also refer to languages other than English as minority languages in the US context. Note that other ethnic media in the United States such as African American media can use English as the main language of communication; however, other prominent ethnic media such as Hispanic and Asian American news usually use languages other than English in the dissemination of information.

messenger and the receiver share a minority language, as the Linguistic Accommodation Theory posits (Giles et al. 1973).

Based on existing research from multiple fields, I predict that Spanish language is also a predictor of group identity among Latinos for two reasons: (1) Spanish is a US minority language that serves as a factor of commonality among Latinos (Gambino 2017; Shin and Ortman 2011), and (2) the Linguistic Accommodation Theory posits that exposure to minority languages and language schemas can prompt positive feelings and memories related their group, creating more salience of their ethno-racial identity as Latinos (Mendoza-Denton 2002; Labov 1972; Myers-Scotton 1993). Based on that, I expect that exposure to content in Spanish leads to higher in-group attachment among bilingual Latinos, and I test whether the effects created from exposure to Spanish-language are contingent on the type of news media that Latinos consume.

Besides content coverage and the use of Spanish as a US minority language, scholars and organizations have also found that ethnic media has a much higher presence of ethno-racial minorities as news reporters, columnists and editors when compared to mainstream media (Saenz 2018; Coffey 2013). Multiple reports have found that Latinos are underrepresented in newsrooms at national and local levels (Subervi and Sinta 2015; Subervi et al. 2005; Bronx Journal 2003; Editor and Publisher 2004; Negrón-Muntaner 2014; Saenz 2018). Furthermore, over the past 40 years, there has been a significant decline in the levels of media trust among the American public (Schudson 2019; Lewis 2019), which is an issue of concern because the vitality of healthy democratic governments relies on well informed constituents who trust their sources of information (Dautrich and Hartley 1999). The lack of presence of Latinos in mainstream media and the declining levels of

media trust resemble the lack of representation of Latinos in the US political system, particularly as it pertains to elected positions, and the decreasing levels of trust in government (Maestas 2013; Pew Research Center 2019a; Brennan 2019; Ingram 2018). Hence, the literature of descriptive representation from political science and media trust from the field of communication motivate the examination of the exposure to news created by Latino reporters vs. non-Hispanic reporters.

Studies in political science have found that race and ethnicity can have important implications on the behavior and attitudes of American voters, including political trust. While some ethno-racial groups tend to have lower levels of political trust than non-Hispanic Whites, studies have found that descriptive representation can improve perceptions of trust in government and elected officials among communities of color (Koch 2018; Avery 2007; Fowler et al. 2014; Abney and Hutcheson 1981; Pantoja 2006; Howell and Fagan 1988; etc.). Besides higher turnout rates and political engagement, studies have found that descriptive representation among US Latinos has been associated with greater levels of trust in government and their co-ethnic elected officials (Pantoja 2006; Sanchez and Morin 2011; Fowler et al. 2014). This issue likely occurs because descriptive representation is associated with de facto legitimacy,³ which deals with perceptions of acceptance and belonging to authority or political systems among underrepresented groups (Fossen 2013).

The theory of descriptive representation in political science has similar assumptions compared to studies of source credibility in the fields of mass media and communication.

³ Also referred to as empirical or sociological legitimacy

Studies of media and communication propose that the characteristics of individual communicators (e.g. race, gender) and the sociopolitical context (e.g. underrepresented groups) can have significant implications on source credibility, which refers to trust on the information provider (Kinder and Sears 1985; Karpowitz, Mendelberg, and Shaker 2012; Brooks 2011). These studies have been based on the Social Comparison Theory (SCT), which posits that individuals tend to compare themselves with others based on shared characteristics such as race and ethnicity, and that “the greater the similarit[ies] we perceive, the more likely we are to attend to and trust what [individual communicators] say” (Andsager and Martin 2003). Studies have found that shared characteristics of individual communicators such as gender and race can have significant implications on the perceived trust or credibility from message receivers (Armstrong and McAdams 2009; Embacher et al. 2018; Desphande and Stayman 1994; etc.). However, studies on the impact of race on source credibility have been limited to the study of African Americans compared to non-Hispanic Whites, leaving the door open for studies on US Latinos. Based on studies of descriptive representation and source credibility, I expect that Latinos who are exposed to news created by a co-ethnic reporter are more likely to display higher levels of source credibility than their counterparts who are exposed to the same content created by a non-Hispanic reporter.

Due to substantial differences between ethnic and mainstream news media, I expect that not only the consumption of Spanish-language news media among the Latino electorate, but also the specific mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media will be associated with different outcomes among Latino

consumers of Spanish-language news media compared to Latino consumers of mainstream media.

Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation focuses on the mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media, and the extent to which these elements have an impact on the public opinion and identity among US Latinos. To this end, Chapter 2 analyzes whether the perceptions of policy salience of Latino issues differ with exposure to Spanish-language news. This issue is important because existing literature has found that ethnic media, including Spanish-language news media, has different agendas compared to mainstream media (Abrajano and Singh 2009; Kerevel 2011; Mollyann Brodie et al. 2010; etc.). In Chapter 2, I contend that Spanish-language news media continues to have higher coverage of Latino issues compared to mainstream media, and that this issue translates to different agendas among Latino consumers of Spanish-language news and Latino consumers of English-language news. I conducted conceptual content analyses of the coverage of English and Spanish online newspapers in multiple cities, as well as statistical analyses using the 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey. The results of this chapter show that consumption of Spanish-language news is an important predictor of identifying immigration as a salient issue. However, consumption of Spanish-language news is not associated with reporting other Latino issues such as healthcare and racism/race relations as salient; this may occur because there are no substantive differences on the coverage of health and racism/race relations among English and Spanish-language news media, as the chapter reveals.

Chapter 3 explores the use of a US minority language in the dissemination of information of Spanish-language news media. This chapter analyzes whether exposure to content in Spanish, a US minority language, influences identity formation among Latinos, and if so, whether the exposure to Spanish-language content and the consumption of Spanish-language news amplifies these identity effects among bilingual Latinos. This area of study is important not only because the vast majority of US Latinos are proficient in Spanish and the US is expected to become the largest Spanish-speaking country in the world (Gambino 2017; Shin and Ortman 2011; Instituto Cervantes 2016), but also because political figures at all levels of government have increasingly use Spanish in campaigns, debates and elections at all levels of government (Morin 2019; Univision 2018; Axelrod 2020; Camia 2013; Pratt 2019; etc.). For this chapter, I conducted a population-based survey experiment, as well as a series of statistical analyses, finding that that among bilingual Latinos, those who are exposed to Spanish-language content are significantly more likely to report stronger attachments to their pan-ethnic group than those who received the same content in English. Nonetheless, the results of this chapter reveal mixed results on the conditions to which news consumption interacts with the language effects on identity. Besides contributing to our understanding on the role of US minority languages on pan-ethnic identities, this study highlights the importance on how the linguistic diversity of this country impacts the US political system.

Chapter 4 analyzes the presence of Latino reporters and its influence on source credibility. This chapter explores whether Latinos who are exposed to news created by a Latino reporter are more likely to report higher levels of source credibility than their Latino

counterparts who are exposed to the same news created by a non-Hispanic reporter. This issue is relevant in today's world not only because Latinos are severely underrepresented in mainstream media, but also because media trust in the United States is at historically low levels (Schudson 2019; Lewis 2019). This scenario is not unique as it resembles the low levels of representation of Latinos in elected offices and the decreasing levels of political trust in the United States (NALEO 2017; Hawke 2018; Gamboa 2018). Hence, I make use of descriptive representation literature from political science and source credibility from media and communication studies to answer the research question of this chapter. Through a population-based survey experiment and a series of statistical analyses, the results of this chapter suggest that Latinos who are exposed to news created by a Latino reporter are significantly more likely to report higher levels of source credibility than their counterparts who received the same news from a non-Hispanic reporter. Furthermore, the results show that the effects of exposure to news created by co-ethnic reporters interact with respondents' type of news consumption. Besides providing an understanding of the effects of source credibility among US Latinos, this chapter allows to be aware of the opportunities and limitations of the presence of co-ethnic media elites on source credibility among US Latinos.

Chapter 5 is the concluding section of the dissertation. In this chapter, I reexamine the main research question of the dissertation and its importance in today's politics. I also review the main findings and the implications of the empirical chapters of the dissertation. Based on the questions posed, theoretical expectations and findings, I point to future scholarship involving not only Spanish-language news media, but also the specific elements that set it apart from mainstream media. Lastly, I discuss the implications of the

findings and future research in the applied political and public policy areas within the United States.

CHAPTER 2

One Group, Two Worlds? Latino Perceptions of Policy Salience among Mainstream and Spanish-Language News Consumers

Introduction

The first mechanism that differentiates Spanish-language news media from mainstream media is content coverage. While there have been some studies analyzing the effects of ethnic media consumption in the past decade, the study of the political implications of Spanish-language news media remains limited, particularly as it pertains to potential agenda-setting effects on the Latino electorate. While previous studies argue that Spanish-language news media covers some policy issues to different extents compared to mainstream media (Moran 2006; Subervi-Velez 1999; Villar and Bueno-Olson 2013), studies have yet to demonstrate whether these differences in content coverage have political implications on Latinos who consume these media.

This chapter advances existing work by exploring whether the perceptions of salience of Latino issues differ with exposure to Spanish-language news. I explore whether Spanish-language news media is more likely to cover Latino issues when compared to mainstream media, and whether this difference in content coverage has implications on policy salience of Latino issues among consumers. To answer these questions, I begin with descriptive content analyses of news story coverage in three different cities with paired newspapers (one of them published in English and the other in Spanish). Then, I make use of the 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey to explore the relationship between perceptions of policy salience and Spanish-language news consumption among Latinos. I conduct a series of analyses to explore whether consuming Spanish-language

news media has a statistical relationship with Latino perceptions of policy salience, emphasizing the policy issues that previous literature identifies as Latino-salient. Through a series of analyses, I also explore whether competing theories, such as group identity and immigrant experience, limit the effects of exposure to Spanish-language media among foreign-born respondents or Latinos with perceptions of in-group linked fate.

This research shows that the consumption of Spanish-language media is an important predictor of salient Latino issues among Latinos, specifically immigration. The results show that the consumption of Spanish-language news media is associated with greater likelihood of reporting immigration as a salient issue. This occurs not only because immigration has been a long-time and widely recognized Latino issue (Kerevel 2011; Abrajano and Singh 2009), but also because immigration news stories are significantly more likely to be covered in Spanish-language media than mainstream media, as the content analyses of this chapter show. The consumption of Spanish-language news media is not associated with reporting other Latino issues such as healthcare and racism/race relations as salient; this is likely due to the fact that there is no difference in the coverage of these issues among English and Spanish-language news media, as this chapter reveals. Studying the implications of the consumption of Spanish-language news media is important in our current political environment not only because the majority of Hispanic registered voters are proficient in Spanish (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Krogstad 2018), but also because of the growing exposure to non-traditional media among Latinos and other ethno-racial groups (Bendixen and Associates 2005; Allen 2009; Lopez 2013).

Literature Review

Researchers have long studied the effects of mass media on the US electorate, finding important political implications on a wide variety of issues, ranging from vote choice (Della Vigna and Kaplan 2007; Dilliplane 2014; Gerber, Karlan, and Bergan 2009; Ladd and Lenz 2009; etc.), attitude formation (Atlhaus and Coe 2011; Carsey and Layman 2006; Kam and Ramos 2008; Lenz 2012; etc.) and collective action (Bimber 2016; Bennett 2012; Chadwick 2007; Wells 2015; etc.) One of the most prominent theories exploring the influence of media in public opinion is agenda-setting, which emphasizes the news media's ability to promote the salience of certain issues or events among the public (Shaw and McCombs 1977). According to this theory, the more attention a topic receives in the media, the more likely the public is to think that issue is important (Abbe et al. 2003; Baumgartner and Jones 1995; McCombs and Shaw 1972; Cohen 1963; Peake 2001).

Some scholars argue that one of the biggest challenges that the theory of agenda setting faces is the development of new information technologies and related informational abundance that has occurred over the past thirty years (Bennett and Manheim 2006). Since the 1970s, cable television offered viewers more programming choices that include not only partisan news media but also a great variety of entertainment programs (Prior 2014). Similarly, the rise of the internet opened up a high-choice environment that provides "audiences with substantially more control over the news selection process than they enjoyed with the traditional media" (Tewksbury 2003). Researchers argue that the growing availability of alternative news sources on the internet, along with the rise of social networking websites, such as Facebook and Twitter, provide ample opportunities for the public to consume either media that reinforces their existing preferences or encounter

information in an incidental way as a byproduct of other online activities (Yadamsuren and Erdelez 2010). However, recent studies find that news media is still able to influence the public agenda regardless of increased selectivity, greater usage of social media, and news avoidance in the digital world (Feezell 2017; Conway, Kensi, and Wang 2015; Gottfried and Shearer 2016). Althaus and Tewksbury (2002), and Roberts and colleagues (2002) find that online news media has significant effects on their readers who modified their individual agendas in response to content exposure. Similarly, Feezell (2017) finds that incidental exposure to political information through social networks, such as Facebook, increases the levels of issue salience of policy issues to which individuals are exposed. Hence, the study of agenda setting continues to be important as the ways in which individuals seek and consume news is changing rapidly, and this may impact the way information is received at the individual level among ethno-racial and minority groups in the United States.

News Media and Ethno-Racial Groups

Studies find that the emergence and growth of new information technologies benefits politically marginalized groups, such as ethno-racial minorities, through the emergence of ethnic media (Jeffres 2000; Viswanath and Arora 2000). Studies find that not only has the availability of ethnic news media increased significantly in the past decades, but also that they are powerful sources of information, reaching about 75% of all ethno-racial individuals in the U.S. (Bendixen and Associates 2005). Studies also find that more than 60 million Americans regularly get news and other information from non-traditional media (Allen 2009).

Although there is a limited number of analyses comparing ethnic and mainstream media, prominent studies on the subject find major differences between these two types of media, particularly as it pertains to news coverage (Guskin, Moore, and Mitchell 2011; Villar and Bueno-Olson 2013). Ojo (2006), Meadows (1995), and Mahtani (2008), for example, argue that ethnic media in Canada empowers the cultural identity of ethno-racial minorities. Within the United States, Tirodkar and Jain (2003), for example, find that African American media is more likely to promote acceptance of heavier body weights compared to media that cater to general audiences. Similarly, Pulley (2004) finds that African American networks and news media have devoted more time and resources to stories relevant to African Americans, such as the Million Man March in 1995 and the O. J. Simpson scandal. Similarly, Lin and Song (2006) find that press coverage of Asian American newspapers in Los Angeles incorporates a larger proportion of geo-ethnic news, which are stories that are “culturally relevant and locally vital to immigrants in the host society,” compared to mainstream newspapers in the same region.

Similar trends occur among Latino news, particularly Spanish-language media. Halen, Olsen, and Fowler (2009), for example, find that during the 2004 presidential campaign, Spanish and English-language news media covered election stories differently as Spanish-language news was more focused on Latino issues than its mainstream counterparts. Through content analyses performed in the 2000s, some researchers found that Spanish-language media generates a larger volume of coverage of certain policy issues, such as immigration and health care, compared to English-language media (Abrajano and Singh 2009; Branton and Dunaway 2008; Brodie et al. 2010; Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano 2010; Kerevel 2011; Villar and Bueno-Olson 2013). The political consequences

associated with this apparent diverging news coverage consumption is an important issue that needs to be explored, particularly among Latinos, who not only represent the largest ethno-racial group in the U.S. but also accounted for the largest total U.S. population growth in 2016 (Krogstad 2017).

Recent studies of ethnic media found important political implications of Spanish-language media on the Latino electorate. Garcia-Rios and Barreto (2016), for example, find that exposure to Spanish-language television news and co-ethnic linked fate are associated with greater political participation and civic engagement among Latinos. Abrajano and Singh (2008) and Kerevel (2011) argue that news sources can be a predictor of attitudes towards immigration. Others argue that Spanish-language news media aims to empower Latinos politically, particularly those with immigrant backgrounds (Negrón 2011; Rivas 2003). Brodie and colleagues (2010) find that Spanish-language media has significant mobilizing effects on enrollment in healthcare programs among Latinos who rely heavily on these types of media for information about health and healthcare. Clearly, the consumption of Spanish-language news and Latino-oriented media has had significant implications on Latinos residing in the United States.

Theory and Hypotheses

One important area of study of public opinion in political science deals with the perceptions of policy salience among the electorate (Behr and Iyengar 1985). Latinos, who are the largest ethno-racial group in the country, respond to not only current policy outcomes and political events, but also identify salient issues to members of their ethnic group, which are typically defined as “Latino issues” (Acuña 2017; Garcia 2017; Saenz

and Murga 2011). Garcia (2017) argues that the three main factors that make an issue, situation, or concern a “Latino issue” include (1) governmental actions or outcomes that have different, often negative, implications on Latinos compared to other groups; (2) a wide array of recognition and understanding among Latinos that an issue or a policy disproportionately affects members of their ethno-racial groups; and (3) the engagement of Latino organizations, leaders and activists on these policy issues or concerns that disproportionately affect the group. Latino issues can occur at all levels of government, ranging from city governments and school boards to state and federal governments (Garcia 2017; Saenz and Murga 2011).

One of the most prominent Latino issues is immigration. Immigration, the legal status of immigrants, as well as immigration policies from all levels of government remain central points of discussion (Acuña 2017; Barreto and Segura 2014; Garcia 2017; Gomez-Aguinaga 2016; Gomez-Aguinaga and Sanchez forthcoming; Hipsman, Gomez-Aguinaga, and Capps 2016; Nicholson and Segura 2004; Sanchez 2006; Ybarra et al. 2016; Juarez, Gomez-Aguinaga, and Bettez 2018; etc.). The issue of immigration has disproportionately impacted Latinos, most of whom were born out of the country or have immediate ties to the immigrant experience (Androff et al. 2011; Ayón 2015; Gomez-Aguinaga and Sanchez 2019; Salas, Moya, and Ayón 2013). Not only has the Latino electorate been aware of how immigration issues affect their ethnic group (CMPS 2008, 2016; Latino Decisions Eve Poll, November 2012; Latino Decisions/America’s Voice Poll, July 2014; Krogstad 2014, 2016; Lopez et al. 2008), but also prominent Latino leaders and organizations identify

immigration as a core issue on their agendas.⁴ Hence, immigration meets the criteria for being considered a “Latino issue.”

A second prominent policy area identified as a Latino issue is healthcare (Acuña 2017; Barreto and Segura 2014; Pedraza and Osorio 2017; Sanchez et al. 2018, 2017; etc.). Latinos have been the ethno-racial group with the lowest access to health insurance and medical services, both before and after the enactment of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) (Sanchez et al. 2017; Nichols, LeBron, and Pedraza 2017; Pedraza and Osorio 2017; Kaiser Family Foundation 2018). Several Latino organizations, such as the National Institute for Latino Policy, Latino Community Foundation, and the Hispanic Federation, have included healthcare in their agendas for decades. Moreover, healthcare has consistently been among the most salient policy issues among Latinos in the past presidential elections (CMPS 2008, 2016; Latino Decisions Eve Poll, November 2012; Latino Decisions/America’s Voice Poll, July 2014; Krogstad 2014, 2016; Lopez et al. 2008).

A third Latino issue is racism and race relations. Scholars argue that state and local immigration policies, such as AZ SB 1070 (enacted in 2010) which granted any law enforcement or state “officers the latitude to question and detain those that may appear suspicious,” racialize Latinos regardless of their nativity or immigration status (Magaña 2013; Ayon 2018; Chavez 2013; Ybarra et al. 2016). Moreover, recent political campaigns

⁴ See multiple organizations such as the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda (NHLA), Unidos US (formerly National Council of La Raza), and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

and elections have targeted not only immigrants from Latin America, but also US-born citizens with connections to immigrants and citizens of immigrant descent (Sanchez and Gomez-Aguinaga 2017; Chavez 2001; McIlwain and Caliendo 2011; Reny 2017; Gomez-Aguinaga and Sanchez 2019; Santa Ana 2008; etc.). Others argue that the high levels of segregation led to disproportionate and negative effects on Latinos in multiple policy areas, such as education (Gandara and Contreras 2009; Schmidt 2002), housing (Massey 2014; Wahl Gonzalez et al. 2007), law enforcement (Gomez-Aguinaga and Abrams 2019; Massey 2014; Ramos-Zayas 2004), and environmental threats (Barreto, Segura, and Pantoja 2014; Vargas et al. forthcoming).

While a significant number of studies explore the relationship between media coverage and issue salience, the extent to which ethnic news media present unique agendas and therefore have differential effects on their audiences it is unknown. Hence, I explore whether Spanish-language news media promotes perceptions of policy salience for Latino issues. Given that previous literature finds significant content coverage differences among English and Spanish-language news media, particularly as it pertains to the Latino issues aforementioned, and that news media consumption is associated with specific perceptions of policy salience, I propose the following hypothesis:

H₁ (Perceptions of Policy Salience Hypothesis): Latinos who predominantly consume Spanish-language news media are significantly more likely to report Latino issues (immigration, health care and race relations) as salient compared to their Latino counterparts who predominantly consume English-language news.

Immigrant Experience and Agenda Setting

In addition to the expectation that news sources can predict perceptions of salience of Latino issues, previous research shows that personal experiences can also affect people's perceptions of policy salience, particularly as it pertains to immigration issues among Latinos (Garcia Bedolla 2005; Len-Ríos 2017). US-born Latinos may be removed from the immigrant experience and as a result may be less predisposed to perceive immigration as a salient policy issue. Garcia Bedolla (2005) argues that foreign-born Latinos tend to report higher levels of political interest regarding state and federal-level immigration policies, particularly compared to their US-born Latino counterparts. Similarly, Abrajano and Singh (2009) find that generational status and consumption of Spanish-language news influence Latino attitudes toward immigration reform.

While previous research finds significant associations between the immigrant experience and perceptions of immigration salience, scholars also find that media, both mainstream and ethnic, are important agents of political socialization (Moran, 2006; Subervi-Velez 2008, 1986, 1999; Jennings 2007, 2004; etc.). Political socialization is the process in which individuals acquire political knowledge, norms, attitudes and values, and learn about political behaviors (Atkin and Gantz 1978; Marsh 1971; Sigel 1965;). Among the most common agents of political socialization are families, schools, peers, and mass communications, such as news media (Atkin and Gantz 1978; Beck 1977). News media are particularly important for ethno-racial groups with immigrant backgrounds, such as Asian Americans and Latinos, who may not be as familiar with the US political system as their US-born counterparts (Shah, McLeod, and Lee 2009). Subervi-Velez (1986), for example, argues that the Latino consumption of Spanish-language media serves for both

cultural assimilation and integration to the dominant society while still promoting a distinct ethnic identity (see also Davila 2001; Rodriguez 1999; and Moran 2006). Through reports on national and local issues as well as leaders and events that affect people in the United States, including Latinos, Spanish-language news media promotes knowledge, engagement, and participation in the US political lives of mainstream and Latino communities (Subervi-Velez 1986, 2008). In this way, Spanish-language media serve as “informers” to Latinos who consume them.

Because Spanish-language news media serve to inform Latinos, I expect that while the immigrant experiences of Latinos may impact their perceptions of policy salience, these experiences do not hinder the agenda-setting effects that consuming Spanish-language media creates. The *immigrant experience hypothesis* predicts that the Spanish-language media’s agenda-setting effect will exist regardless of immigrant status because it serves as an agent of political socialization to both immigrant and US-born Latinos, creating similar outcomes for Latinos who consume Spanish-language news regardless of their nativity.

H₂ (*Robustness to Nativity Hypothesis*): The agenda-setting effects from Spanish-language media consumption are robust to respondents’ nativity.

Group Identity and Latino Public Opinion

Research finds that group identity, group consciousness, and linked fate also impact the public opinion of ethno-racial minorities. Scholars find that group consciousness and linked fate can influence the political attitudes and behaviors of ethno-racial minorities in the United States (Dawson 1994; Manzano and Sanchez 2010; Masouka 2006; Sanchez 2006; Stokes 2003; etc.). Group consciousness is an “in-group identification politicized by

a set of ideological beliefs about one's group's social standing, as well as a view that collective action is the best means by which the group can improve its status and realize its interests" (McClain et al. 2009), whereas linked fate is a cognitive heuristic triggered by identity cues, such as race, ethnicity or gender (Goldstein and Gigerenzer 2002), operationalized by asking whether survey respondents think what happens to people from their groups (e.g. Latinos or African Americans) in this country affects what happens in their lives. Sanchez (2006), for example, argues that in addition to nativity, measurements of group consciousness predict Latino political attitudes towards Latino-salient policy areas, such as immigration and bilingual education. Similarly, Schildkraut (2012) finds that Latinos who think that their fate is tied to that of their ethnic group are more likely to prefer co-ethnic elected officials than their counterparts without linked fate. Sanchez and Medeiros (2016) find that linked fate is a predictor of the Latino public opinion on healthcare.

Scholars of political communication argue that, in addition to informing Latinos about social and political issues, Spanish-language news media promotes cultural assimilation and attachment to an ethno-racial group (Gained 1998; Jeffres 2000; Moran 2006; Subervi-Velez 1999). In a longitudinal study, Jeffres (2000) found that ethnic groups who used ethnic media were increasingly likely to identify with an ethno-racial group. Similarly, both Davila (2011) and Rodriguez (1999) argue that Latino media aims to "de-nationalize" Latinos to create a pan-ethnic identity. Hence, I expect that while linked fate among Latinos can have an impact on their political preferences, it does not hinder the agenda-setting effects that consuming Spanish-language media creates. The group identity

hypothesis predicts that exposure to Spanish-language news media has similar effects among all Latinos regardless of their perceptions of linked fate.

H₃ (*Robustness to Group Identity Hypothesis*): While linked fate may have an impact on perceptions of salience of Latino issues, the effects of Spanish-language news media consumption hold across all Latinos who consume this type of media.

Data and Methods

This study has a mixed-methods component to test whether and to what extent the consumption of Spanish-language news media is associated with salience of Latino issues. For this study, I conduct a series of conceptual content analyses of online Spanish-language newspapers and online English-language newspapers from multiple cities to analyze the extent to which the news coverage of Spanish-language and mainstream media differ. Then I conduct a series of logistic regressions, split sample analyses, and robustness checks to test for multicollinearity and endogeneity (Pearson correlations and chi-square tests, and probit and linear probability models with instrumental variables) using data from the Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey, which was conducted from April 5 to May 2, 2019. The survey emphasizes ethno-racial respondents, oversampling African Americans (n=705) and Latinos (n=2,024), and non-Hispanic Whites as base (n=752). The survey conducted online was in English and Spanish to capture a wider segment of Latinos who prefer to engage in surveys in their native language. For the purpose of this study, I make use of the respondents who self-identified as Hispanic or Latino (n=2,024).

The main dependent variable of the chapter is policy salience. For this variable, I use the following survey question: “On the whole, what are the most important issues

facing your community that you think the President and Congress should address?” Respondents could choose up to two policy issues.⁵ For the purpose of this study, I analyze the three main affairs that previous literature identified as Latino issues: healthcare (26.44%), immigration (19.45%), and racism/race relations (13.99%). See Appendix A for the distribution of all the policy issues that Latinos identified as salient.

The main independent variable was the type of media that respondents consumed. To measure this variable, I make use of the following survey question: “When it comes to news and current affairs, would you say you watch TV or online news...” The responses were condensed into four levels: (1) mostly/more English language, (2) English and Spanish pretty equally, (3) mostly/more Spanish, and (4) never watch TV or online news. I use several control variables for this study, including party identification, gender, age, nativity, income, dominant language, and linked fate. I also control for other factors such as income, gender, partisanship, age and level of education of survey respondents as previous literature has found that demographic characteristics and socioeconomic status can impact political behavior and public opinion (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Whiteley 1995; Lien 1994; Krosnick and Kinder 1990; McCombs and Shaw 1972; Medina Vidal 2018; etc.). Table 2.1 provides the descriptive statistics for all variables.

⁵ Policy issues include (1) job creation / improve economy, (2) wages / incomes / minimum wage, (3) immigration reform, (4) K-12 education / schools, (5) health care, (6) terrorism / ISIS / foreign policy, (7) housing / affordable housing, (8) college affordability, (9) corruption in government / special interests, (10) racism and race relations, (11) climate change / global warming / environment, (12) abortion / women’s reproductive health, (13) taxes / government spending, (14) criminal justice reform / police issues, or (15) something else.

Table 2.1 Summary Statistics of Dependent, Independent and Control Variables Among Latino Respondents

	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
Salient Policy Issue				
Jobs	0.0	1	0.24	0.43
Income	0.0	1	0.17	0.37
Immigration	0.0	1	0.19	0.40
Schools	0.0	1	0.10	0.30
Health/healthcare	0.0	1	0.26	0.44
Terrorism	0.0	1	0.15	0.36
Housing	0.0	1	0.11	0.31
College	0.0	1	0.10	0.30
Corruption	0.0	1	0.11	0.31
Racism/race relations	0.0	1	0.14	0.35
Climate Change	0.0	1	0.08	0.27
Abortion	0.0	1	0.05	0.22
Taxes	0.0	1	0.12	0.32
Police/Criminal Justice	0.0	1	0.05	0.22
Other	0.0	1	0.03	0.16
News Media Type	1.0	4	1.42	0.79
Party ID	1.0	4	2.28	0.82
Female	0.0	1	0.68	0.47
Age	18.0	98	37.39	14.02
Nativity (U.S. born)	0.0	1	0.71	0.45
Education	1.0	6	3.98	1.15
Income	1.0	12	4.57	3.29
Language (Spanish)	0.0	1	0.12	0.32
Linked Fate	0.0	1	0.58	0.49

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

I conduct a series of robustness checks to test for potential issues of multicollinearity and endogeneity, as well as content analyses of multiple English and Spanish-language newspapers to test the content coverage hypothesis (H₁) and to account for the internal validity of the content coverage argument. The content analyses were conducted for six different English and Spanish-language newspapers from prominent newspapers in metropolitan areas with a significant share of Latino population, including

New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago; for each metropolitan area, I conduct analyses of two different newspapers, one of them published in English and the other in Spanish. See Appendix B for further details on the methodology and results of the content analyses of English and Spanish-language newspapers. To account for potential issues of multicollinearity and endogeneity, I conduct a series of Pearson correlations, chi-square tests and probit models with instrumental variables, which are presented in Appendix C (Stefanski and Buzas 1995; Adkins 2009; Baum et al. 2012)⁶.

Results

Table 2.2 presents a series of logistic regression analyses testing the perceptions of policy salience hypothesis (H₁). The results of Table 2 show a statistical relationship between reporting immigration as a salient issue and the type of media consumed. Model 1 from Table 2.2 shows that Latino respondents who consume English-language media are less likely to report immigration as a salient issue compared to their Latino counterparts who consume Spanish-language media. Similarly, those who reported never watching news are statistically less likely to report immigration as a salient issue compared to Latinos who mainly consume Spanish-language news. Figure 2.1 supports these findings, showing the adjusted predicted probabilities of reporting immigration as a salient issue based on the type of media consumed. These findings provide support for the perceptions of policy salience hypothesis (H₁).

⁶ Since the models of this study are binary, linear Two-Stage-Least-Square models would not be suitable for this study (see Baum et al. 2012).

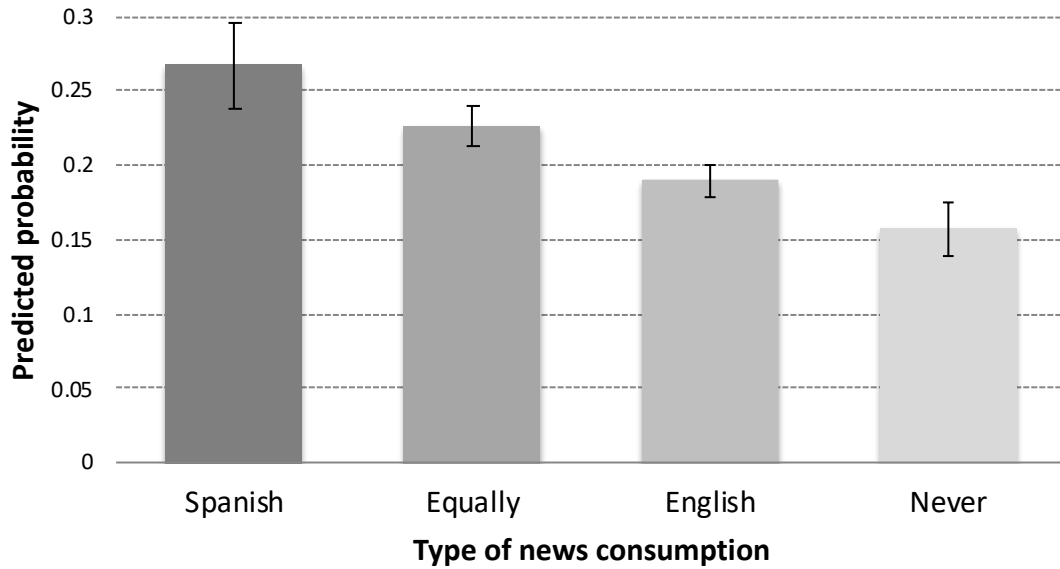
Table 2.2 Logistic Regression Analyses of Latino Issues by Types of Media Consumed among Latinos

VARIABLES	(1) Immigration	(2) Health	(3) Racism
Type of Media Consumed (Spanish as base)			
Mostly/more English	-0.696*** (0.207)	0.236 (0.230)	-0.0939 (0.245)
English and Spanish equally	-0.711*** (0.216)	0.00328 (0.238)	-0.0256 (0.250)
Never news	-0.883** (0.412)	-0.0348 (0.403)	-1.299** (0.636)
Partisanship (Democrat as base)			
Republican	0.181 (0.164)	-0.209 (0.166)	-0.798*** (0.238)
Independent	-0.235* (0.126)	-0.260** (0.119)	-0.175 (0.138)
Female	-0.0303 (0.116)	0.193* (0.113)	-0.0951 (0.132)
Age	-0.00568 (0.00411)	0.0204*** (0.00365)	-0.0160*** (0.00501)
U.S.-born	-0.388*** (0.145)	-0.148 (0.142)	-0.0912 (0.171)
Income	-0.00151 (0.00280)	0.00122 (0.00262)	-0.00147 (0.00313)
Dominant language Spanish	-0.150 (0.220)	-0.144 (0.220)	0.561** (0.236)
Linked Fate (no LF as base)			
Not much	-0.323 (0.330)	0.323 (0.273)	-0.102 (0.363)
Some	0.0925 (0.144)	0.286** (0.135)	0.00798 (0.170)
A lot	0.295** (0.143)	0.111 (0.141)	0.534*** (0.161)
Education	-0.0187 (0.0510)	0.121** (0.0492)	-0.0387 (0.0581)
Constant	-0.130 (0.365)	-2.593*** (0.375)	-0.859** (0.422)
Observations	2,024	2,024	2,024
Log-Likelihood Full Model	-1012	-1080	-830.9
Chi-square test	40.46	66.46	61.03
PctCorr	79.30	75.89	84.83

Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Figure 2.1 Adjusted Predicted Probabilities of Identifying Immigration as a Salient Issue



Notes: Other variables held at their means

Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Although previous literature contends that healthcare and racism/race relations are Latino issues, the results of this study show no statistical association between the type of news media consumed and the likelihood of reporting health or racism/race relations as salient issues. This issue likely occurs because the coverage of health and racism/race relations in English and Spanish-language media is not statistically different, as the results of the subsequent content analyses show. The rate of healthcare and racism/race relations stories in Spanish-language newspapers was significantly lower than the coverage of immigration stories. While the share of immigration-related stories in Spanish-language newspapers ranged from 7.58% of all stories published in *La Raza* (Chicago, IL) and *La Opinión* (Los Angeles, CA), to 15.21% in *El Diario* (New York City). However, health-

related stories accounted for less than 1 percent of all the news articles from Spanish-language newspapers, and racism/race relations stories ranged from 1.82% in *El Diario NY* to 0.11% in *La Opinión*. More importantly, Spanish-language newspapers were more likely to cover immigration stories than English-language newspapers, but there was less differentiation among the newspapers for health-related and race-related stories. Hence, there is no theoretical reason to expect diverging perceptions of salience by type of news media consumed among health and race relations issues. See Appendix B for detailed results of the content analyses conducted for this study.

Models 2 and 3 of Table 2.2 show that in addition to the type of news media consumed there are other factors that are associated with reporting health and race as important issues, such as partisanship and age. Compared with respondents who identify as Democrats, Republicans are associated with a lower likelihood of reporting racism as salient policy issues, whereas those who identify as Independent are less likely to report health/healthcare as a salient issue. Additionally, older respondents are associated with a greater likelihood of reporting health as a salient but less likely to report race relations as a salient issue than their younger counterparts. These findings concur with previous literature (Tate 1993; Verba et al. 1995).

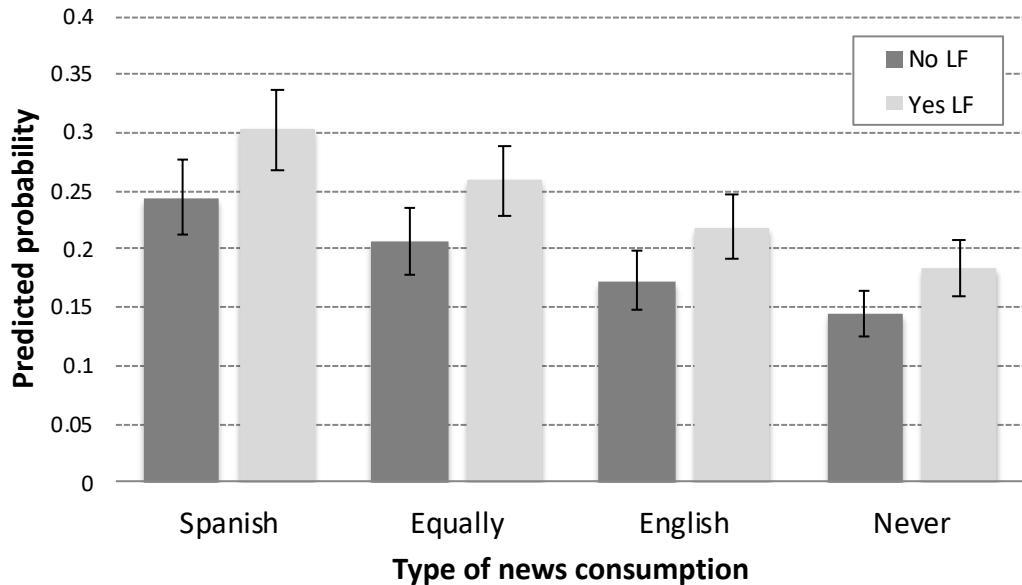
Model 1 in Table 2.2 shows that linked fate and nativity are statistically significant predictors of immigration salience. This means that, in addition to the consumption of Spanish-language news media, having in-group linked fate and being born outside of the US are associated with greater likelihood of reporting immigration as an important policy issue.⁷ These results are consistent with previous literature that finds a positive relationship

⁷ See Appendix C.

between linked fate and support for immigration policies and/or salience of immigration issues (Sanchez 2006; Sanchez and Masouka 2010; Vargas, Sanchez, and Valdez 2017). Others find that nativity matters as foreign-born nationals have higher levels of knowledge about US immigration policies and politics than their US-born counterparts (Abrajano and Singh 2009; Garcia Bedolla 2005). Hence, in order to analyze whether the effect of media consumed, reported linked fate, and respondents' nativity are statistically different from each other, I conducted a series of adjusted predicted probabilities on the effects of linked fate and nativity, which are represented in Figures 2.2 and 2.3.

Figure 2.2 shows the results of the adjusted predicted probabilities of reporting immigration as a salient issue by type of news media consumed, broken down by in-group linked fate. Figure 2.2 shows that in-group linked fate is statistically significant only among respondents who primarily consume English-language news; among English-language news consumers, those who have in-group linked fate are significantly more likely to report immigration as a salient issue compared to their English-language-news consuming counterparts without in-group linked fate. More importantly, Figure 2.2 shows a clear association between the type of news media consumed and the likelihood of reporting immigration as a salient issue. Regardless of the respondents' reported in-group linked fate, higher exposure to Spanish-language news is associated with a greater likelihood of reporting immigration as a salient issue. These findings provide support for the robustness to group identity hypothesis (H₃) of this study.

Figure 2.2 Adjusted Predicted Probabilities of Identifying Immigration as a Salient Issue by Linked Fate

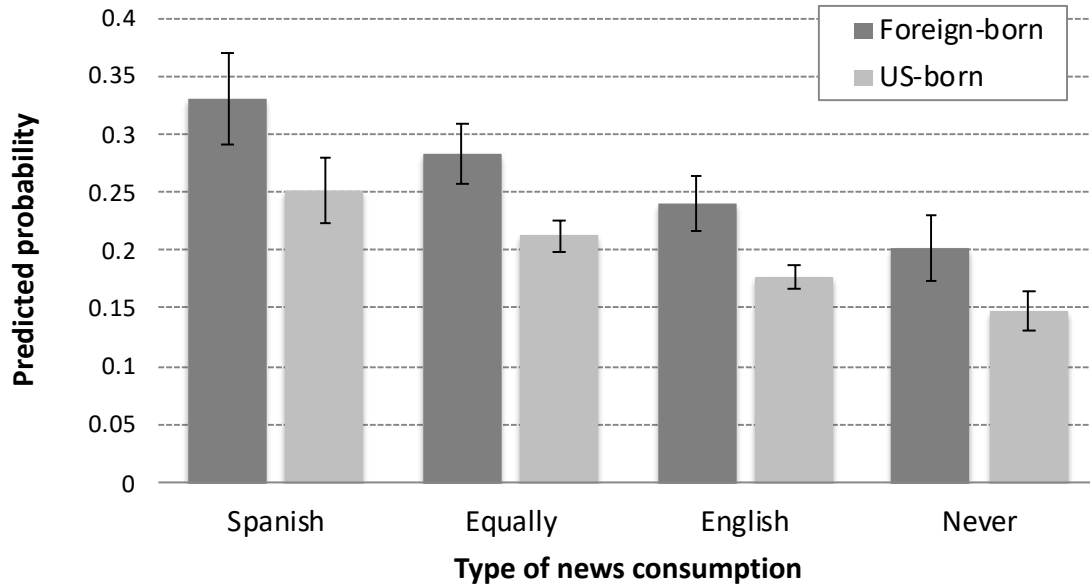


Notes: Other variables held at their means

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Figure 2.3 shows the results of the adjusted predicted probabilities of reporting immigration as a salient issue by type of news media consumed and nativity. Figure 2.3 shows that foreign-born respondents are significantly more likely to report immigration as a salient policy issue compared to their US-born counterparts. Regardless of this trend, the types of news media consumed have similar and consistent effects across respondents' nativity. In other words, Figure 2.3 shows that the exposure to Spanish-language news media is associated with a greater likelihood of reporting immigration as a salient issue across both US- and foreign-born Latinos. This finding provides support to the robustness to nativity hypothesis (H₂).

Figure 2.3 Adjusted Predicted Probabilities of Identifying Immigration as a Salient Issue by Nativity



Notes: Other variables held at their means

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Table 2.3 presents the results of the split-sample analyses that explore perceptions of immigration as a salient policy issue by linked fate (Models 2 and 3) and nativity (Models 4 and 5) of the respondents, showing consistent results across models. The results of Models 2 and 3 of Table 2.3 show resembling trends in the coefficients of the types of new media consumption as they are of similar magnitudes and in the same direction. Moreover, the results of Models 1-3 show that regardless of the absence or presence of linked fate, the association between exposure to Spanish-language news and perception of immigration as a salient issue endures.⁸ These findings provide additional support for the robustness to group identity hypothesis (H₃).

⁸ See Appendix C.

**Table 2.3 Split Sample Analysis –Immigration Salience by Linked Fate and Nativity
of Respondents**

VARIABLES	(1) All	(2) No LF	(3) Yes LF	(4) U.S.-born	(5) Foreign-born
Type of Media Consumed (Spanish as base)					
Mostly/more English	-0.761*** (0.198)	-0.613** (0.309)	-0.877*** (0.268)	-1.183*** (0.374)	-0.535** (0.250)
English and Spanish equally	-0.280 (0.201)	-0.422 (0.316)	-0.261 (0.272)	-0.658* (0.392)	-0.126 (0.246)
Never news	-1.497*** (0.416)	-0.965* (0.518)	-2.211*** (0.777)	-1.865*** (0.592)	-1.443** (0.668)
Partisanship (Democrat as base)					
Republican	-0.0654 (0.149)	0.00447 (0.224)	-0.0630 (0.206)	0.0424 (0.187)	-0.153 (0.247)
Independent	-0.187 (0.117)	0.0774 (0.192)	-0.340** (0.150)	-0.166 (0.150)	-0.195 (0.191)
Female	-0.0488 (0.111)	0.168 (0.187)	-0.162 (0.140)	-0.159 (0.140)	0.143 (0.185)
Age	-0.00642 (0.00403)	0.00363 (0.00613)	-0.0148*** (0.00548)	-0.00556 (0.00519)	-0.00773 (0.00653)
Income	-0.00869 (0.0184)	-0.0213 (0.0300)	-0.00276 (0.0236)	0.0134 (0.0229)	-0.0602* (0.0317)
Dominant language Spanish	0.540*** (0.169)	0.541* (0.277)	0.614*** (0.220)	-0.214 (0.422)	0.659*** (0.199)
Education	-0.139*** (0.0502)	-0.185** (0.0799)	-0.0973 (0.0658)	-0.0313 (0.0695)	-0.251*** (0.0754)
Linked Fate	0.365*** (0.110)			0.222 (0.142)	0.594*** (0.176)
U.S.-born	-0.733*** (0.119)	-0.509** (0.203)	-0.872*** (0.149)		
Constant	0.575 (0.363)	0.331 (0.573)	1.063** (0.450)	-0.194 (0.533)	0.909* (0.540)
Observations	2,024	632	1,392	1,599	425
Log-Likelihood Full Model	-1014	-293.9	-706.7	-774	-234.4
Chi-square test	35.39	23.69	37.50	21.96	17.19
Pseudo R2	0.0171	0.0387	0.0258	0.0140	0.0354
PctCorr	79.30	81.17	78.59	80.68	73.65

Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

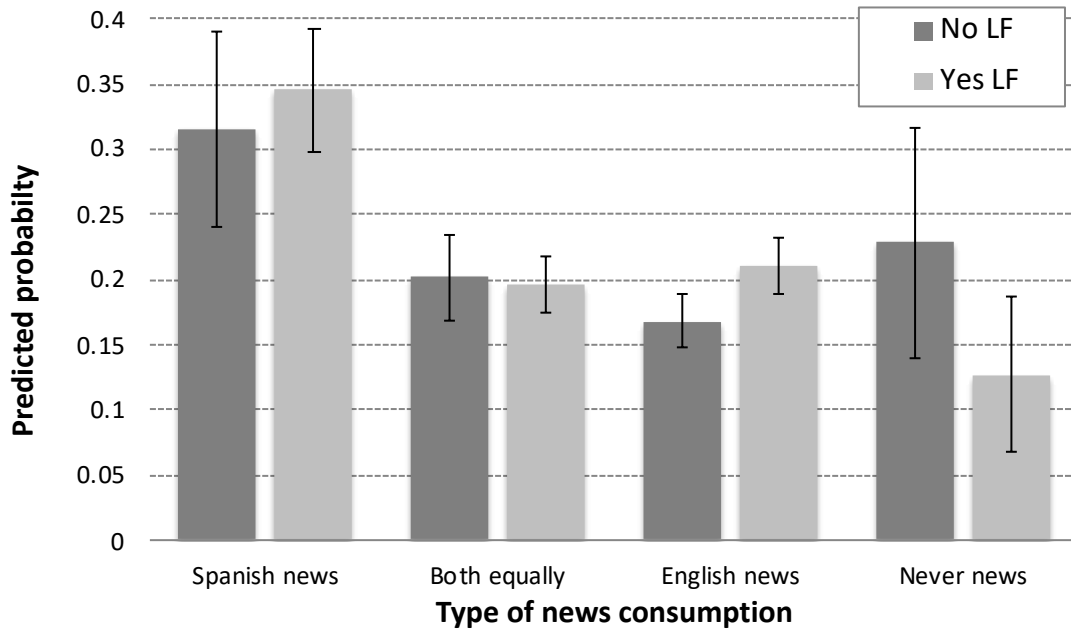
Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Models 4 and 5 of Table 2.3 present the results of the split-sample analyses that explore perceptions of immigration salience and the nativity of the respondents. The coefficients of the logistic regressions analyzing salience of immigration are consistent across nativity, meaning that regardless of respondents' nativity, the type of media they consume has similar effects on perceptions of immigration salience.⁹ These findings provide additional support for the robustness to nativity hypothesis (H₂).

Given that scholars claim that Spanish-language news media aims to reinforce a pan-ethnic identity and group consciousness among Latinos, I test whether the interaction of Spanish-language news consumption and existing levels of linked fate amplify the ability of media to influence the salience of immigration as a salient issue. Figure 2.4 presents a visual representation of the predicted probabilities of the aforementioned interactions and their relationship with identifying immigration as a salient issue. The results show that regardless of respondents' in-group linked fate, Latinos who consume English-language news are significantly less likely to report immigration as a salient issue compared to their Latino counterparts who predominantly consume Spanish-language news. These results provide strong support to the robustness to group identity hypothesis (H₃) and contribute to our understanding of the role of ethnic media on public opinion.

⁹ See Appendix C.

Figure 2.4 Predicted Probabilities of Interactions between News Consumption and Linked Fate of Identifying Immigration Salience



Notes: Other variables held at their means

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Appendix D presents the results of the split sample analyses exploring the perceptions of salience of the other Latino issues analyzed in this study (healthcare and racism/race relations). Overall, the split sample analyses were consistent with the results presented in Table 2, showing no statistical association between reporting healthcare and racism/race relations as salient policy issues and the type of news media consumed. As mentioned before, these findings concur with the content analyses of this study, which show no statistical differences between English and Spanish-language newspapers and their coverage of health/healthcare and racism/race relations news.

Conclusion

This chapter finds that the consumption of Spanish-language news among Latinos can have significant implications for public opinion, particularly regarding salience of Latino issues. The results of this study show that the consumption of Spanish-language news media is associated with greater likelihood of reporting immigration as a salient issue. This occurs not only because immigration has been a long-time and widely recognized Latino issue (Kerevel 2011; Abrajano and Singh. 2009), but also because immigration stories are significantly more likely to be covered in Spanish-language media than mainstream media, as the content analyses of this study show. However, the results of this chapter also show that the consumption of Spanish-language news media is not associated with increased salience of other Latino issues, such as health and racism/race relations. This finding is like a result of the similarity in the amount of coverage of health/healthcare and racism/race relations in English and Spanish-language news.

Moreover, this chapter finds that the association between consumption of Spanish-language news and perceptions of salience of prominent Latino issues, particularly immigration, is strong and holds even after accounting for the in-group linked fate and nativity of the respondents. These findings provide support for the robustness to nativity (H₂) and robustness to group identity (H₃) hypotheses. In other words, regardless of whether respondents were born in the US mainland or abroad, as well as whether they have perceptions of in-group linked fate or not, the effects of exposure to Spanish-language news persist.

Previous literature found that Spanish-language media has multiple functions, such as informing Latinos about social and political issues, promoting cultural assimilation, and

fostering attachment to a pan-ethnic identity (Davila 2011; Gained 1998; Jeffres 2000; Moran 2006; Subervi-Velez 1999). With the split-sample analyses and the series of robustness checks from this study, the findings of the chapter align with this literature. The results of this study show evidence that while Spanish-language news media aims to reinforce a pan-ethnic identity and group consciousness among Latinos, existing predispositions such as perceptions of in-group linked fate do not hinder the agenda-setting effects that consuming Spanish-language media creates.

This chapter reiterates the importance of growing alternatives to mainstream media, such as Spanish-language news, not only for Latino consumers but also political practitioners. Based on the results of this study, political practitioners should consider different strategies to mobilize the Latino electorate throughout different types of news media and different policy issues, including Latino issues. As the content coverage (H₁) hypothesis predicts, Spanish-language news covers policy issues in different extents, emphasizing immigration-related stories and paying less attention to other Latino issues, such as healthcare and racism/race relations, compared to English-language news. As this research shows, regardless of certain predispositions of Latinos such as nativity and in-group linked fate, the Latino electorate has diverging perceptions of policy salience that vary by type of media consumed; thus, political practitioners should address policy issues accordingly.

Overall, the results of this chapter highlight the importance studying ethnic media in a growingly diverse country, where ethno-racial groups are expected to be the majority of the country by 2045 (Frey 2018). This issue is particularly important for Latinos, who not only have close ties with Spanish language as almost three in every four Latinos are

either Spanish monolingual or bilingual speakers (Pew Research Center 2015), but also have high consumption levels of Spanish-language media (Lopez 2013). Future studies should explore whether the consumption of other ethnic media has similar effects among other ethno-racial groups, such as African Americans or Asian Americans.

CHAPTER 3

¿Mismo Mensaje, Diferente Impacto? *Quantifying the Impact of Spanish-Language Messages and Media on Identity among Latinos*

Introduction

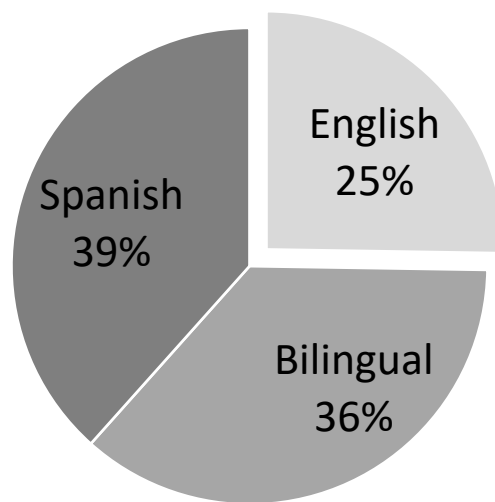
The second aspect that differentiates Spanish-language news media from mainstream media is the dissemination of information in Spanish, the most spoken minority language in the United States (ACS 2015, 2016). Currently, 97% of Latino immigrants¹⁰ speak Spanish, and more than 70% of second-generation Latinos¹¹ are proficient in Spanish (Lopez et al. 2018). With more than 41 million native Spanish speakers and an additional 11 million bilingual speakers, the United States of America is currently the world's second largest Spanish-speaking country (Instituto Cervantes, 2016). Furthermore, the US Census Bureau estimates that the country will be home to 138 million Spanish speakers by 2050, becoming the largest Spanish-speaking country in the world (Gambino 2017; Instituto Cervantes 2016; Shin and Ortman 2011). Therefore, analyzing the consequences of disseminating information in Spanish and other minority languages is key to a better understanding of the political behavior of the growingly diverse electorate in the United States.

¹⁰ Also referred to as “first generation immigrants.”

¹¹ Second-generation immigrants are those born in the U.S. with at least one immigrant parent.

One of the most relevant factors of commonality among US Latinos is the Spanish language. Although Latinos are a diverse ethno-racial group, particularly as it pertains to countries of origin, nativity, and socioeconomic status (Flores 2017; US Census Bureau 2018), one known, yet overlooked, factor of commonality among this group is proficiency in Spanish language. As Figure 3.1 shows, almost three in every four US Latinos are proficient in Spanish (Pew Research Center 2017). More specifically, 36% of Latinos are monolingual Spanish speakers, while an additional 36% are bilingual (English and Spanish). Only a minority of Latinos (28%) are monolingual English speakers. This issue sets Latinos apart from other ethno-racial groups, such as Asian Americans and American Indians who are collectively proficient in more than a dozen of languages (McCarty, Romero, and Zepeda 2006; Ramakrishnan and Ahmad 2014). Hence, the high levels of Spanish-language proficiency among Latinos provide a unique opportunity for the dissemination and accessibility of Spanish-language news media in the United States.

Figure 3.1 Language Proficiency among US Latinos



Source: Krogstad and Barrera, 2015

In addition to the proficiency of Spanish among Latinos, the use of Spanish language and engagement of Spanish-language news media in US politics has been on the rise. Political figures at all levels of government have increasingly used Spanish in campaigns, debates, and elections at all levels of government (Axelrod 2020; Camia 2013; Morin 2019; Pratt 2019; Univision 2018; etc.). Moreover, Spanish-language media is active in the dissemination of political debates in national and state elections. Telemundo and Univision, along with other major national newscasts, hosted the first and third 2020 presidential primary debates respectively. Moreover, Univision organized the first gubernational forum focused on Latino issues for the 2018 governor's race in California, and Telemundo hosted the 2014 governor's debate in Florida. These broadcasts show the growing importance of the use and dissemination of information in Spanish in the United States.

While a handful of scholars have explored some of the implications of the use of minority languages and the consumption of ethnic media independently from each other, several questions remain unanswered. Hence, this study explores whether consuming content in Spanish, a US minority language, influences identity formation among Latinos, and if so, whether the exposure to Spanish-language content and the consumption of Spanish-language news amplifies these identity effects among bilingual Latinos.¹² In this

¹² This study focuses on bilingual Latinos because in order to experience the political implications of exposure and consumption of Spanish-language media examined in this study, Latinos have to be proficient enough in Spanish to consume that content. However,

chapter, I address these specific questions through a series of population-based survey experiments and find that bilingual Latinos who are exposed to Spanish language content are significantly more likely to report stronger attachments to their pan-ethnic group than those who received the same content in English. However, this study finds that the consumption of Spanish-language news does not substantially interact with the identity effects of exposure to Spanish content, suggesting that the implications of exposure to Spanish-language content may be independent from political habits such as consumption of ethnic media. This study contributes to our understanding of the role of minority languages on pan-ethnic identities and highlights the importance of how the linguistic diversity of our country impacts the U.S. political system.

Literature Review

Only a handful of studies explore the political implications of Spanish and other minority languages in the United States. One of the most prominent areas of study in terms of minority languages is the effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act (VRA), particularly its 1975 extended provisions on linguistic minority groups, such as "persons who are

Ostfel's (2017) research finds that Spanish-language political ads increase perceptions of collective political power among Latinos, even among those who are not proficient in Spanish. While Ostfel's findings suggest that the effects of exposure to Spanish-language content can be significant among monolingual English speakers, this work focuses only on the effects among bilingual Latinos, who have been understudied in the field of political science.

American Indian, Asian American, Alaskan Natives or of Spanish heritage" (VRA 1975 42 U.S.C. § 1973l(c)(3)). More specifically, the 1975 amendments to the VRA aimed to increase turnout among linguistic minorities through prohibiting laws requiring ballots and voting information to be exclusively in English in jurisdictions where a language minority group comprised more than 5% of the voting-age population. Studies find that these provisions have significant and positive turnout effects on linguistic minorities, such as Latinos and Asian Americans (Hopkins 2011; Jones-Correa 2005; Tucker 2006, 2016). Moreover, studies find that the increasing prevalence of Spanish language in elections and campaigns at large can result in increased political participation and voter turnout among Latino Spanish speakers (Hopkins 2011; Panagopoulos and Green 2011; Soto and Merolla 2006).

In addition to turnout, studies explored whether, and to what extent, Spanish and other minority languages are associated with different public opinion trends. Recent studies find that public opinion about political issues varies not only by exposure to minority languages but also by demographic characteristics of the subjects (Garcia 2009; Lee and Perez 2014; Perez 2011; Wong et al. 2011). Studies find that among the US majority group (non-Hispanic, White, monolingual English speakers), exposure to minority languages can create feelings of threat and negativity towards minority groups, such as Latinos and immigrants (Barreto et al. 2008; Gluszek and Dovidio 2010; Hopkins 2014; Hopkins, Tran, and Williamson 2014; Newman, Hartman and Taber 2012).

On the other hand, studies find that the effects of minority languages can be substantially different among ethno-racial groups with linguistically diverse backgrounds, such as Latinos and Asian Americans (Caroll and Luna 2011; Flores and Coppock 2018;

Koslow et al. 1994; Ostfeld 2017; etc.). Ostfeld (2017), for example, finds that Latinos who are exposed to Spanish-language political ads have higher perceptions of collective political power among Hispanics than their Latino counterparts who are exposed to the same ads in English. Flores and Coppock (2018) find that political campaign advertisements conducted in Spanish can increase the electoral support of bilingual Latinos by five percentage points. Similarly, in the field of marketing and advertising, Carroll and Luna (2011) find that US bilingual Latinos who consumed ads in Spanish had more positive evaluations of products than those who consumed the same content in English. Koslow and colleagues (1994) find similar results, arguing that the language and identity effects are contingent upon Latinos' perceptions of advertiser sensitivity to the Hispanic people and culture.

Studies also find that, in addition to advertisements, language can be associated with substantively different responses in surveys and polls among individuals with similar backgrounds (Lee and Perez 2014; Lien et al. 2001; Welch et al. 1973). Studies find that among Latinos residing in the United States, those who respond to surveys in English tend to have higher levels of political knowledge compared to their Latino counterparts who respond to surveys and polls in Spanish, even after controlling for other factors that affect political knowledge such as education and citizenship status (Fraga et al. 2006; Lee and Perez 2014; Perez 2014; Wong et al. 2011). Others find that the structure of languages can shape its speakers' perspectives on issues such as assessment of time and space (Birner 1994, 2012; Gerhart and Russell 2004; Perez and Tavits 2017). Perez and Tavits (2017), for example, find that Estonian speakers "view the future as temporally closer to the

present, causing them to discount the future less and support future-oriented policies more.”

Studies find that languages, particularly minority languages, can have an impact on the group identity of linguistic minorities. For example, Latinos interviewed or take surveys or polls in Spanish tend to report higher levels of group attachment than their counterparts who respond to surveys in English (Flores and Coppcock 2018; Lee and Perez 2014; Perez 2011). In a couple of studies, Perez (2011, 2016) speculates that language itself “impacts people's sense of group consciousness, linked fate, and/or solidarity insofar as these flow from a specific group identity.” Similarly, Dubois and Melançon (2000) find that African Americans in Louisiana proficient in the Creole language are significantly more likely to identify as Creole than their counterparts who are only proficient in English, even after accounting for other factors such as ancestry and age. Nevertheless, there is no consensus on why these results occur after exposure to minority languages or dialects.

Theory and Hypotheses

Studies in the fields of linguistics, psychology, marketing and advertising find that minority languages are able to shape the opinions and preferences of individuals exposed to minority languages. There are two distinct and competing theoretical backgrounds to explain these results: (1) accessibility framework and (2) accommodation theory.

Accessibility Framework

The accessibility framework, also referred to as the fluency framework, has been used in studies of bilingual advertising and fluency literature processing (Jacoby and Dallas

1981; Reber and Schwarz 1999; Reber, Winkielman, and Schwarz 1998; Schwarz 2004; etc). This framework posits that “some concepts are more accessible in one language than in the other” among bilingual and multilingual speakers, which leads to different evaluations or opinions of specific topics (Caroll and Luna 2011).

Scholars find familiarity with concepts in a specific language can be associated with faster response times (Gardner et al. 1987), higher levels of knowledge (Dalisay 2012; Frage et al. 2006; Lee and Perez 2014; Perez 2014; Wong et al. 2011), and even distinct memories among multilingual speakers (Marian and Fausey 2006; Marian and Kaushanskaya 2007; Marian and Neisser 2000). These results can be explained with the accessibility framework, which contends that “people more easily summon information from memory when details that were present during learning are also available during retrieval” primarily in the same language (Perez 2016; Tulving and Thomson 1973). In other words, languages can influence the accessibility of concepts among bilingual and multilingual speakers, giving rise to distinct responses depending on the language used (Caroll and Luna 2011; Luna and Peracchio 2001; Perez 2016).

While the accessibility framework is efficient at explaining how languages influence responses related to concepts learned in a given language, such as academic or technical knowledge, it overlooks the possibility that minority languages can help retrieve memories and knowledge structures that typically emerge from affective backgrounds such as family, ethnic groups, and even minority status (Noriega and Blair 2008).

Linguistic Accommodation Theory

Scholars of marketing and advertising use the linguistic accommodation theory to analyze the use of Spanish and other minority languages in racial and ethnic advertisements. This theory posits that “the greater the amount of effort in accommodation [choice of language] that a bilingual speaker of one group was perceived to put into this message, the more favorably [s]he would be perceived by listeners from another ethnic group” (Giles et al. 1973). In other words, exposure to minority languages can prompt affection when the messenger and the receiver shared a minority language.

While the linguistic accommodation theory originally focused on understanding individual behavior, mass communication studies increasingly uses it to analyze the “relationship building between the communicator and his or her audience” (Koslow et al. 1994). Studies find that exposure to minority languages in advertisements can trigger the dynamics of accommodation theory among linguistic minorities (Koslow et al 1994; Luna and Peracchio 2005; Noriega and Blair 2008; Stayman and Unnava 1997). Koslow and colleagues (1994) find that advertising in Spanish language increased Latino consumers’ perception of advertiser sensitivity to Latinos, which in turn intensified affect toward the advertisements. Similarly, Noriega and Blair (2008) find that language choice of advertisements (English vs. Spanish) can influence the types of thoughts and evaluations that bilingual speakers generate in response to exposure to an advertisement in a majority (e.g. English) vs. minority (e.g. Spanish) language; they find that advertisements in native languages often induce thoughts about family, friends, home or homeland, which at the same time lead to more positive thoughts and evaluations of the advertisements in the respondents’ native languages. These findings are in line with recent findings from

political scientists arguing that exposure to minority languages is associated with higher feelings of inclusion and belonging (Casillas 2014; Darr et al. working paper) and higher levels of in-group attachment among linguistic minorities and multilingual speakers (Flores and Coppock 2018; Perez 2016). Luna and Peracchio (2005) identify the connection between exposure to minority languages and warmer attitudes as language schemas.

Among bilingual and multilingual speakers, language schemas are the distinct sets of associations that different languages can create (Luna and Peracchio 2005; Von Studnitz and Green 2002). For example, among multilingual Latinos, exposure to their first languages can retrieve memories of their families, ethnic groups, and even their country of ancestry (Noriega and Blair 2008). Hence, language itself can lead to increased accessibility of some concepts and trigger feelings that have implications on public opinion, an issue that the accessibility framework overlooks (Luna, Ringberg, and Peracchio 2008).

Minority Languages and Pan-ethnic Identities

Studies in political science have primarily relied on the Social Identity Theory (SIT) to examine the impact of identity on public opinion. SIT aims to “explain intergroup conflict as a function of group-based self-definitions” (Islam 2014; Tajfel and Turner 1986); group identities are based on the identification of people’s “in-group” against “out-group” individuals who do not belong to the group. The identification of “in-group” individuals culminates with a notion of group membership, in which in-group members tend to have more positive perceptions or warmer feelings towards those who belong to their group than those who do not. SIT has typically been used to study the attitudes and

political behavior of ethno-racial minorities, with strong evidence for African Americans and mixed evidence for Latinos and Asian Americans (Gibson & Gouws 1999; Sidanius et al. 1997). One of the reasons for this mixed evidence is the related to the determinants of group identity among groups other than African Americans.

Studies find various determinants of identity among US Latinos, including experienced and perceived discrimination (Masouka 2008; Sanchez and Rodriguez Espinosa 2016; Wallace 2014), educational attainment and socioeconomic status (Masouka 2006; Torres and Magolda 2004; Vincent 2003), nativity (Masouka 2006; Portes 1996; Sanchez and Masouka 2010), and consumption of ethnic media¹³ (Davila 2011; De Fina 2013; Jeffres 2000; Subervi-Velez 1999). Nevertheless, I argue that Spanish language is also a predictor of group identity among Latinos not only because Spanish is a US minority language that also serves as a factor of commonality among Latinos (Gambino 2017; Shin and Ortman 2011; see also the introductory section of this chapter) but also because the linguistic accommodation theory posits that exposure to minority languages and language schemas can prompt positive feelings and memories related their group, creating more salience of their ethno-racial identity as Latinos (Labov 1972; Mendoza-Denton, 2002; Myers-Scotton 1993). Based on that, I present the following hypothesis:

H₁ (exposure to Spanish-language hypothesis): Exposure to content in Spanish leads to higher in-group attachment among bilingual Latinos.

¹³ See empirical chapter 1 for further discussion on the association between ethnic identity and consumption of ethnic media.

Minority Languages, Ethnic Media, and Group Identity

In addition to language use, studies explore the relationship between ethnic media and increasing levels of ethnic identity. Johnson (2010) defines ethnic media as “broadcast, print, and digital communication” alternatives to mainstream media designed to “serve a particular cultural or racial group.”¹⁴ In addition to higher political knowledge (Dalisay 2012), scholars find major sociopolitical implications of consumers of ethnic media. One of the most common findings is the relationship between increased consumption of ethnic media and the likelihood of attachment to an ethno-racial group (Jeffres 2000; Moran 2006; Subervi-Velez 1999).

While studies of ethnic media provide a better understanding of the predictors of identity, it is unknown whether specific elements of ethnic media, such as the use of minority languages, amplify the effects of pan-ethnic identity among its bilingual consumers. More specifically, studies are yet to analyze whether exposure to minority languages in combination with consumption of ethnic media promote stronger effects in terms of pan-ethnic identity among bilingual members of minority groups. Given that one of the core elements of Spanish-language media is the availability of content in a minority language, I expect that the effects of exposure to content in Spanish are independent from consumption of ethnic media. Based on that, I present the second hypothesis of the study:

¹⁴ See more detailed information on ethnic media in the introductory chapter and the first empirical chapter of this dissertation.

H₂ (language effect and exposure to Spanish-language media): Regardless of the type of media consumed, exposure to content in Spanish will have similar effects among bilingual Latinos.

Research Design and Methods

To test whether consuming content in Spanish is associated with increasing levels of co-ethnic identity among bilingual Latinos, I make use of a population-based survey experiment (Mutz 2011). The experiment was embedded in the Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey, which was conducted from April 5 to May 2, 2019. The survey focuses on ethno-racial respondents, oversampling African Americans (n=705), Latinos (n=2,024), and non-Hispanic Whites as a base group (n=752). The survey was conducted online in English and Spanish to capture a wider segment of Latinos who prefer to engage surveys in their language of choice. For the purpose of this study, I make use of the respondents who self-identified as Hispanic or Latino (n=2,024).

Bilingual Latinos were randomly assigned to a stimulus which consisted of a short, non-political, and non-racialized text referred to as a bilingual experiment. Bilingual respondents randomly assigned to read the text in either English served as the control group (coded as 0), while those assigned to read the text in Spanish comprised the treatment group (coded as 1). The subjects of this stimulus received exactly the same content, with the language being the only difference. After that, the subjects received a manipulation check to measure whether they read their respective stimulus, followed by a question measuring their perceptions of in-group linked fate.

Bilingual Latinos were identified from a series of screening questions based on their self-reported ability to have a conversation and ability to read in (1) Spanish when survey participants took the survey in English, or in (2) English when respondents took the survey in Spanish. Survey respondents who identified as Latinos were asked the following questions with their corresponding response options:

- *S1. [If Latino respondent] Would you say you can carry on a conversation in Spanish [English if respondent starts survey in Spanish], both understanding and speaking?*

<i>Very well</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Pretty well</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Just a little</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Not at all</i>	<i>4</i>

- *S2. [If Latino respondent] Would you say you can read a newspaper or book in Spanish [English if respondent starts survey in Spanish]?*

<i>Very well</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Pretty well</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Just a little</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Not at all</i>	<i>4</i>

Latinos who responded to the English survey that they could carry a conversation in Spanish and could read a newspaper or book in Spanish very or pretty well were coded as bilingual. Similarly, Latinos who chose to respond to the survey in Spanish that they could carry a conversation in English or could read a newspaper or book in English very or pretty well were coded as bilingual. Various other studies used this identification methodology (see Fraga et al. 2006; GfK methodology from Ostfeld 2017; and Perez 2012 methodology). To avoid priming subjects with the design of the study, the process of

identifying bilingual Latinos occurred at the beginning of the survey, followed by multiple questions that served as distractors, such as additional screening questions and other public opinion questions.

The topic of the stimulus related to exercise, a nonpoliticized or racialized topic chosen because previous literature finds that some politicized topics can be associated with political effects such as greater levels of group identity (Barreto and Segura 2014; Garcia 2017; Hopkins 2014; Sanchez 2006; Stokes 2003). Presenting a non-politicized or racialized topic allows insight into the effects of language as sole identity prime. Bilingual Latino respondents were randomly exposed to the following stimulus in either English or Spanish:

Really, Really Short Workouts

Think you're too busy to work out? We have the workout for you. In ten minutes, high-intensity interval training (H.I.I.T.) will have you sweating, breathing hard, and maximizing the health benefits of exercise without the time commitment. Best of all, it's scientifically proven to work.

After the stimulus was presented, respondents had to go through a manipulation check to verify whether they read and comprehended the randomly assigned message in either English or Spanish. Respondents were asked the following question: "According to the text, how many minutes does it take to perform a high-intensity interval training?" Subjects were allowed to type the number ten, which is the right answer according to the stimulus.

The manipulation check was followed with a two-part Latino linked fate question.

The first part of the question was:

- *Q21a. Do you think what happens generally to [Latinos/ Hispanics] in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?*

Yes.....1
No.....2
Don't know.....88

If subjects responded yes, then they were asked the following question:

- *Q21a. [If Q21==1] Will it affect you:*

A lot.....1
Some.....2
Not very much.....3
Don't know.....88

In order to measure the effects of consuming content in Spanish among bilingual Latinos, I conducted statistical analyses among subjects who passed the manipulation check. This approach provides support to the internal validity of population-based survey experiments such as this one (Mutz 2011; Druckman and Leeper 2012).

The primary dependent variable of the study is Latino linked fate, measured among bilingual Latinos. This variable was operationalized in two different ways. The first approach operationalized linked fate in the traditional way, combining both of the aforementioned questions: not having linked fate (1), having linked fate but not very much (2), having some linked fate (3), and having a lot of linked fate (4). The second approach simply dichotomized the variable as having Latino linked fate (1) or not having Latino linked fate (0). This is an alternative way to operationalize the variable that addressed the

almost binomial distribution of the traditional way to measure linked fate. See Table 1 for the descriptive statistics of the operationalization of linked fate.

The primary independent variable of the study is the random exposure to content in English or Spanish described above. Another important independent variable of the study is consumption of Spanish-language news media. To capture this item, respondents were asked the following question: “When it comes to news and current affairs, would you say you watch TV or online news...” The responses were operationalized as follows: (1) mostly/more English-language, (2) English and Spanish pretty equally, (3) mostly/more Spanish, and (4) never watch TV or online news. This is an approach that previous literature used to capture survey participants’ consumption of ethnic media relative to mainstream media (see Barreto et al. 2017; Barreto et al. 2014; Fraga et al. 2006; Ostfel 2017).

To test the exposure to Spanish language hypothesis (H_1), I conducted a series of bivariate and multivariate analyses. I first conducted a chi-square difference test to analyze whether a statistical relationship between exposure to messages in Spanish and linked fate existed among bilingual Latinos subjected to the experiment of this study (Satorra and Bentler 2001; Yuan and Chan 2016). I complemented this analysis with the Fisher’s exact test to examine the robustness of the Chi-square test (Fisher 1954; Agresti 1992). I also conducted a logistic regression to compare the likelihood of reporting in-group linked fate operationalized as a dichotomous variable after the subjects were exposed to the bilingual experiment. Additionally, I conducted a multinomial logistic regression analysis predicting in-group linked fate with four categories, with the value “no linked fate” as a reference group. While traditional studies often use ordered logistic regression analyses for ordinal

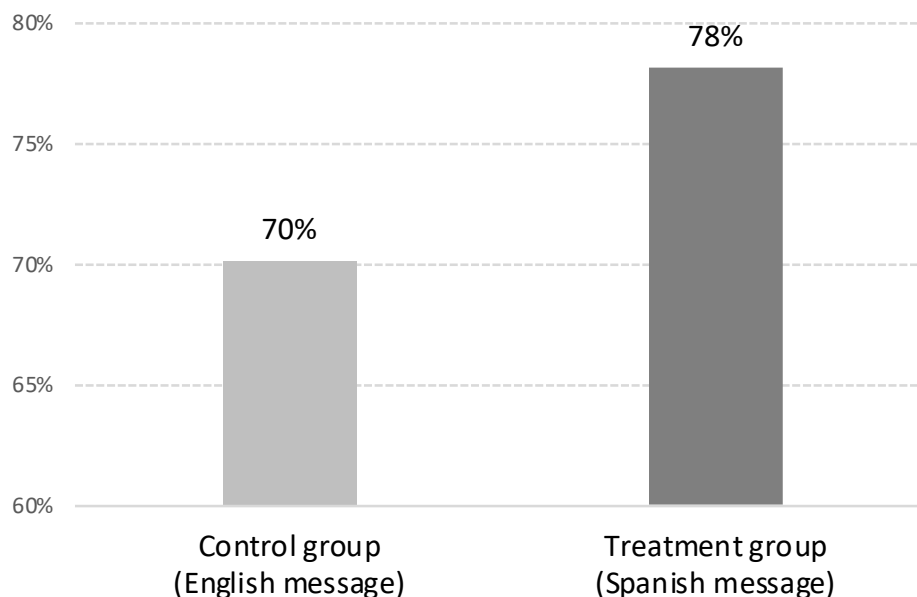
values, conducting an ordered logistic regression for the traditional way of measuring linked fate (four values) would be inappropriate given that it would violate the proportional odds assumption because of the distribution of the dependent variable (Cox 1988; Williams 2006). In other words, ordered logistic regression analyses infer that the values of the predictors “have the same effect on the odds of moving to a higher-ordered category everywhere along the scale,” but this is not the case, given the distribution of the traditional measure of the dependent variable which is almost bimodal. Hence, operationalizing linked fate in different ways, and testing the relationship between exposure to content in Spanish and linked fate in bivariate and multivariate analyses allow to examine the robustness of the findings of this study.

To test the language effect and exposure to Spanish-language media hypothesis (H_2), I conducted a series of predicted probabilities and split sample analyses of those probabilities of reporting linked fate among bilingual Latinos who received the treatment (message in Spanish) by type of media that they consumed. I conducted these analyses using both the traditional and dichotomized measures of linked fate.

Results

Figure 3.2 presents the descriptive results of the bilingual experiment, showing that bilingual Latinos who received the treatment (message in Spanish) were more likely to report having in-group linked fate. While 70% of Latinos in the control group (message in English) reported in-group linked fate, 78% of Latinos in the treatment group reported in-group linked fate. The eight-percentage point difference occurs when linked fate is operationalized as a dichotomous variable.

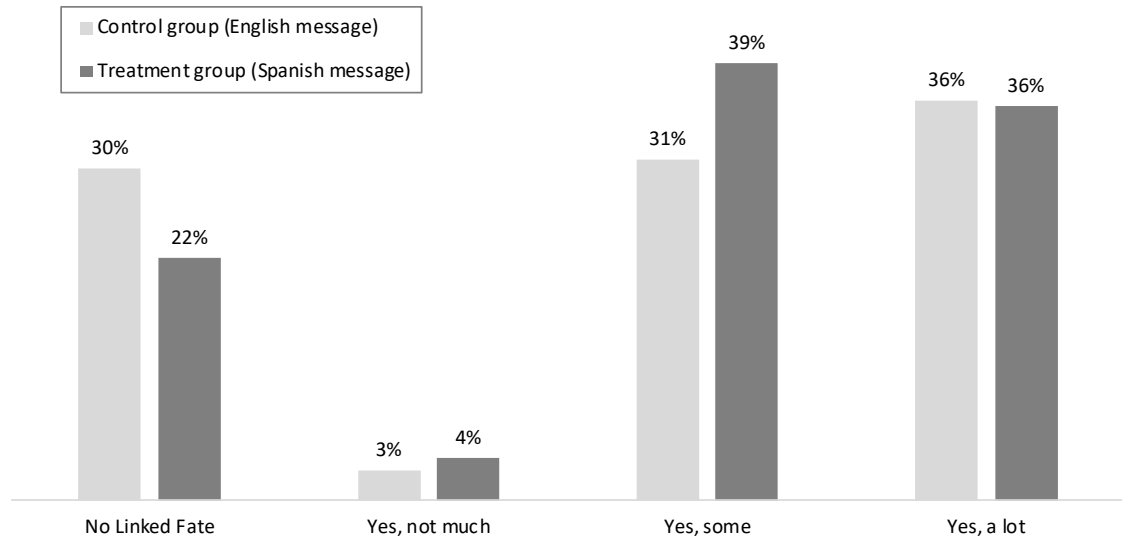
Figure 3.2 Percent of Bilingual Latinos Who Reported In-Group Linked Fate by Language of Message



Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Figure 3.3 shows the descriptive results of the bilingual treatment when linked fate is operationalized as an ordinal variable with four values. It shows that the largest impact of the bilingual treatment occurs in two values: “no linked fate” and “yes, some.” On one hand, 30% of bilingual Latinos in the control group reported no linked fate, compared to 22% in the treatment group. On the other hand, 39% of bilingual Latinos in the treatment group reported having some linked fate, compared to 31% in the control group. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 provide some support for the exposure to Spanish-language hypothesis (H₁).

Figure 3.3 Percent of Bilingual Latinos by Reported Linked Fate and Language of Message



Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

The results of the bivariate analyses conducted for this study support the findings from the descriptive statistics presented above. The results of the Chi-square test indicate a statistically significant relationship between exposure to messages in Spanish and linked fate existed among bilingual Latinos (chi-square with 3 degrees of freedom=3.9919, $p=0.049$). Additionally, the results of the Fisher’s exact test suggest that there is a significant difference between the distributions of linked fate among those who received the message in English and Spanish ($p=0.031$). Hence, the results of the bivariate analyses provide support for the exposure to Spanish-language hypothesis (H_1).

Table 3.1 presents the results of the logistic regression analysis predicting in-group linked among bilingual Latinos. The results show that bilingual Latinos who received the treatment (message in Spanish) are significantly more likely to report in-group linked fate than those who received the treatment in English. Figure 3.4 depicts these findings, which

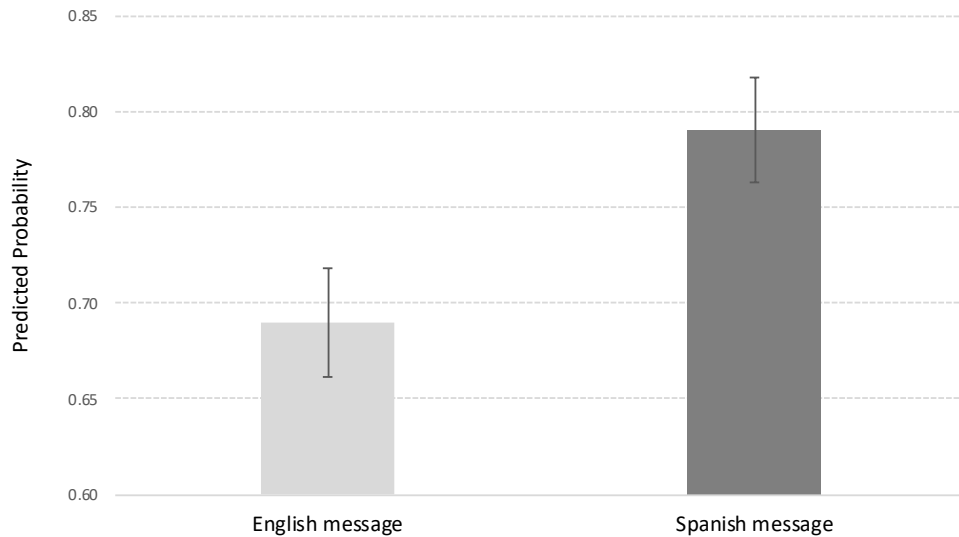
show the predicted probability of reporting linked fate by group based on whether the respondents received the message in English or Spanish. Figure 3.4 shows that those who received the message in Spanish (treatment group) are significantly more likely to report in-group linked fate than those who received the message in English (control group). These findings provide strong support for the exposure to Spanish-language hypothesis (H₁).

Table 3.1 Logistic Regression of Treatment Effect on In-Group Linked Fate

VARIABLES	β	Odds ratio
Treatment	0.573** (0.232)	1.774** (0.412)
News consumption (SL as base)		
Both equally	-0.833* (0.498)	0.435* (0.217)
More English	-0.319 (0.488)	0.727 (0.354)
Never	-0.392 (1.022)	0.676 (0.690)
Education	0.228* (0.118)	1.256* (0.148)
Female	0.188 (0.231)	1.207 (0.279)
Age	-0.0162* (0.00843)	0.984* (0.00830)
Income	-0.0713* (0.0408)	0.931* (0.0380)
Party ID		
Republican	-0.947*** (0.305)	0.388*** (0.118)
Independent/other	-0.356 (0.257)	0.700 (0.180)
US-born	0.469* (0.239)	1.599* (0.383)
Constant	1.274* (0.766)	3.576* (2.741)
Observations	453	453

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

**Figure 3.4 Predicted Probability of Reporting In-Group Linked Fate by Group
(logistic regression analysis)**



Source: Author’s analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Table 3.2 shows the results of the multinomial logistic regression analysis predicting in-group linked with the value “no linked fate” as a reference group. The results show that the treatment has a statistically significant effect among Latinos who reported having some linked fate (and no linked fate as shown in the predicted probabilities of the treatment on linked fate from Table 3.2; see Appendix E). Figure 3.5 supports these figures, presenting the predicted probabilities the multinomial logistic regression by language of message. Figure 3.5 shows that bilingual Latinos who received the message in English (control group) are significantly more likely to report not having linked fate than those who received the message in Spanish (treatment group). Conversely, those who received the treatment (message in Spanish) are significantly more likely to report having some linked

fate than those in the control group. These results provide additional support for the exposure to Spanish-language hypothesis (H₁).

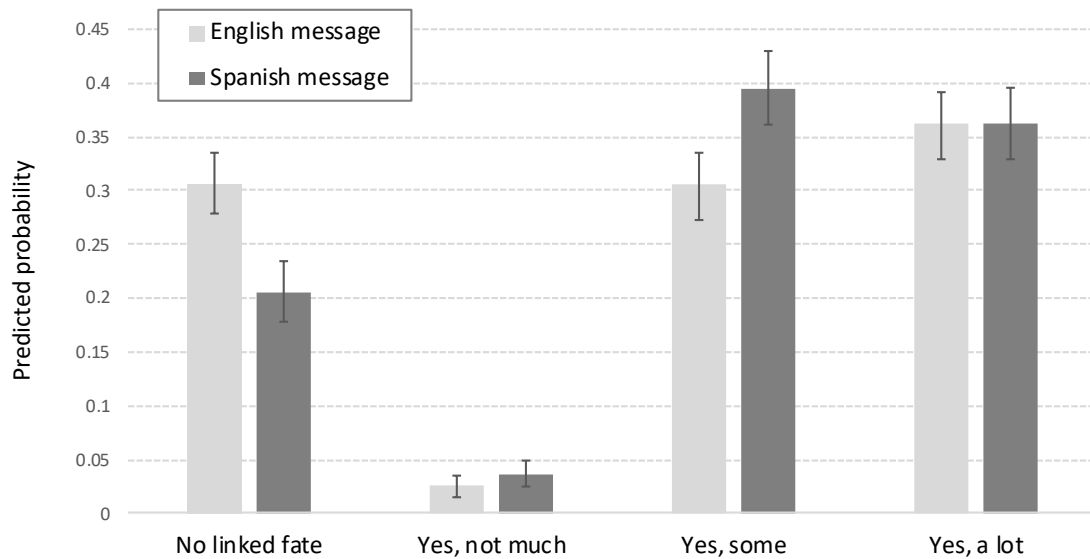
Table 3.2 Multinomial Logistic Regression of Treatment Effect on Linked Fate (“no linked fate” as reference group)

Variables	Yes, not much β	Yes, some β	Yes, a lot β
Treatment	0.730 (0.595)	0.686*** (0.261)	0.431 (0.262)
News consumption (SL base)			
Both equally	12.63 (615.4)	-0.239 (0.589)	-1.394*** (0.528)
More English	11.89 (615.4)	0.295 (0.573)	-0.750 (0.509)
Never	-0.884 (1276.3)	-0.843 (1.402)	-0.141 (1.058)
Education	0.0950 (0.321)	0.307** (0.135)	0.170 (0.134)
Female	-1.789** (0.719)	0.309 (0.266)	0.290 (0.265)
Age	-0.0380 (0.0248)	-0.00634 (0.00951)	-0.0242** (0.00967)
Income	-0.127 (0.117)	-0.0765* (0.0464)	-0.0607 (0.0462)
Party ID (Democrat base)			
Republican	0.769 (0.760)	-0.855** (0.350)	-1.319*** (0.384)
Independent/ Other	0.507 (0.724)	-0.416 (0.293)	-0.362 (0.287)
US-born	0.0228 (0.640)	0.707** (0.279)	0.264 (0.271)
Constant	-12.65 (615.4)	-1.027 (0.906)	1.637* (0.847)
Observations	453		

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3.5 Predicted Probability of Reporting Linked Fate by Reported Linked Fate and Language of Message (multinomial regression analysis)

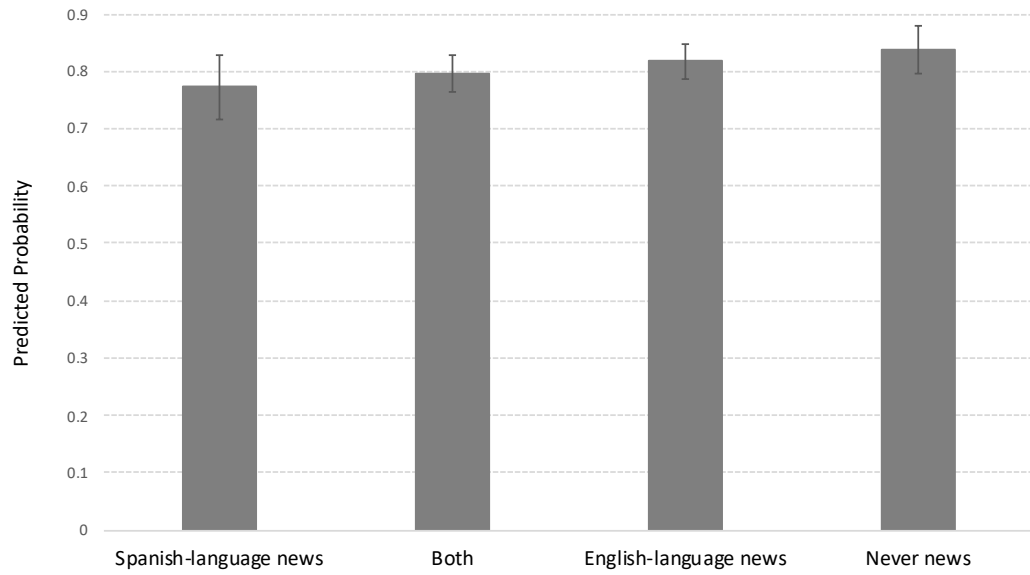


Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Next, I analyze the results addressing the language effect and exposure to Spanish-language media (H₂). Figure 3.6 presents the predicted probabilities of reporting linked fate (dichotomous values) among bilingual Latinos who received the treatment (message in Spanish) by type of media that they consumed. Figure 3.6 shows no statistical difference among reporting in-group linked fate by type of media among Latinos who received the message in Spanish. Similarly, Figure 3.7 presents the predicted probabilities of the multinomial logistic regression of reporting linked fate (four values) by type of media that they consumed among those who received the treatment in Spanish. With overlapping confidence intervals (and lack of statistical significance), the results show that exposure to the content in Spanish does not have an impact on reporting linked fate among Latinos who

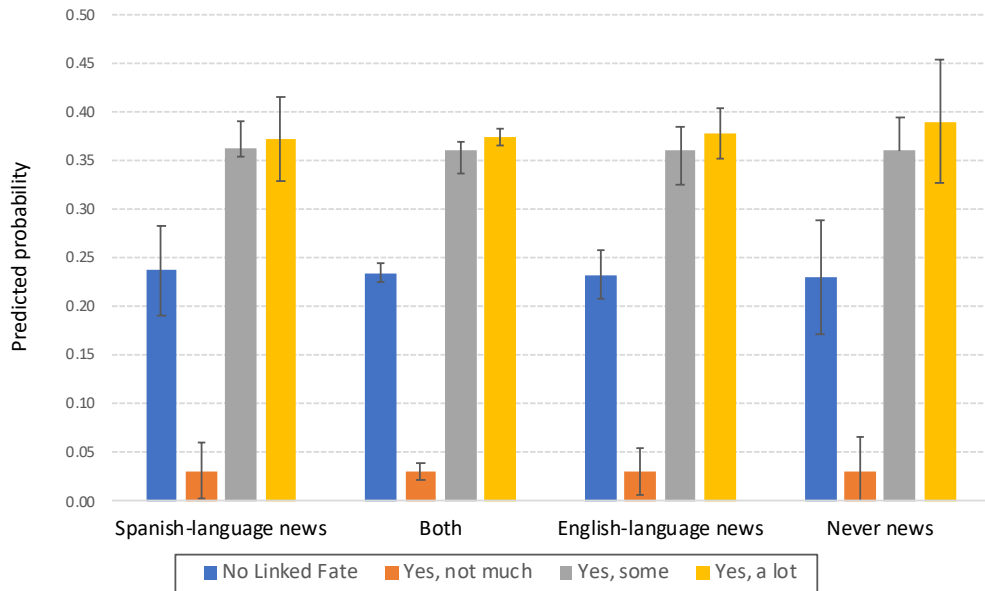
consume the same types of news. The findings of Figures 3.6 and 3.7 provide support for the language effect and exposure to Spanish-language media hypothesis (H₂).

Figure 3.6 Predicted Probability of Logistic Regression of Reporting Linked Fate by Media Consumed Among Latinos Who Received the Message in Spanish



Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Figure 3.7 Predicted Probability of Multinomial Logistic Regression of Reporting Linked Fate by Media Consumed among Latinos Who Received the Message in Spanish



Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Conclusion

This study examines whether consuming content in Spanish, a US minority language, has identity effects among Latinos and whether the consumption of Spanish-language news media has an impact on language effects. Through a series of bivariate and multivariate statistical analyses, this study finds that bilingual Latinos who are exposed to Spanish language content (treatment group) are significantly more likely to report Latino linked fate than their counterparts who received the same content in English language (control group). These results hold even after operationalizing the dependent variable in multiple ways, and conduction bivariate and multivariate analyses. These findings provide strong support for the exposure to Spanish-language hypothesis (H1).

This study also finds that exposure to content in Spanish among bilingual Latinos is the driving force that leads to higher linked fate. While the consumption of Spanish-language news is significantly associated with higher levels of linked fate among Latinos, the type of news media consumption does not interact with the effects of exposure to content in Spanish language. These results hold in the multivariate analyses of the study and suggest that the effects of exposure to Spanish language are independent from the type of news media that Latinos consume. These results provide support for the language effect and exposure to Spanish-language media hypothesis (H₂).

The linguistic accommodation theory allows a better understanding of the role of minority languages on the identity formation of linguistic minorities, such as bilingual Latinos in the United States. It expands on the accessibility framework, which most of the literature in political science uses to assess the gaps that occur in political knowledge and identity among Latinos who respond to surveys in English or Spanish language. The linguistic accommodation theory contributes to our understanding of identity formation across US Latinos because it accounts for the fact that Spanish and other minority languages can help retrieve memories and emotional structures that typically emerge from affective backgrounds, such as family, ethnic groups, and even minority status (Noriega and Blair 2008). In this way, minority language schemas are able to prompt feelings of affection and in-group attachment, which are core elements of the Social Identity Theory (SIT).

This study also contributes to our understanding of the determinants of group identity among Latinos in the United States. Existing theories, such as SIT, have been vastly tested among African Americans in the United States, who have a common historical background

and shared discrimination experiences (Dawson 1994). Nevertheless, the determinants of group identity and linked fate across other ethno-racial groups such as Latinos and Asian Americans can be substantially different because of the distinct history and integration that these groups have had throughout history (Garcia Bedolla 2003; Masouka 2008). While existing literature contends that linked fate and identity formation among US Latinos is formed through multiple issues, including nativity (Masouka 2006; Portes 1996; Sanchez and Masouka 2010), experienced and perceived discrimination (Sanchez and Rodriguez Espinosa 2016; Masouka 2008; Wallace 2014), educational attainment and socioeconomic status (Masouka 2006; Torres and Magolda 2004; Vincent 2003), and consumption of ethnic media (Davila 2011; De Fina 2013; Jeffres 2000; Subervi-Velez 1999), this study finds that exposure to Spanish language is also a determinant of linked fate. Future studies should explore whether exposure to minority languages has similar implications across ethno-racial groups with more linguistically diverse backgrounds, such as Asian Americans and Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) Americans.

Given that the vast majority of Latinos have a connection to the Spanish-language, it is important to continue to study the implications of minority languages in politics. This is particularly important not only because of the current demographic profile of US Latinos but also because the United States is expected to be the largest Spanish-speaking country in the next decades (Gambino 2017; US Census Bureau). Hence, this area of study is important not only in American politics but also in other subfields such as comparative politics.

While issues such as political mobilization, public opinion and political inclusion are key aspects of democratic governments, they have been overlooked among linguistic

minorities in the United States. The study of the political behavior of minority language speakers is highly relevant across ethno-racial groups and linguistic minorities as 35 million US eligible voters, or more than 15 percent of the adult population in the country, speak a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau 2018). Hence, examining the role of minority languages across linguistically diverse groups, such as Latinos and Asian Americans, can offer a better understanding of the political behavior of eligible voters in the United States.

CHAPTER 4

The Role of Co-ethnic Media Elites and Source Credibility

Introduction

In addition to distinct content coverage and the use of a US minority language, the third issue that differentiates Spanish-language news media from mainstream media is the extensive presence of Latino reporters, anchors and leadership, also referred to as *media elites* (Kohut 1986; Djerf-Pierre 2005; Mayerhöffer 2018). Although Latinos are an increasingly important group in news and media consumption (Lopez 2013; Nielsen 2014; Pew Research Center 2019), studies have found that the level of inclusion of US Latinos in mainstream media and news as anchors and reporters remains low (Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014). Multiple reports find that Latinos are underrepresented in national media newsrooms, including prominent evening network news programs on ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN, as well as state and local newsrooms (Subervi-Velez and Sinta 2015; Subervi-Velez and Medina Vidal 2015; Saenz 2018). Negrón-Muntaner and colleagues (2014) find that as of 2013, “there were no Latino anchors or executive producers in any of the nation’s top news programs.” Similarly, Saenz (2018) finds that regardless of representing almost 20% of the population in the state of New York and 28% of the population of New York City, the New York Times has no Latinos on its editorial board or serving as columnists. Clearly, the presence of Latinos in mainstream news is disproportionate to the share of Hispanics in the United States.

Beyond numbers, the absence of Latinos in mainstream media has important sociopolitical implications. One of them relates to misrepresentations that promote racial

stereotypes (Dixon and Linz 2000; Guo and Harlow 2014). Negrón-Muntaner and colleagues (2014) find that when US Latinos are visible in mainstream media, “they tend to be portrayed through decades-old stereotypes as criminals, cheap labor and hypersexualized beings.” Moreover, news stories about Latinos in mainstream media constitute less than 1% of all coverage, most of which feature Latinos as lawbreakers or unauthorized immigrants (Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014; see also Steinberg 2004; Stewart, Pitts, and Osborne 2011) even though most Latinos are US citizens or lawful immigrants (Flores et al. 2017). Moreover, other studies find that Latinos are also portrayed with negative stereotypes such as being threatening, lazy, problematic or a burden on society (Bender, 2005; Chávez, 2008; Santa Ana, 2002). Scholars and organizations suggest that greater presence of Latinos in media can create cultural competence to avoid ethnic and racial misrepresentations (NHMC 2020, 2019; NAHJ 2018; Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014). Hence, greater presence of Latinos in mainstream media is not only a normative aspiration for representation but also a provision to alleviate the negative stereotypes that mainstream news and media forge.

The absence of Latinos in mainstream news and media resembles the scarcity of representation of Latinos in the US political system. Besides women, ethno-racial groups such as Latinos are severely underrepresented in elected offices at all levels of government (CAWP 2018; NALEO 2017). Although Hispanics represent 16% of the US population, Latinos make up only 1% of all local and federal elected offices (Náñez 2020). Moreover, although Latinos showed record gains in the 116th Congress, Hispanics accounted for only 6% of legislators in both chambers (CAWP 2018).

Scholars argue that the absence of marginalized groups in politics can have further sociopolitical implications for both mainstream and underrepresented groups such as constructions of social meaning and perceptions of legitimacy that often disadvantage marginalized groups (Mansbridge 1999). This area of study defines descriptive representation as a symbolic type of political representation that relies on the resemblance of demographic characteristics and/or social identities between representatives and their constituents.

Studies find that descriptive representation can help empower politically alienated or underrepresented groups such as women and ethno-racial groups (Barreto 2007; Sanchez and Morin 2011; Pantoja and Segura 2003; etc.). Although there is a debate on the substantive effects of descriptive representation,¹⁵ scholars find that women and ethno-racial groups gain multiple benefits from being descriptively represented, such as (1) improving the deliberation process between representatives and the represented (Mansbridge 1999); (2) diversifying legislative agendas and policy outcomes (Preuhs 2005; Canon and Posner 1999); (3) increasing the engagement of disadvantaged groups in the political process (Barreto, Segura, and Woods 2004; Banducci, Donovan, and Karp 2005; Atkeson and Carrillo 2007); and (4) improving political attitudes of minority groups such as having more favorable evaluations of their representatives and higher levels of trust

¹⁵ But see studies on how women and ethno-racial minorities do have substantive effects in legislative institutions due to their different behavior (Swers 1998; Volden and Wiseman 2011; Bratton and Haynie 1999) under certain circumstances (Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Volden, Wiseman, and Wittmer 2013; Griffin and Keane 2011).

in government among minority groups who are descriptively represented (Mansbridge, 1999; Sanchez and Morin 2011; Scherer and Curry 2010; Lawless 2004; Shingles 1981; Merolla, Sellers, and Fowler 2013). Among US Latinos, studies find that besides higher mobilization and turnout rates (Barreto 2007; Barreto et al. 2004), descriptive representation is associated with higher levels of political trust and greater evaluations of co-ethnic elected officials (Fowler et al. 2014; Sanchez and Morin 2011; Pantoja 2006). The positive effects of trust in government and elected officials through descriptive representation is an important issue since public trust in government is near historic lows (Pew Research Center 2019).

The underrepresentation of US Latinos in mainstream media and existing literature on descriptive representation of ethno-racial minorities in elected offices provide an opportunity to examine whether the lack of representation of Latinos in mainstream media yields similar results to the lack of representation of Latino elected officials in terms of trust. This is an important area of study not only because of the decreasing levels of media trust among the American public over the past 40 years (Schudson 2019; Lewis 2019), but also because the vitality of a healthy and representative democracy relies on constituents who are sufficiently informed about public affairs and trust their sources of information (Dautrich and Hartley 1999).

This chapter examines whether Latinos exposed to news created by Latino reporters¹⁶ are more likely to report higher levels of source credibility than their Latino

¹⁶ Also referred to as *elites* or *media elites* by previous literature (Zaller 1992, 2012; Kohut 1986; etc.). In this chapter, I make use of *reporters* and *media elites* interchangeably.

counterparts exposed to the same news created by non-Latino media elites. Making use of a population-based survey experiment (Mutz 2011; Druckman and Leeper 2012; Nelson et al. 2011), as well as a series of statistical analyses, this chapter finds that Latinos exposed to news created by a co-ethnic reporter are significantly more likely to report higher levels of source credibility than their Latino counterparts exposed to news created by a non-Hispanic media elite. Moreover, the results show that the effects of exposure to news from a co-ethnic reporter interact with respondents' type of news consumption (mainstream vs. Spanish-language news). The results of this chapter not only provide an understanding of the effects of Hispanic media elites on US Latinos, but they also present an insight on the opportunities and limitations of the presence of Latino media elites on source credibility.

Literature Review

Trust is a component of public engagement, and many scholars identify it as a core element to community building and sustainability of social ties (Verba and Almond 1963; Putnam 2000; Williams 2004; etc.). Measures of trust have been used in multiple areas of studies such as political trust and media trust,¹⁷ both of which have significantly declined over the past decades (Pew Research Center 2019a; Brennan 2019; Ingram 2018).

Scholars of American politics have found that race and ethnicity can have important implications on the behavior and attitudes of American voters, including political trust.

¹⁷ Also referred to as media credibility (Kioussis 2001; Bucy 2003; Johnson et al. 1998; etc.)

African Americans, for example, usually have lower levels of trust in government than their non-Hispanic White counterparts (Koch 2018; Avery 2007). However, there have been instances where African American voters have the same or even higher levels of trust in government when they are descriptively represented. From 1970 to 1976, trust in government sharply decreased among both African Americans and non-Hispanic Whites across the United States during the Watergate affair (Abney and Hutcheson 1981). However, Abney and Hutcheson (1981) find that in Atlanta, the first city to have an African American mayor, the levels of trust in local government significantly decreased among non-Hispanic Whites but remained the same among African Americans, who were descriptively represented by a Black mayor. Similarly, during the administration of the first Black mayor in New Orleans, African Americans were significantly more likely to trust local government than their White counterparts (Howell and Fagan 1988). Similarly, surveys found that during the administration of Barack Obama, African Americans had higher levels of trust in the federal government than non-Hispanic Whites (Pew Research Center 2015, 2019). Clearly, the presence of co-racial elected officials played a role in political trust of African Americans.

Besides African Americans, US Latinos have also shown more positive political attitudes when they are descriptively represented by co-ethnic elected officials. Latino descriptive representation has been associated with higher levels of mobilization and political engagement among Latinos (Barreto, Segura, and Woods 2004; Barreto et al. 2009), higher turnout rates (Barreto 2004, 2007, 2010), and lower levels of political alienation (Sanchez and Morin 2011; Pantoja and Segura 2003). While US Latinos tend to report higher levels of trust than non-Hispanic Whites and African Americans at large

(Abrajano and Alvarez 2010; Pew Research Center 2015, 2019; Michelson 2001), studies find that descriptive representation is associated with greater levels of political trust among Latinos. Fowler and colleagues (2014), for example, find that having descriptive representatives improves Latinos' evaluations of for their US House legislator. Similarly, Pantoja (2006) finds that Latinos in Connecticut who are represented by fellow Latinos are significantly more likely to report higher levels of federal and local government trust. Since US Latinos are underrepresented in elected offices (CAWP 2018), the novelty of having a co-ethnic representative can translate to higher levels of political trust as existing literature suggests (Sanchez and Morin 2011; Pantoja and Segura 2003; Fowler et al. 2014).

Similar to political trust, media trust has increasingly become an issue of concern as surveys and polls reveal that Americans' trust in news is at historically low levels (Schudson 2019; Lewis 2019). Studies have shown that decreasing levels of media trust result from multiple issues, including the changing nature of journalism and its consumers, increasing availability of partisan or ideological news, and attacks on journalism and "fake news" from organizations and political leaders (Fisher 2018). Beyond structural factors, studies show that media trust can also vary by individual and interpersonal characteristics of the public, such as income (Williams 2012; Lee 2010; Eveland and Shah 2003; Ibelema and Powell, 2001), educational attainment (Mulder 1981; Williams 2012; Eveland and Shah 2003), age (Bucy 2003), gender (Eveland and Shah 2003; Robinson and Kohut 1988), partisan affiliation (Jones 2004; Eveland and Shah 2003; Lee 2010), and race (Beaudoin and Thorson 2005; Lee 2010).

Studies, surveys and polls have found that non-Hispanic Whites tend to have lower levels of media trust than other ethno-racial groups. In a survey conducted in 2018, the Pew

Research Center found that African American adults (33%) are more likely to trust local news than their Latino (28%) and non-Hispanic White (27%) counterparts (Atske et al. 2018). The survey also found that Latinos (24%) and African Americans (23%) are more likely to trust national news than non-Hispanic Whites (Atske et al. 2018). Similarly, a survey by Gallup (2018) found that while the majority of African Americans (51%) in the United States have favorable views of news media, more than half of non-Hispanic White respondents reported having unfavorable views of news media. Even after controlling for various sociopolitical factors, such as age, income and partisanship, Lee (2010) finds that the trends of surveys hold as non-Hispanic Whites are significantly less likely to have media trust than other ethno-racial groups.

While the majority of studies in the field of political science, as well as surveys and polls, operationalize media trust as a general concept,¹⁸ mass media studies divide the study

¹⁸ Examples of this operationalization include the following:

- American National Election Study: *How much of the time do you think you trust the media to report the news fairly? Just about always, most of the time, some of the time, or almost never* (Burns et al. 2001)
- Gallup: *In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the mass media –such as newspapers, TV and radio– when it comes to reporting the news fully, accurately and fairly? A great deal, a fair amount, not very much or none at all* (Brenan 2019)
- Pew Research Center: *How much confidence, if any, do you have in [the news media] to act in the best interests of the public? A great deal of confidence, a fair*

of media trust into three different areas: (1) medium credibility¹⁹, which refers to the trust that individuals have in a particular platform through which the message is delivered, such as newspapers, radio, television, and social media (Roper 1985; Fisher 2018); (2) message credibility, which relates to the content of the message regardless of their medium or platform in which they are published (Metzger et al. 2003); and (3) source credibility, which refers to trust in the information provider –typically individual communicators, such as reporters, news anchors or public speakers²⁰ (Pornpitakpan 2004; Hallahan 1999; Johnson and Eagly 1989; Infante 1980). In addition to allowing for a more comprehensive

amount of confidence, not too much confidence, no confidence at all (Rainie et al. 2019)

¹⁹ Also referred to as channel credibility or media credibility

²⁰ But see early studies that emphasize news organizations at large as opposed to individual communicators (Breed 1955; Gieber 1964). Studies argue that source credibility moved towards individual communicators because the identification of news organizations “was a much easier task in the age of mass media than it is in the digital era” before the 1970s (Fisher 2018). In other words, identifying the organization that created a news story was simpler because the ways in which information was disseminated were limited (e.g. printed newspapers, broadcast) when compared to the “multiplicity of sources embedded in the numerous layers of online dissemination of content” in today’s world (Sundar 2015; Breed 1955; Gieber 1964). Nevertheless, in our current environment of abundant information and sources, identifying news organizations has become a more complex task for news and media consumers.

understanding of concept, the three specific areas of media trust capture the complex and multidimensional nature of the concept.

Of the three areas of study of media trust, source credibility presents similar conditions to studies of descriptive representation in political science. By emphasizing the characteristics of individual communicators, studies of source credibility explore whether and to what extent demographic characteristics of the source, such as gender and race, can impact public perceptions of media trust. Similar to studies of descriptive representation, one of the most studied demographic characteristics of communicators in source credibility is gender (Armstrong and McAdams 2009; Embacher et al. 2018; etc.) Andsager (1990), for example, finds that men tend to evaluate content created by male columnists higher than the content created by female columnists. She finds, however, there was no significant difference in the way that women evaluated the content created by columnists regardless of their gender. Similarly, Brann and Himes (2010) find that male television newscasters are more likely to be rated higher in terms of credibility than their female counterparts even when delivering the same message. Baiocchi-Wagner and Behm-Morawitz (2010) find that individuals exposed to content created by male sports reporters are significantly more likely to report higher levels of media credibility than their counterparts exposed to content created by female sports reporters. Hence, gender places an important role in source credibility similar to descriptive representation (see Lawless 2004; Scherer and Curry 2010; Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; etc.).

In addition to gender, some studies have explored the impact of race on source credibility. Desphande and Stayman (1994) find that US Latinos residing in majority-Hispanic areas are significantly more likely to trust Hispanic sources than other ethno-

racial groups. Aaker and colleagues (2000) had similar findings for African Americans residing in minority Black areas. Nonetheless, fewer analyses exist on source credibility in the context of news media, which resembles the context of US elected offices due to the lack of representation of Latinos and other ethno-racial groups as media elites (Hawke 2018; Gamboa 2018; NALEO 2017). One of these studies, however, examines how the intersection of race (non-Hispanic White vs. African American) and gender (male/female) affects perceptions of source credibility. Through an experimental design, Andsager and Mastin (2003) find that regardless of gender, non-Hispanic White subjects were significantly more likely to consider White columnists as more credible than African American columnists; on the other hand, the authors find that place matters as only some African American survey participants (in the Northwest) were significantly more likely to report higher levels of credibility for African American columnists than non-Hispanic White columnists regardless of their gender. Hence, the role of race on news media's source credibility among US Latinos is yet to be explored.

Theory and Hypotheses

This study bridges two different theories from distinct fields that have similar underlying assumptions of the reasons for which shared characteristics, such as race and ethnicity, can impact individuals' attitudes or evaluations. The first one is descriptive representation, also referred to as symbolic representation (Mansbridge 1999). Besides substantive benefits, scholars contend that there are intangible benefits of descriptive representation, particularly among underrepresented or marginalized groups in the US political system, such as women and ethno-racial minorities. One of these benefits is the

“construction of social meaning,” which is relevant for social groups who have experienced "second-class citizenship." In the US context, these groups include those who are or have been disenfranchised or experienced de jure discrimination such as women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and American Indians (Uggen and Manza 2002). These types of political alienation can lead to the idea that people with such ascribed characteristics “do not rule” or “are not able to (fit to) rule” (Mansbridge 1999). As Mansbridge states, “low percentages of Black and women representatives, for example, create the meaning that Blacks and women cannot rule, or are not suitable for rule.” Earlier studies in political science found empirical evidence for this theory, arguing that the increasing number of formerly disenfranchised groups, such as African Americans and women, in some levels of government led to higher levels of acceptance of the groups in government (Sapiro 1989; Phillips 1995; Jones 1976; Guinier 1994). Hence, construction of social meaning as an intangible benefit of descriptive representation can have positive implications on society at large.

A second intangible benefit of descriptive representation is de facto legitimacy,²¹ in which the public has perceptions about how individuals with authority or power in a political system look (Fossen 2013). Studies find that “seeing proportional numbers of members of their group exercising the responsibility of ruling with full status in the legislature can enhance de facto legitimacy by making citizens, and particularly members of historically underrepresented groups, feel as if they themselves were present in the deliberation” (Mansbridge 1999; Pitkin 1967; Guinier 1994; Phillips 1995). This issue

²¹ Also referred to as empirical or sociological legitimacy

occurs because of the need of role models²² or political recognition²³ among underrepresented groups. Some scholars argue that while de facto legitimacy is a social good, particularly for underrepresented groups, this psychological mechanism can translate to further political outcomes, such as positive political attitudes, turnout, and civic engagement (Mansbridge, 1999; Sanchez and Morin 2011; Scherer and Curry 2010; Lawless 2004; Shingles 1981; Merolla, Sellers, and Fowler 2013).

Similar to descriptive representation, studies of media and communication posit that the characteristics of individual communicators and the sociopolitical context can have significant implications on source credibility, which refers to trust in the information provider (Kinder and Sears 1985; Karpowitz, Mendelberg, and Shaker 2012; Brooks 2011). In diverse contexts such as the United States, message receivers, particularly those from underrepresented backgrounds, often look for similarities between themselves and the sources of messages (Andsager and Martin 2003; Dahl 1997; McCroskey et al. 1975; Wood 1989; Berg 1990). Such perceived similarities can trigger subsequent thoughts, decisions and evaluations as the Social Comparison Theory (SCT) suggests (Festinger 1954; Wood 1989). SCT contends that “we tend to compare ourselves to others, and the greater the similarity we perceive, the more likely we are to attend to and trust what [individual communicators] say” (Andsager and Martin 2003). In other words, SCT suggests that demographic similarities such as race and ethnicity can be salient in the consumers’ minds while evaluating messages.

²² Also referred to as equal dignity

²³ Also referred to as the politics of recognition

Similar to descriptive representation, studies of source credibility argue that the ethno-racial background of individual communicators can significantly influence underrepresented groups such as African Americans in news media and Hispanics in the deliberation of messages. Hence, a similar psychological mechanism contingent not only in the shared characteristics of groups but also in their lack of presence or representation is likely to occur.

Based on theoretical background of descriptive representation, SCT and source credibility, I expect that ethno-racial backgrounds of news reporters will have an impact on perceptions of source credibility among US Latinos:

H₁ (Exposure to Co-ethnic Media Elite Hypothesis): Latinos who are exposed to news created by co-ethnic reporters are more likely to perceive higher levels of source credibility in the reporter than their Latino counterparts exposed to news created by non-Hispanic authors.

Ethnic Media and Source Credibility

Exposure to Latino media elites, however, does not happen in a vacuum. Instead, it likely occurs with the consumption of alternatives to mainstream media. As previously stated, one of the main components that differentiates Spanish-language news media from mainstream media is the abundant presence of Latinos (Saenz 2018; Subervi-Vélez and Sinta 2015; Subervi-Vélez et al. 2005; Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014). Not only does Spanish-language news reflect the experiences of Latinos in the United States, but its news anchors and reporters also mirror the ethno-racial backgrounds of Latino consumers unlike

mainstream media (Suro 1994). Hence, the study of the effects of exposure to co-ethnic media elites should be subject to tests that account for the type of news media consumption.

Studies find that the abundant availability of free information has had an impact on the type of news and content that the public consumes (Arceneaux, Johnson, and Murphy 2012; Garrett and Stroud 2014; Iyengar and Hahn 2009; Knobloch-Westerwick 2012; Siapera and Veglis 2012). This phenomenon, called selective exposure, has significant implications in information acquisition and public opinion. In addition to split agendas and even news avoidance (Prior 2007; Slater 2007; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar 2016), studies find that selective exposure can impact the type of media that the public trusts (Jamieson and Cappella 2008; Tsfati and Cappella 2003; Jakob 2010). Tsfati and Cappella (2003), for example, argue that “when people trust the mainstream media, they consume more mainstream news,” but when individuals mistrust mainstream media, they seek alternatives to mainstream news on which they can rely. In other words, news consumers tend to trust what they watch, whether it is mainstream or non-traditional media. Hence, the abundant availability of media and news can impact the trust and public opinion of the American public.

The current environment of abundant information, however, provides an opportunity to test whether the effects of exposure to co-ethnic media elites are robust to the type of news media consumption the viewer chooses to engage with. Because previous studies find that shared demographic characteristics can significantly influence the public opinion and perceptions of trust, particularly among underrepresented groups such as women and ethno-racial groups (Mansbridge 1999; Sanchez and Morin 2011; Lawless 2004; Shingles 1981; Merolla, Sellers, and Fowler 2013), I expect that Latinos

who are exposed to co-ethnic media elites will have higher levels of source credibility regardless of their type of news media consumption.

H₂ (Robustness to SL news consumption): Latinos exposed to news created by co-ethnic reporters have the greatest levels of source credibility regardless of their type of news media consumption.

Research Design and Methods

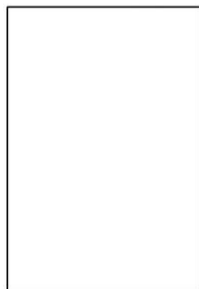
To test whether Latinos exposed to news created by co-ethnic reporters are more likely to have higher levels of source credibility than their Latino counterparts exposed to news created by non-Hispanic authors, I make use of a population-based survey experiment (Mutz 2011; Druckman and Leeper 2012; Nelson et al. 2011). Similar to the previous empirical chapter, this experiment was embedded in the Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey, which was conducted from April 5 to May 2, 2019. The survey focuses on ethno-racial groups, specifically oversampling Latinos (n=2,024) and African Americans (n=705), and non-Hispanic Whites as a base group (n=752). The survey was conducted online, in both English and Spanish to capture a wider segment of Latinos who engage in surveys in their language of choice. For the purpose of this study, I make use of the respondents who self-identified as Hispanic or Latina/o (n=2,024).

The experiment presented Latino respondents with a stimulus, which consisted of a political news story randomly written by either a Latino or a non-Hispanic media elite. More specifically, the Latino reporter (also referred to as co-ethnic media elite) was Jorge Ramos, whereas the non-Hispanic reporter was Anderson Cooper. These media elites were chosen because they have similar professional characteristics that include being award-

winning journalists (Ramos n.d.; CNN n.d.), best-selling book authors (New York Times Licensing n.d.; CNN n.d.), recognition among the most influential people (Stein 2007; New York Times Licensing n.d.), being outspoken critics of the Trump administration (The World 2018; Ramos 2017; ABC News 2015; Burke 2019; Moran 2017), and having similar political sways (Morogiello 2007; Josepher 2017). Since both of them are considered politicized figures and have similar professional backgrounds, comparing them allows us to account for their ethno-racial backgrounds (Lee 2002; Byers 2014; Johnson 2010; Robinson 2009). In addition to providing the name of the respective media elite, the news story was presented along with a photograph of the randomly assigned reporter next to their corresponding name to make the author's ethno-racial identity more evident (Druckman and Leeper 2012; Nelson et al. 2011). The experiment was assigned to respondents who identified as Hispanic or Latina/o and was conducted in the language that respondents voluntarily chose at the beginning of the survey (English/Spanish). The following is the stimulus assigned to Latino respondents for the purpose of this experiment:

[If Hispanic/Latinx, randomly assign Jorge Ramos or Anderson Cooper]

Corporations are finding their politically responsible side



***By [Jorge Ramos/
Anderson Cooper]***

[Ramos/Cooper photo]

From the Muslim travel ban to the rollback of transgender rights, President Trump's policies and rhetoric have put proponents of tolerance and equality on the ropes for two years. But social justice warriors have also discovered a new, rich and powerful ally who can help them in the year ahead: big business.

When it came to hot-button social issues like gay civil rights, gender identity, gun control and others, CEOs believed that companies should remain neutral to avoid alienating potential customers. No more.

After the stimulus, the following question was presented to measure the levels of source credibility of the randomly assigned reporter:

- *How much trust do you have in [reporter]’s reporting?*

<i>A lot</i>	1
<i>Some</i>	2
<i>Not too much</i>	3
<i>None at all</i>	4
<i>Don’t know</i>	88

This ordinal variable, referred to as “source credibility”, serves as the dependent variable of the study.

The primary independent variable of the study, which is presented and described above, is the random assignment to news created by Ramos or Cooper, also referred to as “co-ethnic media elite experiment.” Another important independent variable is the type of news media consumption. To capture this item, Latino respondents were asked the following question: “When it comes to news and current affairs, would you say you watch TV or online news...” I operationalized the responses as follows: (1) mostly/more English language, (2) English and Spanish pretty equally, (3) mostly/more Spanish, and (4) never watch TV or online news. This approach has been used to capture the consumption of ethnic media of survey participants relative to mainstream media (see Ostfel 2017; Barreto et al. 2017; Barreto et al. 2014; Fraga et al. 2006). The incorporation of the type of news media consumption allows for testing the robustness to the Spanish-language news consumption hypothesis (H₂).

In addition to the aforementioned variables, I also incorporate additional variables that previous studies in political communication and racial and ethnic politics have used

such, as Latino linked fate, which is an ordinal variable containing a two-part question on whether respondents think what happens generally to Latinos/ Hispanics in this country has something to do with what happens in their lives (no; yes, not very much; yes, some; yes, a lot). Other control variables include educational attainment, gender, income, party identification, nativity, and language in which the survey was taken (English/Spanish). See Table 4.1 for the descriptive statistics of the variables of the study.

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Source credibility	2,024	2.67836	0.978163	1	4
Co-ethnic elite experiment	2,024	0.5029644	0.5001148	0	1
News consumption	2,024	2.62747	0.6651826	1	4
Language survey	2,024	0.9434127	0.2310859	0	1
Linked Fate	2,024	2.647727	1.217728	1	4
Education	2,024	3.97011	1.107033	1	6
Female	2,024	0.5863372	0.4925611	0	1
Income	2,024	4.900452	3.074569	1	12
Party ID	2,024	1.821532	0.8805662	1	3
US-born	2,024	0.8673825	0.3392101	0	1

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

To test the exposure to co-ethnic media elite hypothesis (H₁), I conducted a series of bivariate and multivariate analyses. I conducted a chi-square difference test to analyze whether a statistical relationship between exposure to the co-ethnic media elite and levels of source credibility existed among Latinos (Satorra and Bentler 2001; Yuan and Chan

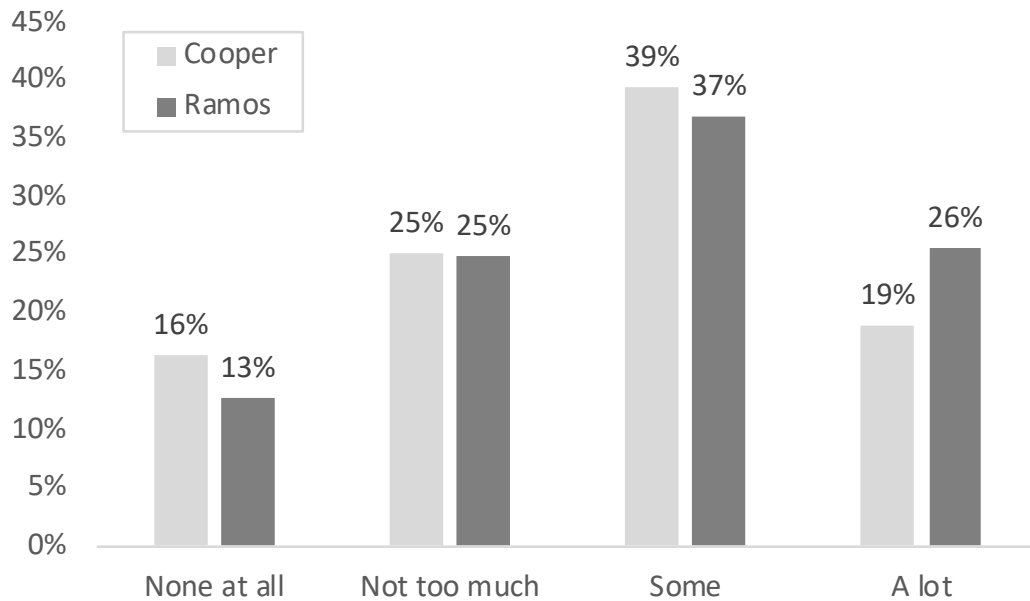
2016). I complemented this analysis with the Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney (WMW) test, which is a nonparametric analysis that relies on the sum of the ranks in the studied groups (Fay and Proschan 2010; Feltovich 2003). In this case, the WMW test explores whether and the extent to which the exposure to the co-ethnic media elite impacts the sum of the ranks of the levels of trust in reporting among Latinos participating in the experiment. I also conducted an ordered logistic regression analysis to test the robustness of the experiment, isolating the effects of the co-ethnic media elite experiment from the control variables described above (Gutierrez et al. 2015; Fullerton 2009).

To test the robustness to Spanish-language news consumption hypothesis (H₂), I conducted ordered logistic regression analyses with an additional interaction between the *co-ethnic media elite* experiment and the *type of news consumption* of the respondents.

Results

Figure 4.1 presents the descriptive results of the co-ethnic media elite experiment, which shows the greatest differences among the groups in the lowest and highest categories (“none at all” and “a lot”) of reported source credibility. The descriptive results show that Latinos who received news created by co-ethnic media elite Jorge Ramos were more likely to report having *a lot* of source credibility (27%), compared to their Latino counterparts who received the same news created by Cooper (19%). Conversely, the results of Figure 4.1 show that Latinos who received news created by Cooper were more likely to report having no source credibility in Cooper’s reporting (16%), compared to their counterparts who received the same news created by Ramos (13%). The descriptive results provide support for the exposure to co-ethnic media elite hypothesis (H₁).

Figure 4.1 Percent of Latinos who that reported trust in reporting by assigned media elite



Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

The results of the bivariate analyses performed for this study support the findings from the descriptive statistics of the co-ethnic media elite experiment. The results of the Chi-square test indicate a statistically significant relationship between source credibility among Latinos who received news from Ramos vs. Cooper (chi-square with 3 degrees of freedom=16.1962, $p=0.001$). Additionally, the results of the two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) test suggest that there is a statistically significant difference between the underlying distributions of source credibility of those who received the news from Ramos and Cooper ($z=-3.049$, $p=0.0023$). The results show that the sum of the ranks of those exposed to news created by Ramos is significantly higher than the sum of the ranks of those exposed to Cooper's news. Thus, the group of Latinos randomly assigned to news

created by Ramos has higher levels of source credibility than Latinos who received Cooper's news. The results of the bivariate analyses provide support for the exposure to co-ethnic media elite hypothesis (H₁).

Table 4.2 presents multivariate models predicting the effects of the co-ethnic media elite experiment on source credibility among Latinos. The results of Model 1 show that Latinos exposed to news created by Ramos are significantly more likely to disclose higher levels of source credibility than their Latino counterparts who received news created by Cooper.

Figure 4.2 depicts the results of Model 1, which shows the predicted probabilities of source credibility by exposure to news created by Ramos and Cooper. Figure 4.2 shows that Latinos exposed to news created by Ramos are significantly more likely to report "a lot" of source credibility than their counterparts who received news created by Cooper. Moreover, Figure 4.2 shows that Latinos exposed to Cooper's news are significantly more likely to report no source credibility than their Latino counterparts who received the same news from Ramos. As Figure 4.2 shows, there are no statistical differences in the middle categories of source credibility ("not too much" and "some") among Latinos who received news from Cooper or Ramos. The statistically significant differences in the extreme categories, however, concur with the bivariate analyses of the study and provide additional support for the exposure to co-ethnic media elite hypothesis (H₁).

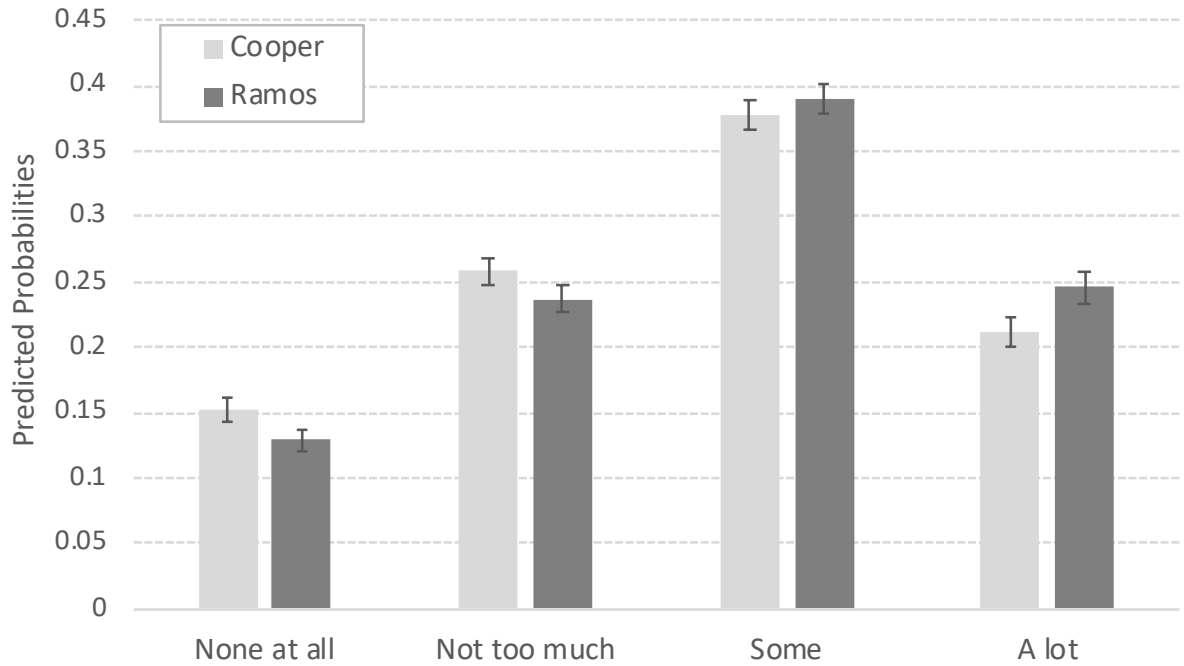
Table 4.2 Effect of co-ethnic media elite experiment on perceptions of trust in reporting among Latinos

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2
Ramos	0.203** (0.0836)	0.930*** (0.345)
Type of News	-0.221*** (0.0714)	-0.0825 (0.0957)
Ramos * Type of News		-0.276** (0.127)
Language of Survey	-0.178 (0.168)	-0.173 (0.168)
Linked Fate	0.157*** (0.0356)	0.157*** (0.0356)
Education	0.0250 (0.0433)	0.0275 (0.0433)
Female	0.0852 (0.0870)	0.0853 (0.0870)
Income	0.0405*** (0.0155)	0.0392** (0.0155)
Party Identification	-0.318*** (0.0472)	-0.317*** (0.0472)
US-born	-0.00476 (0.116)	-0.0103 (0.116)
Constant cut1	-1.741*** (0.336)	-1.368*** (0.377)
Constant cut2	-0.307 (0.334)	0.0657 (0.375)
Constant cut3	1.480*** (0.335)	1.858*** (0.378)
Observations	1,917	1,917
Log-Likelihood Full Model	-2456	-2454
Chi-square test	176.4	181.1

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 4.2 Predicted probabilities of reporting trust in reporting by exposure to media elites



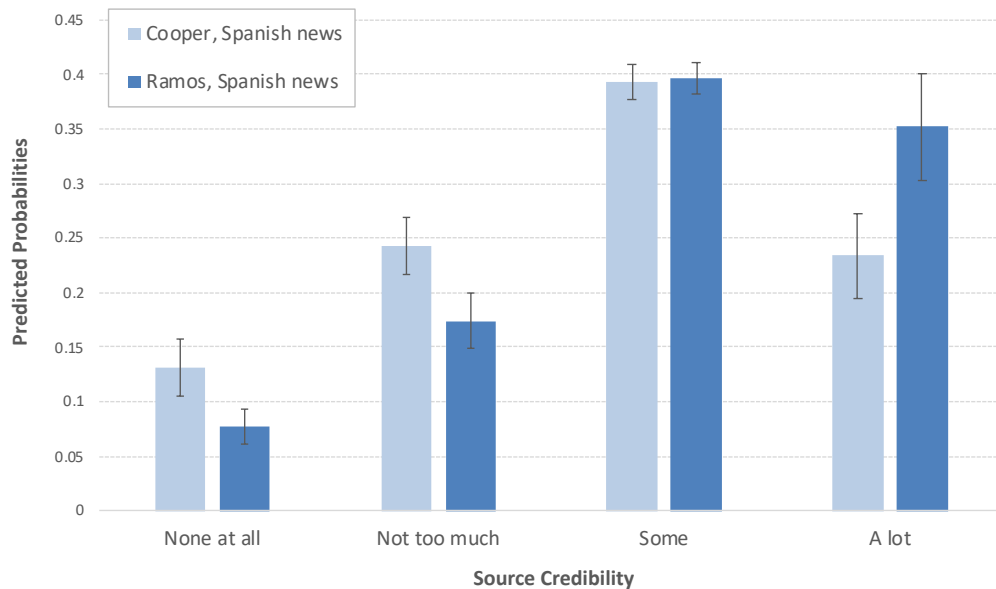
Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

In addition to the co-ethnic media elite experiment, Model 1 of Table 2 shows that other variables are statistically associated with perceiving source credibility, including type of news consumption. The results show that Latino consumers of English-language news are significantly less likely to report source credibility than their Latino counterparts who consume Spanish-language news media. However, even after accounting for the type of news consumption in Model 1, the co-ethnic media elite experiment is still statistically significant. This finding provides some support for the robustness to Spanish-language news consumption hypothesis (H₂).

Model 2 of Table 4.2 presents the results of the ordered logistic regression analysis with an additional variable: interaction between *exposure to co-ethnic media elite* and *type of news consumption*. The addition of the interaction provides an additional opportunity to test the robustness to Spanish-language news consumption hypothesis (H₂). While exposure to co-ethnic media elite remains statistically significant in Model 2, type of news consumption is no longer significant in the model. However, the interaction between exposure to co-ethnic media elite and type of news consumption is statistically significant. Figures 4.3 to 4.6 present the predicted probabilities of the interaction predicting source credibility. Figure 4.3 shows that among consumers of Spanish-language news media, those who randomly received news from co-ethnic media elite Ramos are significantly more likely to report higher levels of source credibility than their counterparts who received the same news from Cooper. This finding provides support for the robustness to Spanish-language news consumption hypothesis (H₂). Conversely, Figure 4.4 shows no statistical differences on source credibility among consumers of English-language news. However, both Figures 4.5 and 4.6 reveal statistical differences by media elite among Latinos who consume English and Spanish-language news equally and Latinos who avoid consuming news. T Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show that Latinos who consume English and Spanish-language news equally and those who avoid consuming news are significantly more likely to report higher levels of source credibility when exposed to news stories created by a co-ethnic media elite Ramos than Cooper, providing support for H₂. The addition of the interaction between *exposure to co-ethnic media elite* and *type of news consumption* provides a better

understanding of the effects of co-ethnicity on source credibility, which occur on the majority of Latino respondents.²⁴

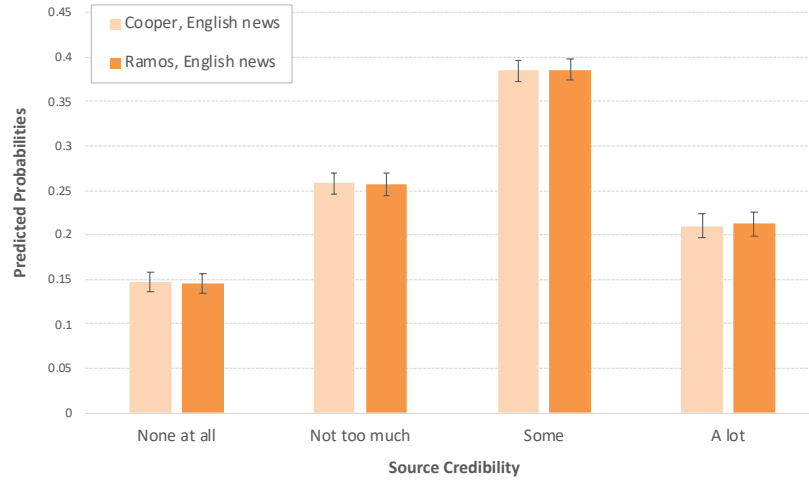
Figure 4.3 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among of consumers of Spanish-language news



Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

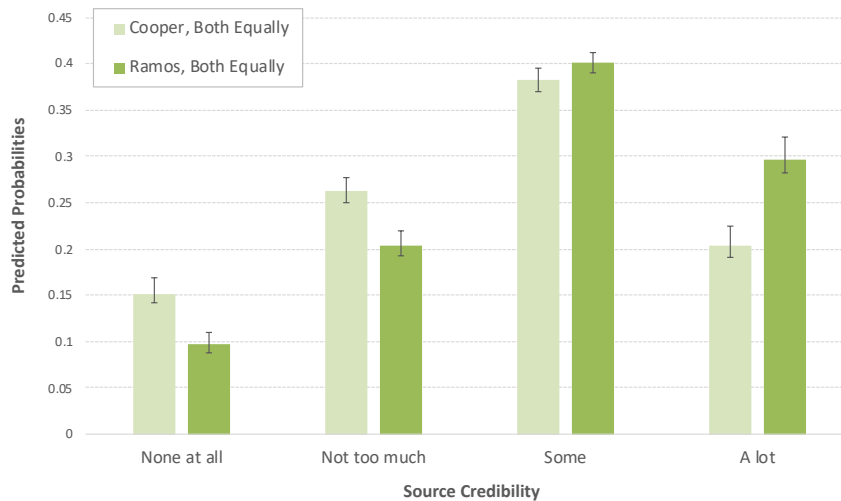
²⁴ In this survey, more than two thirds of Latino respondents reported consuming either (1) Spanish-language news, (2) both English and Spanish news, or (3) no news. Moreover, studies find that about three quarters of US Latinos and other ethno-racial groups in the United States consume non-traditional media, such as Spanish-language and ethnic news (Bendixen and Associates 2005; Allen 2009).

Figure 4.4 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among English-language news consumers



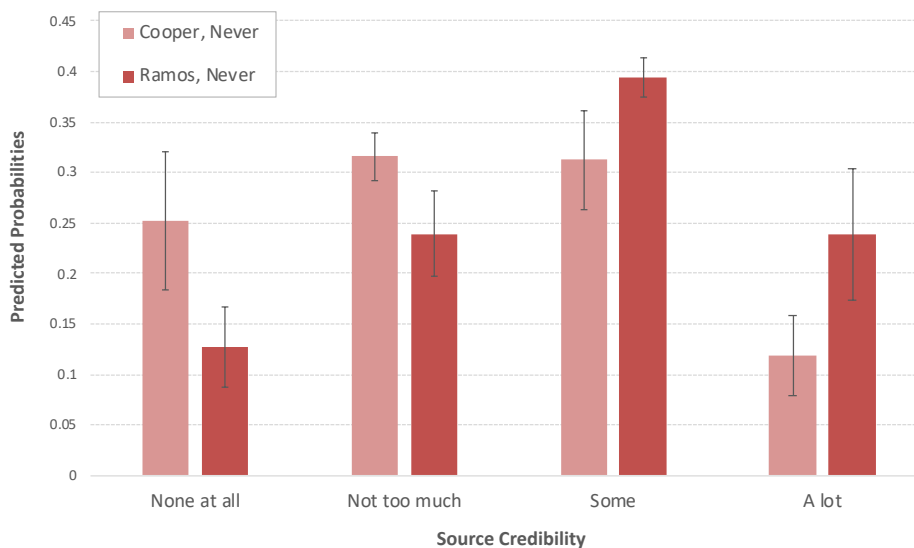
Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Figure 4.5 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among of Latinos who consume both English and Spanish-language news



Source: Author's analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Figure 4.6 Predicted probabilities of source credibility by the interaction between media elites and news consumption among news avoiders



Source: Author’s analysis using 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the importance of representation of U.S. Latinos in news media by examining the extent to which exposure to news created by a co-ethnic media elite impacts source credibility among Latinos. While studies have analyzed and operationalized media trust in multiple ways, this chapter centers on source credibility, a core element of media trust that examines perceptions of trust in relation to individual communicators such as reporters and news anchors (Hovland et al., 1953; Hovland and Weiss, 1951; Fisher 2018). This issue is an important area of study within the US political system for three main reasons. First, US Latinos are severely underrepresented in mainstream newsrooms in both leadership positions, such as executive producers and

editorial boards, as well as more publicly visible occupations, such as anchors and reporters (Subervi-Velez and Medina Vidal 2015; Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014). Second, lack of media credibility among the American public has been on the rise over the past 40 years (Schudson 2019; Lewis 2019). And more importantly, the vitality of a healthy democracy depends on constituents who are sufficiently informed about public affairs and trust their sources of information. As Dautrich and Hartley (1999) state, “without a trustworthy source of information, the public is left without the ability to discern the important issues of the day, the differences between candidates in elections, and whether what the candidates and advertisers are telling them is accurate.”

Through a population-based survey experiment, this study finds that Latinos exposed to news created by Latino media elite Jorge Ramos are significantly more likely to report higher levels of source credibility than their Latino counterparts exposed to news created by non-Hispanic media elite Anderson Cooper. More specifically, the results reveal that while Latinos exposed to Ramos’ news are significantly more likely to report “a lot” of source credibility than those exposed to Cooper’s news, Latinos who were exposed to Cooper’s news are significantly more likely to report no source credibility at all than those who received news from Ramos. These results are robust to a series of statistical tests, including bivariate and multivariate analyses, and provide support for the exposure to co-ethnic media elite hypothesis (H₁).

This chapter also tests whether the effects of exposure to co-ethnic media elites are robust to the type of news media that Latinos consume. Through an interaction between and the type of news consumption, as well as a series of predicted probabilities, this study finds that the effects of exposure to a co-ethnic elite are robust to the types of news media

that Latinos consume for the most part. On one hand, there are no statistical differences of exposure to a co-ethnic media elite on source credibility among Latinos who primarily consume English-language news. On the other hand, there are significant and positive effects of exposure to news created by co-ethnic media elite Jorge Ramos among Latinos who consume (1) Spanish-language news media, (2) both English and Spanish-language news pretty equally, or (3) who rarely consume news. These results provide some support for the robustness to Spanish-language news consumption hypothesis (H₂), and provide a better understanding of the conditions in which the effects of co-ethnic source credibility occurs.

The findings of this chapter contribute to an important and timely area of study not only because of the decreasing levels of media trust among the American public but also because there has long been a severe lack of representation of Latinos in mainstream news media (Schudson 2019; Lewis 2019; Subervi-Velez and Sinta 2015; Subervi-Velez and Medina Vidal 2015; Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014). These issues resemble other political areas, such as the lack of representation of US Latinos in elected positions at all levels of government (Hawke 2018; Gamboa 2018; NALEO 2017) and the decreasing levels of trust in government over the past decades (Pew Research Center 2019). Influenced by studies of descriptive representation, this chapter contributes to existing literature in political science and media effects by isolating the effects of exposure to media elites of distinct ethno-racial backgrounds on source credibility. Future studies should expand on the importance of co-ethnic media elites among other diverse and underrepresented ethno-racial groups in the United States such as American Indians and Asian Americans.

While this chapter provides a better understanding of the role of race and ethnicity in source credibility in itself and in combination with news consumption, future studies shall further isolate the role of race and ethnicity by presenting experiments with unknown media elites. More importantly, future studies shall incorporate the role of colorism, also known as skin-color bias, which can help understand the political behavior of mainstream and ethno-racial groups in the United States as previous studies have found (Iyengar et al. 2010; Neal 2017; Messing et al. 2015; etc.). Hence, the analysis of race, ethnicity and colorism would allow to have a more encompassing understanding on the role of race and ethnicity in source credibility among Latinos and other US voters.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Introduction

This dissertation examined three mediating mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media and how they have an impact on US Latinos. While the existing studies analyzing the political implications of Spanish-language news media have been limited to associations between news consumption and political outcomes, this study contributes to our understanding on how a complex input –the consumption of Spanish-language news media– is converted into outputs –political outcomes. In this way, this dissertation advances traditional approaches of ethnic media studies by separating the distinctive elements of Spanish-language news media, which is a complex system, into recognizable causal mechanisms and outputs.

This dissertation also engaged in multiple theories from political science and other fields to improve our understanding on the political outcomes of Spanish-language news media consumption and political behavior of US Latinos. The second chapter of this study used the theory of agenda setting to analyze whether the different coverage of Spanish-language news media is associated with different perceptions of issue salience among Latino news consumers; this theory comes from communication and media studies, and has been used to test questions on attitudes and stances towards policies in the field of political science. The third chapter uses the Linguistic Accommodation Theory to analyze the extent to which Spanish, a US minority language, has an impact on Latino identity. This theory, which comes from the fields of linguistics and psychology, posits that

exposure to minority languages and language schemas can prompt positive feelings and memories related a group; hence, I test whether exposure to Spanish can prompt perceptions of group identity among US Latinos. The fourth chapter pairs descriptive representation literature from political science and source credibility from media and communication studies given that both of them have similar underlying assumptions of the reasons for which shared characteristics, such as race and ethnicity, can impact individuals' attitudes or evaluations. By incorporating theories from other fields, this dissertation advances our understanding of political behavior in American politics and provides an opportunity to test outside theories in political contexts.

The three mediating mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media studied in this dissertation included (1) the role of content coverage on perceptions of issue salience, (2) the role of Spanish as a US minority language and its implications on Latino identity, and (3) the presence of co-ethnic reporters and its implications on source credibility. In chapter 2, I analyzed the role of distinct content coverage among Spanish-language and mainstream news media, and its implications on perceptions of policy salience among Latino news consumers. The third chapter analyzed the use of Spanish as a US minority language in the dissemination of news of Spanish-language media and its implications on Latino identity. The last empirical chapter addressed the presence of co-ethnic reporters and its implications on source credibility among US Latinos. This dissertation is one of the first studies that analyzes specific mechanisms that differentiate Spanish-language news media from mainstream media, and the extent to which each of them stands alone and is contingent on news consumption.

In the rest of this chapter, I review the main findings and arguments of each empirical chapter of this dissertation. Then I discuss how the findings from all chapters come together and contribute to our understanding of the importance of Spanish-language news media, the political behavior of US Latinos, and the growingly diverse electorate of the United States. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the limitations of this study and avenues for future research.

Review of Main Findings

In chapter 2, I examined the role of content coverage among Spanish-language and mainstream news, and its effects on perceptions of issue salience among US Latinos. To explore whether perceptions of issue salience among Latinos differ by type of news media consumption, I conducted a series of conceptual content analyses of news coverage of English and Spanish online newspapers in multiple cities, as well as statistical analyses using the 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey. The results show that English and Spanish-language online newspapers do have different agendas, particularly as it pertains to the coverage of immigration stories. As a result, I find that Latino consumers of Spanish-language news are significantly more likely to report immigration as a salient issue compared to their Latino counterparts who consume mainstream news or avoid news consumption. These results hold even after accounting for important predispositions such as respondents' nativity and group identity. Nevertheless, consumption of Spanish-language news media was not associated with reporting other Latino issues such as health and racism/race relations as salient; as the content analyses of chapter 2 reveal, this issue is likely to occur because the volume of health and racism/race

relations stories in Spanish and English-language news is not substantially different. Therefore, there is no theoretical reason to expect diverging perceptions salience by type of news media consumed among health and race relations issues. Perceptions of policy salience among consumers of non-traditional media is an important area of study because the rise of new information technologies in the past decades has given voice to politically marginalized and underrepresented groups in traditional media such as US Latinos.

In chapter 3, I analyzed the use of Spanish as a US minority language in the dissemination of information of Spanish-language news and its implications on Latino identity. I examined whether exposure to content in Spanish influences identity formation of US Latinos, and whether this effect is contingent on the type of news media that Latinos consume. To answer such questions, I conducted a population-based survey experiment among bilingual Latinos as well as a series of statistical analyses. The results show that bilingual Latinos who are exposed to Spanish-language content are significantly more likely to report stronger attachments to their pan-ethnic group than those who received the same content in English. The results also show that the effects of Spanish as a US minority language are independent from the type of news that Latinos choose to consume, suggesting that the identity effects formed by exposure to minority language may translate to sociopolitical environment other than news media. This finding is important because studies have found that group attachment can be a strong predictor of prominent political behaviors among Latinos and other ethno-racial groups such as voting, political participation and formation of attitudes. Moreover, the results of this study call attention to the importance of the linguistic diversity of the country and its implications on society and the US political system.

In chapter 4, I examined the presence of co-ethnic reporters and their implications on source credibility. To analyze whether Latinos who are exposed to news created by Latino reporters are more likely to report greater levels of source credibility than similarly situated Latinos who are exposed to the same news created from non-Hispanic reporters, I designed a population-based survey experiment and conducted a series of statistical analyzes. I find that Latinos who are presented with news created by a co-ethnic reporter are more likely to report greater levels of source credibility than their Latino counterparts who received news from a non-Hispanic reporter. The results also show that the effects of exposure to news created by co-ethnic reporters interact with the type of news consumption of the respondents. These findings are important not only because they provide a better understanding of the role of ethnicity on source credibility among US Latinos, but also because they suggest that the decreasing levels of media trust may be minimized by increasing diversity in US media. This chapter also contributes to our understanding on how shared demographic characteristics, such as race and ethnicity, can have important political implications among figures other than political candidates and elected officials.

Discussion

This dissertation highlighted the importance of Spanish-language news media not only as an alternative to mainstream media, but also as a tool for information and representation for US Latinos. This issue is crucial because, as described in the forgoing chapters, the presence of US Latinos is remarkably low in traditional media. Currently, the presence of US Latinos in leadership and visible positions in mainstream media such as editors, producers, columnists, anchors and reporters is at historic low levels, even more

inferior than in the 1970s (Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014). This absence has led to not only the misrepresentation of Latinos typically depicted as criminals or unauthorized immigrants (Dixon and Linz 2000; Guo and Harlow 2014; Negrón-Muntaner et al. 2014; see also Steinberg 2004; Stewart, Pitts, and Osborne 2011), but also to a lack of coverage of issues that are pertinent to US Latinos such as immigration and geo-ethnic news in mainstream media (Halen, Olsen, and Fowler 2009; Guskin, Moore, and Mitchell 2011; Villar and Bueno-Olson 2013; see also the results of chapter 2 from this work). Spanish-language news media, however, fills these gaps not only with the presence of co-ethnic media elites and content that is salient for Latinos, but also by delivering information in Spanish, a US minority language that is spoken by the vast majority of Latinos in the United States (Browne 2005; Deuze 2006; Jeffres 2000; Viswanath and Arora 2000; Lopez 2013).

By analyzing three major mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media, this dissertation provides a better understanding on the reasons for which Spanish-language news media can have important political implications among Latinos residing in the United States, such as political participation and civic engagement (Barreto and Muñoz 2003; Félix, González, and Ramírez 2008; Garcia-Rios and Barreto 2016; Medina Vidal 2018), formation of policy (Abrajano and Singh 2008; Galano 2014; Kerevel 2011), and perceptions of empowerment and efficacy among Latinos (Barreto et al. 2009; Brodie et al. 1999; Negrón 2011; Ramirez 2007; Rivas 2003). Moreover, this dissertation examined how each of the mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media can have social and political implications per se and in combination with predispositions such as news consumption and nativity. Hence, this study

contributes to the fields of American politics, political behavior, political communication, and racial and ethnic politics.

This dissertation also incorporated theories from fields other than political science such as linguistics, psychology, and communication to expand our understanding on the effects of Spanish-language news media consumption and the political behavior of US Latinos. By using the Linguistic Accommodation Theory, this dissertation provides a precedent to examine the role of minority languages other than Spanish in the US context and their implications on identity formation among other ethno-racial groups such as Asian Americans, African Americans, and Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) Americans. With a growingly diverse country, analyzing the role of minority languages across ethno-racial groups is of crucial importance for a more encompassing understanding of the political behavior of Americans. Additionally, the incorporation of source credibility from mass media and communication studies reminds us that trust is an encompassing and complex concept and shall be examined accordingly not only in media studies but also in analyses of political trust. Hence, this study provides an opportunity to continue to test theories traditionally used in other fields to examine their applicability and implications in political contexts.

Besides its growth and rising availability across the country, Spanish-language news media has been increasingly engaged in US politics at all levels of government. Univision and Telemundo, for example, have co-hosted numerous presidential debates in the past decade, including some of the 2020 Democratic presidential race (Bernal 2019). Moreover, Spanish-language media outlets have hosted multiple debates, townhalls and community forums for subnational elections such as the California governor's race in 2018

and the Florida governor's debate aired in Telemundo in 2014. This issue has allowed monolingual Spanish-speakers and bilingual Latinos to have access to political information in their preferred languages, lowering information costs among a substantive number of Latinos in the United States. This issue is salient in the US political system because the vitality and health of democratic governments depend on well-informed individuals, including minority groups such as US Latinos (Dautrich and Hartley 1999). Hence, the availability and consumption of Spanish-language news media in the United States is an important area of study that deserves further examination.

The social and political implications of media on US Latinos and other underrepresented groups are crucial areas of study in our growing, evolving and diversifying country. Currently, Latinos are the largest minority group in the United States, and by 2045 1 in every 4 Americans will be of Hispanic descent (US Census Bureau 2016; Flores 2017). Moreover, the US is currently the world's second largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, and studies estimate that by 2050 the United States will be the largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, with an estimated 138 million Spanish speakers (Gambino 2017; Shin and Ortman 2011; Instituto Cervantes 2016). Given that Latinos are a growing and important voting bloc in the United States, multiple campaigns at all levels of government have aimed to mobilize Latinos through ethnic and linguistic appeals through media, including ethnic and non-traditional media (Hughes et al. 2018; Miro 2017).

Avenues for Future Research

While this dissertation answered questions related to the mechanisms that set Spanish-language news media apart from mainstream media and their implications on the political behavior and identity of US Latinos, several research questions remain unanswered. One possible expansion of this work is to test whether other ethnic media targeting different groups in the United States have similar components and implications to the distinct mechanisms of Spanish-language news media examined in this dissertation. This is an important area of study not only because the availability of ethnic media in the United States continues to grow, but also because other ethno-racial groups such as Asian Americans and Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) Americans are substantially diverse and rapidly growing groups in the country. The number of Asian Americans living in the United States, for example, grew from 11.9 million in 2000 to 20.4 million in 2015, for a total growth of 72% (López, Ruiz, and Patten 2017). Similarly, the number of immigrants from the Middle East and the north region of Africa almost doubled from 2000, with about 596,000 MENA immigrants, to 2016, with 1.2 million MENA immigrants (Cumoletti and Batalova 2018). Estimates have found that immigration patterns and the fast population growth of these groups, particularly Asian Americans, will make these groups important subjects for analysis (López, Ruiz And Patten 2017). However, unlike US Latinos, the study of these populations presents additional challenges as these groups are significantly more diverse in terms of cultural and historical differences, as well as linguistic backgrounds. Combined, MENA and Asian Americans speak more than a dozen languages other than English. This issue provides challenges to the study of consumption of ethnic media and the political behavior among these groups. Existing surveys and polls

that are nationally representative, for example, have found that margins of errors among Asian Americans can be substantially large, being as large as ± 13 percentage points (Gao 2016). Despite these challenges, analyzing the political behavior and implications of the consumption of ethnic media among these groups is substantially important because it provides a better understanding on how the US political system functions for all Americans. Hence, future studies shall explore the political effects of the consumption of ethnic media among other minority groups such as Asian and MENA Americans.

One of the empirical chapters of this study tested the theory of agenda setting by examining whether the content coverage of Spanish-language news had implications on perceptions of salience of Latino issues; as a result, the chapter was limited to the study of the following policy issues: immigration, health and racism/race relations. However, other policy areas deserve further examination as existing literature have found substantial difference of news coverage among Spanish-language news media and mainstream media, including geo-ethnic news and the coverage of terrorism-related news stories (Lin and Song 2006; Moran 2006; Subervi-Velez 1999; Villar and Bueno-Olson 2013). Hence, future studies shall explore the extent to which the consumption of Spanish-language news (and other ethnic media) has implications on the perceptions of salience of foreign policy, terrorism, and national security when compared to the consumption of mainstream media.

To test the theory of agenda setting in the consumption of ethnic media, this study made use of conceptual content analyses of online Spanish-language newspapers and online English-language newspapers from multiple cities to understand the extent to which the news coverage of Spanish-language and mainstream media differ. The first empirical chapter of this dissertation found substantial differences in terms of the volume of coverage

of immigration related news among these two types of news media. However, future studies should take a step further by conducting more sophisticated content analyses that allow for not only conceptual analyses (e.g. themes and volume), but also relational analyses by examining intentions, sentiments and patterns in news coverage. These types of analyses can allow to test different theories and levels of the agenda setting theory such as the network agenda setting model²⁵ (Guo, Vu, and McCombs 2012), and the framing theory²⁶ among non-traditional news media.

This study also made use of the Linguistic Accommodation Theory and the Accessibility Framework to explore the extent to which exposure to content in Spanish, a US minority language, and Spanish-language news media can have implications on identity among bilingual Latinos. Future studies should use such theories to assess the use of minority languages in other areas of study such as political campaigns and presidential debates. With the growing linguistic diversity of the United States (Gambino 2017; Shin and Ortman 2011; Instituto Cervantes 2016) and the increasing use of languages other than English in the US political system (Morin 2019; Univision 2018; Axelrod 2020; Camia 2013; Pratt 2019), today's politics present ample opportunities to test and incorporate additional theories to the field of political science.

Based on the findings of the second empirical chapter of this dissertation, future studies shall explore the role of minority languages other than Spanish in the United States,

²⁵ Also referred to as third-level agenda setting (McCombs 2014).

²⁶ Also referred to as second-level agenda setting (McCombs et al. 1997) but see Scheufele's argument (2000).

as well as minority languages from a comparative perspective outside of the United States. There are plenty of countries and regions around the world that have linguistically diverse populations who deserve to be studied. Mexico, for example, recognizes more than 60 minority languages as co-official national languages (Terborg et al. 2006). India has officially recognized more than 20 languages other than Hindi and English, which are the largest spoken languages in the country (Bhatia and Ritchie 2006). Other important regions of study include Africa, which is the continent with the largest linguistic diversity with over 2,000 languages spoken, and Europe, which is known for its multilingual population as more than 50% of European residents are proficient in two or more languages (Dimmendaal 2008; Fischer 2010). While these countries and regions present substantially different contexts when compared to the use of Spanish within the United States, the abundant amount of countries and regions with linguistically diverse populations provides endless opportunities to analyze the political implications of minority languages from behavioral and institutional perspectives.

The third empirical chapter of this study analyzed whether the ethno-racial background of reporters had implications on source credibility among US Latinos. While this chapter allows us to have a better understanding of the role of race and ethnicity in media trust in itself and in combination with news consumption, it can be improved to have a better understanding on the ethno-racial background of media elites. First, future studies shall further isolate the role of race and ethnicity by presenting experiments with unknown media elites; instead of presenting information provided by Jorge Ramos and Anderson Cooper, studies shall create experiments with news created by reporters who are unknown to the public but with evident distinctions on their ethno-racial backgrounds.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, future studies shall incorporate the role of colorism, also known as skin-color bias, in source credibility to expand on the findings of the fourth chapter of this dissertation. Previous literature has found that not only race and ethnicity, but also colorism are elements that help us understand the political behavior of mainstream and ethno-racial groups in the United States (Iyengar et al. 2010; Neal 2017; Messing et al. 2015; etc.). Studies have found that besides perceiving darker-skin candidates as more liberal, voters tend to have more negative evaluations of dark-skin color candidates compared to candidates with lighter skin colors (Jabon and Plaut 2015; Iyengar et al. 2010; McDermott 1998). Hence, there is evidence suggesting that besides the ethno-racial background of media elites, skin color may play an important role in source credibility. Although the experiment of the third empirical chapter of the dissertation presented a photograph of either Ramos or Cooper, these two media elites have similar traits such as skin, hair and eye colors. Therefore, future studies shall use experiments to solve the puzzle of race, ethnicity and colorism in source credibility among Latinos and other US voters.

Overall, studies of political behavior shall continue to acknowledge the challenges and opportunities for research of underrepresented groups in the United States, as well as rapid technological changes that impact the way people acquire and process political information. Beyond normative aspirations, these approaches allow us to have a better understanding on how the growing diversity of our country impacts the U.S. political system and the political behavior of its electorate.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Distribution of the Latino Perceptions of Salient Policy Issues

Policy Issues	Percentage
Health	26.44
Jobs	23.71
Immigration	19.45
Income	16.82
Terrorism	14.82
Racism	13.99
Taxes	11.82
Corruption	11.16
Housing	10.66
College	9.79
Schools	9.72
Climate	8.23
Police/Criminal Justice	4.96
Abortion	4.93
Other	2.66
Total	189.14

Notes: Percentages do not add up to 100 percent, given that respondents were allowed to state up to two most important policy issues. For the purpose of this study, I make use of the top five most important policy issues to explore the effects of media coverage and agenda setting among Latinos who predominantly consume Spanish-language news media and their counterparts who primarily consume English-language media.

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

**Appendix B. Content Analyses of Immigration and Terrorism-Related Stories
Published in Spanish and English-Language Online Newspapers by City**

I conduct content analyses for six different English and Spanish-language newspapers to test the content coverage hypothesis (H₁). The content analyses come from prominent newspapers from states where the majority of Latinos reside including California, Texas and New York. The newspapers examined in this chapter come from metropolitan areas with a significant share of Latino population, including New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago. From each metropolitan area, I conduct analyses of two different newspapers, one of them published in English and the other in Spanish (*NY Daily News* and *El Diario NY*; *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinión*; and *Chicago Tribune* and *La Raza*). I conducted the content analysis from March 6 to May 2, 2019; these dates include the days when the Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey was conducted, as well as one month before the survey was in the field to capture the effects that previous exposure to news may have had. The descriptive analyses present the ratio of stories related to the three Latino policy issues (immigration, healthcare and racism/race relations) that each newspaper published online. The content analyzes were conducted through a variety of databases such as ProQuest, Lexis-Nexis Academic and Ethnic NewsWatch. The results presented below show the share of stories from each newspaper that cover the Latino issues from this study including immigration, healthcare and racism/race relations.

B.1 Content Analysis, Immigration-Related Stories (March 6 – May 2, 2019)

Region	Newspaper	Immigration Stories	Total stories	% Immigration Stories
NY	<i>NY Daily News</i>	122	6,646	1.84%
	<i>El Diario NY</i>	736	4,836	15.21%
CA	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	221	7,939	2.78%
	<i>La Opinión</i>	841	11,175	7.52%
IL	<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	151	13,185	1.15%
	<i>La Raza</i>	948	12,495	7.58%

B.2 Content Analysis, Health and Healthcare-Related Stories (March 6 – May 2, 2019)

Region	Newspaper	Total Stories Health/Healthcare	Total stories	% Health Stories
NY	<i>NY Daily News</i>	104	6,646	1.56%
	<i>El Diario NY</i>	34	4,836	0.70%
CA	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	192	7,939	2.42%
	<i>La Opinión</i>	108	11,175	0.97%
IL	<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	242	13,185	1.84%
	<i>La Raza</i>	15	12,495	0.12%

B.3 Content Analysis, Racism and Race Relations Stories (March 6 – May 2, 2019)

Region	Newspaper	Total Stories Racism/ Race Relations	Total stories	% Race Relations Stories
NY	<i>NY Daily News</i>	19	6,646	0.29%
	<i>El Diario NY</i>	88	4,836	1.82%
CA	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	21	7,939	0.26%
	<i>La Opinión</i>	12	11,175	0.11%
IL	<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	15	13,185	0.11%
	<i>La Raza</i>	128	12,495	1.02%

Appendix C. Series of Robustness Checks for Models

Pearson Correlations Between Top Five Most Important Policy Issues and Linked Fate, Dominant Language and Nativity of Latino Respondents

	Linked Fate	Dominant Language	Nativity
Health	-0.0184	-0.0487	0.0155
Jobs	-0.0422	-0.0094	-0.0457
Income	0.0145	-0.0065	0.0068
Immigration	0.0705	0.2365	-0.2125
Terrorism	-0.1162	-0.0266	-0.0081

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Pearson Correlations Between Language of News Media and Linked Fate, Dominant Language and Nativity of Latino Respondents

	Linked Fate	Dominant Language	Nativity
Type of Media Consumed	-0.0177	0.4128	-0.2826

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

Footnote 4. In addition to the predicted probability analyses, I also tested the equality of these coefficients by conducting Wald and likelihood ratio post-estimation tests to analyze whether the effect of the type of media consumed and linked fate, as well as the type of media consumed and nativity, are statistically similar. The results of the Wald and likelihood-ratio tests show strong evidence ($p < 0.000$) that the effects of media consumption and linked fate on immigration salience are significantly different from each other. In addition to account for potential multicollinearity issues,¹ this finding provides

some support for the robustness to group identity hypothesis, which is explored in further detail in Table 3. Moreover, the results of the Wald and likelihood-ratio tests between the type of news media consumed and nativity; the results of these tests show that the effects of news media consumption on reporting immigration as a salient issue are statistically different from the effects of nativity. This finding provides some support for the robustness to nativity hypothesis (H₂) as nativity and the type of media consumed impacting the perceptions of immigration saliency in a statistically different way.

Footnote 5. These findings were supported by a Seemingly Unrelated Estimation test ($p=0.1658$), which suggests that the equality of the common coefficients across the presence or absence of linked fate cannot be rejected; in other words, the coefficients of the type of media consumed do not statistically differ from each other based on linked fate of the respondents. These findings provide additional support for the robustness to group identity (H₃).

Footnote 6. These findings are supported by a Seemingly Unrelated Estimation test ($p=0.1554$), which suggests that the equality of the common coefficients by nativity cannot be rejected; in other words, the coefficients of the type of media consumed do not statistically differ from each other based on the nativity of the respondents. These results provide strong support for the robustness to nativity hypothesis (H₂).

There is an additional concern with self-selection, assuming that Latinos who care about immigration self-select into consuming Spanish-language news media because they know that Spanish-language media covers immigration more than traditional media. While

studies have found evidence of self-selection in traditional media in the US, this is unlikely among Spanish-language news media. Selective exposure to English or Spanish-language media is contingent on language proficiency. In other words, Latinos who are monolingual Spanish speakers (39% of all US Latinos) cannot self-select into English-language news because they may be able to understand the messages or news stories; similarly, Latinos who are monolingual English speakers (25% of all US Latinos) cannot self-select into consuming news in Spanish in order to learn about immigration because they may not be able to understand the content in the first place. The only potential of selective exposure occurs among bilingual Latinos, who account for about a third of all US Latinos.

I conducted a model with an instrumental variable to correct for potential of endogeneity and self-selection. I began by testing a series of potential instrumental variables which are associated with news consumption but not with reporting immigration as a salient issue such as income, education and political interest. The most suitable instrumental variable was **political interest**. Instruments are considered weak if the first-stage F-statistic is less than 10 (Staiger and Stock 1997); the results of the model with political interest as instrumental variable provide an **F-statistic of 29.4**, suggesting that the model does not suffer from weak instrumentation. The results of the model continue to show a statistical association between type of news consumed and perceptions of immigration salience.

**Appendix D. Split Sample Analyses of Health and Racism/Race Relations by Linked
Fate and Nativity**

D.1 Split Sample Analyses –Healthcare Saliency by Linked Fate and Nativity

VARIABLES	(1) All	(2) No LF	(3) LF	(4) U.S.-born	(5) Foreign-born
Type of Media Consumed (Spanish as base)					
Mostly/more English	0.260 (0.229)	0.463 (0.540)	0.191 (0.255)	0.462 (0.311)	-0.336 (0.371)
English and Spanish equally	0.0148 (0.238)	0.363 (0.536)	-0.113 (0.269)	0.0108 (0.329)	0.0496 (0.356)
Never news	-0.0247 (0.403)	-0.0732 (0.817)	0.0408 (0.475)	-0.166 (0.518)	0.612 (0.689)
Partisanship (Democrat as base)					
Republican	-0.200 (0.166)	-0.206 (0.267)	-0.250 (0.217)	-0.158 (0.188)	-0.298 (0.366)
Independent	-0.249** (0.118)	-0.478** (0.226)	-0.157 (0.139)	-0.227* (0.136)	-0.329 (0.246)
Female	0.190* (0.112)	0.227 (0.208)	0.199 (0.135)	0.171 (0.128)	0.210 (0.243)
Age	0.0206*** (0.00364)	0.0114 (0.00701)	0.0240*** (0.00433)	0.0268*** (0.00435)	0.00669 (0.00705)
Income	0.00126 (0.00262)	-0.0104* (0.00622)	0.00544* (0.00303)	0.00233 (0.00295)	-0.00175 (0.00599)
Dominant language Spanish	-0.117 (0.219)	-0.485 (0.429)	0.0269 (0.259)	-0.251 (0.408)	-0.342 (0.284)
Education	0.119** (0.0492)	0.102 (0.0914)	0.144** (0.0593)	0.0911 (0.0584)	0.211** (0.0954)
Linked Fate	0.213* (0.120)			0.287** (0.139)	0.0629 (0.240)
U.S.-born	-0.142 (0.142)	-0.396 (0.252)	-0.0146 (0.173)		
Constant	-2.628*** (0.375)	-2.010*** (0.718)	-2.753*** (0.428)	-3.099*** (0.447)	-1.900*** (0.638)
Observations	2,024	632	1,392	1,599	425
Log-Likelihood Full Model	-1081	-315.2	-759	-832.5	-238.7
Chi-square test	64.50	22.64	51.83	69.77	12.80
PctCorr	75.79	78.80	74.64	76.74	73.65

Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

D.2 Split Sample Analyses – Racism/Race Relations Saliency by Linked Fate and Nativity

VARIABLES	(1) All	(2) No LF	(3) LF	(4) U.S.-born	(5) Foreign- born
Type of Media Consumed (Spanish as base)					
Mostly/more English language	-0.147 (0.243)	1.312** (0.659)	-0.461* (0.265)	-0.544* (0.294)	0.591 (0.423)
English and Spanish equally	-0.0463 (0.248)	0.628 (0.652)	-0.147 (0.272)	-0.352 (0.308)	0.331 (0.413)
Never news	-1.310** (0.635)	-0.147 (1.199)	-1.530** (0.769)	-1.762** (0.781)	-0.705 (1.104)
Partisanship (Democrat as base)					
Republican	-0.829*** (0.237)	-0.897** (0.379)	-0.878*** (0.309)	-0.906*** (0.274)	-0.516 (0.479)
Independent	-0.211 (0.136)	-0.769*** (0.275)	-0.0116 (0.158)	-0.207 (0.156)	-0.184 (0.283)
Female	-0.0880 (0.131)	0.142 (0.263)	-0.151 (0.153)	-0.0145 (0.150)	-0.272 (0.277)
Age	-0.0169*** (0.00501)	-0.0229** (0.01000)	-0.0163*** (0.00585)	-0.0218*** (0.00613)	-0.00713 (0.00880)
Income	-0.00159 (0.00312)	0.00486 (0.00487)	-0.00514 (0.00418)	-0.00114 (0.00350)	-0.00270 (0.00695)
Dominant language Spanish	0.473** (0.232)	0.726 (0.483)	0.520* (0.269)	0.288 (0.386)	0.814*** (0.309)
Education	-0.0298 (0.0577)	-0.126 (0.113)	0.00600 (0.0682)	-0.0512 (0.0691)	0.00656 (0.108)
Linked Fate	0.258* (0.145)			0.211 (0.168)	0.372 (0.288)
U.S.-born	-0.126 (0.169)	-0.309 (0.334)	-0.0815 (0.199)		
Constant	-0.762* (0.418)	-1.236 (0.873)	-0.483 (0.467)	-0.298 (0.465)	-1.898*** (0.735)
Observations	2,024	632	1,392	1,599	425
Log-Likelihood Full Model	-837.5	-223	-603.6	-642.5	-190.2
Chi-square test	47.81	26.39	37.44	42.79	12.61
PctCorr	84.83	87.66	83.55	85.43	82.59

Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: 2019 Center for Social Policy National Policy Survey

**Appendix E. Predicted Probabilities of Multinomial Logistic Regression of
Treatment Effect on Linked Fate (Table 3.2, “no linked fate” as reference group)**

		Predicted Probabilities			
		No linked fate	Yes, not much	Yes, some	Yes, a lot
English message	Pr(y)	0.307	0.004	0.32	0.37
	95% CI	0.167 to 0.447	-0.405 to 0.413	0.175 to 0.465	0.205 to 0.535
Spanish message	Pr(y)	0.202	0.005	0.418	0.375
	95% CI	0.074 to 0.329	-0.553 to 0.563	0.173 to 0.663	0.153 to 0.597

REFERENCES

- Aaker, Jennifer L., Anne M. Brumbaugh, & Sonya A. Grier. 2000. "Nontarget markets and viewer distinctiveness: The impact of target marketing on advertising." *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 9 (3), 127-141.
- Abbe, Owen G., Jay Goodliffe, Paul S. Herrnson, and Kelly D. Patterson. 2003. "Agenda Setting in Congressional Elections: The Impact of Issues and Campaigns on Voting Behavior." *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (4): 419-430.
- ABC News. 2015. "Anchor Jorge Ramos Thrown Out of Trump Event, Told to 'Go Back to Univision.'" August 25, available online <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/anchor-jorge-ramos-thrown-trump-event-told-back/story?id=33317296>
- Abrajano, Marisa, and Simran Singh. 2009. "Examining the Link Between Issue Attitudes and News Source: The Case of Latinos and Immigration Reform." *Political Behavior* 31 (1): 1-30
- Adkins, Lee C. 2009. "An instrumental variables probit estimator using gretl." *Econometrics with gretl, Proceedings of the gretl Conference*, pp. 59-74.
- Agrawal, Shantanu. 2008. "Immigrant Exclusion from Welfare: An Analysis of the 1996 Welfare Reform Legislative Process." *Politics & Policy* 36 (4): 636-75.
- Agresti, Alan. 1992. "A survey of exact inference for contingency tables." *Statistical Science* 7(1): 131-153.
- Allen, Jeffrey. 2009. "Ethnic Media Reaching Record Numbers in US." *New America Media*, June 8. Available online http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=8bb0c256d866e8e99e74fc734d5cef67
- Althaus, S. L., and K. Coe. 2011. "Priming Patriots: Social Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Public Support for War." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (1): 65- 88.
- Althaus, Scott L., and David Tewksbury. 2002. "Agenda Setting and the "New" News: Patterns of Issue Importance Among Readers of the Paper and Online Versions of the New York Times." *Communication Research* 29 (2): 180-207.
- American Community Survey. 2015, 2016. Accessed from U.S. Census Bureau, Public Use Microdata Series (PUMS) Data. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Androff, David K., Cecilia Ayon, David Becerra, and Maria Gurrola. 2011. "US Immigration Policy and Immigrant Children's Well-Being: The Impact of Policy

- Shifts." *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 38 (1): 77.
- Andsager, Julie L., and Teresa Mastin. 2003. "Racial and regional differences in readers' evaluations of the credibility of political columnists by race and sex." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 80 (1): 57-72.
- Arceneaux, K., Johnson, M., & Murphy, C. 2012. Polarized political communication, oppositional media hostility, and selective exposure. *Journal of Politics*, 74 (1), 174–186.
- Armstrong, Cory L., and Melinda J. McAdams. 2009. "Blogs of information: How gender cues and individual motivations influence perceptions of credibility." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 14 (3): 435-456.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, and Nancy Carrillo. 2007. "More is better: The influence of collective female descriptive representation on external efficacy." *Politics & Gender* 3 (1): 79-101.
- Axelrod, Tal. 2020. "Bloomberg Releases First Campaign Ad in Spanish." *The Hill*, January 9. Available online <https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/477584-bloomberg-releases-first-spanish-campaign-ad>
- Ayón, Cecilia. 2018. "Latino Immigrant Family Socialization Scale: Development and Validation of a Multidimensional Ethnic–Racial Socialization Measurement." *Social Work* 63 (3): 222-233.
- Ayon, Cecilia. 2015. "Economic, Social, and Health Effects of Discrimination on Latino Immigrant Families." *Migration Policy Institute*. September. Available online <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/economic-social-and-health-effects-discrimination-latino-immigrant-families>
- Ayon, Cecilia, Alisia GTT Tran, and Tanya Nieri. 2019. "Ethnic–Racial Socialization Practices Among Latino Immigrant Families: A Latent Profile Analysis." *Family Relations* 68 (2): 246-259.
- Baiocchi-Wagner, Elizabeth A., and Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz. 2010. "Audience perceptions of female sports reporters: A social-identity approach." *International Journal of Sport Communication* 3 (3): 261-274.
- Banducci, Susan A., Todd Donovan, and Jeffrey A. Karp. 2005. *Effects of minority representation on political attitudes and participation*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Barreto, Matt. 2007. "Si Se Puede! Latino candidates and the mobilization of Latino voters." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 425-441.

- Barreto, Matt A., and José A. Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the "Politics of In-Between": Political Participation Among Mexican Immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25 (4): 427-447.
- Barreto, Matt A., Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramirez, and Kathy Rim. 2009. "Mobilization, Participation, and Solidaridad: Latino Participation in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies." *Urban Affairs Review* 44 (5): 736-764.
- Barreto, Matt A., Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Jennifer L. Merolla, and Ricardo Ramirez. 2008. "Bulls' Eye or Bomb? Ethnically Targeted Campaign Ads in the 2008 Election." In *Race and the American Voter* conference, Harris School, University of Chicago, December, vol. 11.
- Barreto, M., L. Frasure-Yokley, E. Vargas, and J. Wong. 2017. *The Collaborative Multiracial Post- Election Survey (CMPS), 2016*. Los Angeles, CA.
- Barreto, Matt, and Gary Segura. 2014. *Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation*. Public Affairs.
- Barreto, Matt A., Gary M. Segura, and Nathan D. Woods. 2004. "The mobilizing effect of majority-minority districts on Latino turnout." *American Political Science Review* 98 (1): 65-75.
- Barreto, Matt, Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Ange-Marie Hancock, Sylvia Manzano, Karthick Ramakrishnan, Ricardo Ramirez, Gabe Sanchez, and Janelle Wong. 2014. "Collaborative Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey (CMPS), 2008. ICPSR35163-v1." *Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor]*: 08-21.
- Baum, Christopher F., Yingying Dong, Arthur Lewbel, and Tao Yang. 2012. "A simple alternative to the linear probability model for binary choice models with endogenous regressors." In *German Stata Users' Group Meetings*, vol. 2.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 2010. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. University of Chicago Press.
- Beaudoin, Christopher E., and Esther Thorson. 2005. "Credibility perceptions of news coverage of ethnic groups: The predictive roles of race and news use." *The Howard Journal of Communications* 16 (1): 33-48.
- Bender, Steven. *Greasers and gringos: Latinos, law, and the American imagination*. Vol. 8. NYU Press, 2003.
- Bendixen and Associates. 2005. *The Ethnic Media in America: The Giant Hidden in Plain Sight*. *National Public Radio*. Available online <http://www.npr.org/documents/2005/jul/ncmfreport.pdf>

- Bennett, W. Lance, and Jarol B. Manheim. 2006. "The One-Step Flow of Communication." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 608 (1):213-232
- Bennett, W. L. 2012. "The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20-39.
- Berg, Charles Ramírez. 1990. "Stereotyping in films in general and of the Hispanic in particular." *Howard Journal of Communications* 2 (3): 286-300.
- Bernal, Rafael. 2019. "Telemundo to become first Spanish-language channel to host Dem presidential debate." *The Hill*, February 14. Available online <https://thehill.com/latino/430099-telemundo-to-become-first-spanish-language-channel-to-host-dem-presidential-debate>
- Bimber, B. A., and R. Davis. 2003. *Campaigning Online: The Internet in US Elections*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Bimber, Bimber. 2017. "Three prompts for collective action in the context of digital media." *Political Communication* 34(1), pp.6-20.
- Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation." *American Political Science Review* 89 (2): 271-294.
- Brann, Maria, and Kimberly Leezer Himes. 2010. "Perceived credibility of male versus female television newscasters." *Communication Research Reports* 27 (3): 243-252.
- Branton, Regina, and Johanna Dunaway. 2008. "English-and Spanish-Language Media Coverage of Immigration: A Comparative Analysis." *Social Science Quarterly* 89, (4): 1006-1022.
- Bratton, Kathleen A., and Leonard P. Ray. 2002. "Descriptive representation, policy outcomes, and municipal day-care coverage in Norway." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 428-437.
- Breed, Warren. 1955. "Social control in the newsroom: A functional analysis." *Social forces*, 33 (4): 326-335.
- Brenan, Megan. 2019. "Americans' Trust in Mass Media Edges Down to 41%." *Gallup*, September 26. Available online <https://news.gallup.com/poll/267047/americans-trust-mass-media-edges-down.aspx>

- Brodie, Mollyann, Nina Kjellson, Tina Hoff, and Molly Parker. 1999. "Perceptions of Latinos, African Americans, and Whites on Media as a Health Information Source." *Howard Journal of Communication* 10 (3): 147-167.
- Brooks, Deborah J. 2011. "A negativity gap? Voter gender, attack politics, and participation in American elections." *Politics & Gender*, 6(3): 319-341.
- Brown, Heather, Emily Guskin, and Amy Mitchell. 2012. "Arab-American Media." *Pew Research Center, Journalism and Media*, November 28. Available online <http://www.journalism.org/2012/11/28/arabamerican-media/>
- Browne, D. R. 2005. *Ethnic Minorities, Electronic Media and the Public Sphere: A Comparative Approach*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Bucy, Erik P. 2003. "Media credibility reconsidered: Synergy effects between on-air and online news." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 80 (2): 247-264.
- Burke, Michael. 2019. "Anderson Cooper blasts Trump over McCain attacks: 'He's punching a person who is dead.'" *The Hill*, March 20. Available online <https://thehill.com/homenews/media/434885-anderson-cooper-blasts-trump-over-attacks-on-mccain-hes-punching-a-person-who>
- Burns, Nancy, Donald R. Kinder, Steven J. Rosenstone, and Virginia Sapiro. 2001. *American National Election Study, 2000: Pre-and Post-Election Survey*. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.
- Byers, Dylan. 2014. "Anchor with attitude." *Politico*, May 28. Available online <https://www.politico.com/story/2014/05/jorge-ramos-fusion-politics-immigration-107124>
- Cacciatore, M.A., Scheufele, D., & Iyengar, S. 2016. The end of framing as we know it... and the future of media effects. *Mass Communication & Society*, 19(1), 17-23.
- Cambridge, V. C. 2005. *Immigration, Diversity, and Broadcasting in the United States, 1990–2001*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Camia, Catalina. 2013. "Cory Booker Makes His Pitch to Latinos in Spanish." *USA Today*, July 16. Available online <https://www.usatoday.com/story/onpolitics/2013/07/16/cory-booker-spanish-senate-ad/2521193/>
- Canon, David T., and Richard A. Posner. 1999. *Race, redistricting, and representation: The unintended consequences of black majority districts*. University of Chicago Press.
- Carroll, Ryall, and David Luna. 2011. "The Other Meaning of Fluency." *Journal of*

Advertising 40, no. 3: 73-84.

- Carsey, T. M., and G. C. Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Positions in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 464–477.
- Casillas, Dolores Inés. 2014. *Sounds of Belonging: US Spanish-Language Radio and Public Advocacy*. NYU Press.
- Chadwick, A. (2007). "Digital Network Repertoires and Organizational Hybridity." *Political Communication*, 24(3), 283–301.
- Chavez, Leo. *The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens, and the nation*. Stanford University Press, 2013.
- CNN. No date. "Anderson Cooper: CNN anchor." Available online <https://www.cnn.com/profiles/anderson-cooper-profile#about>
- Cohen, Bernard. 1963. *The Press and Foreign Policy*. New York: Harcourt.
- Conway, Bethany A., Kate Kenski, and Di Wang. 2015. "The Rise of Twitter in the Political Campaign: Searching for Intermedia Agenda-Setting Effects in the Presidential Primary." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 20 (4): 363–80
- Cottle, S. 2000. *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Cox, Christopher. 1988. "Multinomial Regression Models Based on Continuation Ratios." *Statistics in Medicine* 7 (3): 435-441.
- Cumoletti, Mattea and Jeanne Batalova. 2018. "Middle Eastern and North African Immigrants in the United States." *Migration Policy Institute*, January 10. Available online <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/middle-eastern-and-north-african-immigrants-united-states>
- Dalisay, Francis. 2012. "Media Use and Acculturation of New Immigrants in the United States." *Communication Research Reports* 29 (2): 148-160.
- Darr, Joshua P., Johanna L. Dunaway, Brittany N. Perry, and Mingxiao Sui. Working paper. 2018. "The Social Geography of News: Political Effects of Spanish-Language Media Access" Presented APSA 2018.
- Dautrich, Kenneth, Thomas H. Hartley, and Thomas Hartley. 1999. *How the news media fail American voters: Causes, consequences, and remedies*. Columbia University Press.

- Davila, Arlene. 2011. *Inc: The Marketing and Making of a People*. University of California Press.
- Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- DellaVigna, Stefano, and Ethan Kaplan. 2007. "The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 122(1): 1187– 1234.
- Desphande, Rohit, and Douglas M. Stayman. 1994. A tale of two cities: Distinctiveness theory and advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31(1): 57-64.
- Demeulenaere, Pierre. *Analytical sociology and social mechanisms*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Deuze, M. 2006. "Ethnic Media, Community Media, and Participatory Culture." *Journalism*, 7(3), 262–280.
- Dilliplane, S. 2014. "Activation, Conversion, or Reinforcement? The Impact of Partisan News Exposure on Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(1), 79-94.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 2008. "Language ecology and linguistic diversity on the African continent." *Language and linguistics compass* 2 (5): 840-858.
- Djerf-Pierre, Monika. 2005. "Lonely at the top: Gendered media elites in Sweden." *Journalism* 6 (3): 265-290.
- Dowler, Kenneth. 2003. "Media Consumption and Public Attitudes Toward Crime and Justice: The Relationship Between Fear of Crime, Punitive Attitudes, and Perceived Police Effectiveness." *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 10 (2): 109-126.
- Druckman, James N.. 2004. Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)Relevance of Framing Effects. *American Political Science Review*, 98(4), 671-686.
- Druckman, James N., and Thomas J. Leeper. 2012. "Learning more from political communication experiments: Pretreatment and its effects." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (4): 875-896.
- Dubois, Sylvie, and Megan Melançon. 2000. "Creole Is, Creole Ain't: Diachronic and Synchronic Attitudes Toward Creole Identity in Southern Louisiana." *Language in Society* 29 (2): 237-258.

- Dunaway, Johanna, Regina P. Branton, and Marisa A. Abrajano. 2010. "Agenda Setting, Public Opinion, and the Issue of Immigration Reform." *Social Science Quarterly* 91 (2): 359-378.
- Elster, Jon. 1983. *Explaining technical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elster, Jon. 1998. "A plea for mechanisms," in *Social mechanisms*, ed. Hedstrom and Swedberg, 45–73.
- Embacher, Kimberly, Rory McGloin, and Keith Richards. 2018. "When women give health advice online, do we listen? The effect of source sex on credibility and likelihood to use online health advice." *Western Journal of Communication* 82 (4): 439-456.
- Eveland Jr, William P., and Dhavan V. Shah. 2003. "The impact of individual and interpersonal factors on perceived news media bias." *Political psychology* 24 (1): 101-117.
- Fay, Michael P., and Michael A. Proschan. 2010. "Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney or t-test? On assumptions for hypothesis tests and multiple interpretations of decision rules." *Statistics surveys* 4(1): 1-39.
- Feezell, Jessica T. 2018. "Agenda setting through social media: The importance of incidental news exposure and social filtering in the digital era." *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(2): 482-494.
- Félix, Adrián, Carmen González, and Ricardo Ramírez. 2008. "Political Protest, Ethnic Media, and Latino Naturalization." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52 (4): 618-634.
- Feltovich, Nick. 2003. "Nonparametric tests of differences in medians: comparison of the Wilcoxon–Mann–Whitney and robust rank-order tests." *Experimental Economics* 6 (3): 273-297.
- Festinger, Leon. 1954. "A theory of social comparison processes." *Human relations* 7 (2): 117-140.
- Fisher, Caroline. 2018. "What Is Meant By 'Trust' In News Media?" In *Trust in Media and Journalism*, pp. 19-38. Springer VS, Wiesbaden.
- Fischer, Roswitha. 2010. *Anglicisms in Europe: Linguistic diversity in a global context*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Flippen, Chenoa A., and Emilio A. Parrado. 2015. "Perceived discrimination among Latino immigrants in new destinations: The case of Durham, North Carolina."

Sociological Perspectives 58 (4): 666-685.

- Flores, Antonio. 2017. "How the U.S. Hispanic Population is Changing." *Pew Research Center*, September 18. Available online <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/18/how-the-u-s-hispanic-population-is-changing/>
- Flores, Alejandro, and Alexander Coppock. 2018. "Do Bilinguals Respond More Favorably to Candidate Advertisements in English or in Spanish?" *Political Communication* 35 (4): 612-633.
- Flores, Antonio, Gustavo López, and Jynnah Radford. 2017. "2015, Hispanic Population in the United States Statistical Portrait." *Pew Research Center*, September 18. Available online <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2017/09/18/2015-statistical-information-on-hispanics-in-united-states-current-data/>
- Fraga, Luis R., John A. Garcia, Rodney Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary M. Segura. 2006. "Latino National Survey (LNS), 2006 ICPSR 20862." *Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research*. <http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR20862>. v6.
- Fullerton, Andrew S. 2009. "A conceptual framework for ordered logistic regression models." *Sociological methods & research* 38 (2): 306-347.
- Galano, Pearl N. 2014. *The Political Impact of Agenda Setting and Framing: A Comparative Study of the English and Spanish American Media*. University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Gallup. 2018. "American Views: Trust, Media and Democracy." *Politico*. Available online <https://www.politico.com/f/?id=00000160-fbcc-dcd4-a96b-ffeddf140001>
- Gamboa, Suzanne. 2018. "Latinos show record gains in Congress, though numbers are still low." *NBC News*, November 15. Available online <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/latinos-show-record-gains-congress-though-numbers-are-still-low-n936781>
- Gandara, Patricia C., and Frances Contreras. *The Latino Education Crisis: The Consequences of Failed Social Policies*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Gandy, O. H. 1998. *Communication and Race: A Structural Perspective*. London, UK: Arnold.
- Gao, George. "The challenges of polling Asian Americans." *Pew Research Center*, May 11. Available online <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/05/11/the-challenges-of-polling-asian-americans/>
- Garcia, John A. 2009. "Language of Interview: Exploring Patterns and Consequences of

- Changing Language During Interview." In *Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association*. Vancouver, BC.
- Garcia, John A. 2017. "The Race Project: Researching Race in the Social Sciences Researchers, Measures, and Scope of Studies." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 2 (2): 300-346.
- Garcia Bedolla, L. 2005. *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity and Politics in Los Angeles*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Garcia-Rios, Sergio I., and Matt A. Barreto. 2016. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012." *Russell Sage Foundation*.
- Gardner, Michael K., Ernst Z. Rothkopf, Richard Lapan, and Toby Lafferty. 1987. "The Word Frequency Effect in Lexical Decision: Finding a Frequency-Based Component." *Memory & Cognition* 15 (1): 24-28.
- Garrett, R. Kelly, and Stroud, Natalie J. 2014. Partisan paths to exposure diversity: Differences in pro- and counter attitudinal news consumption. *Journal of Communication*, 64(4), 680-701.
- Gerber, Alan S., Dean Karlan, and Daniel Bergan. 2009. "Does the Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behavior and Political Opinions." *American Economic Journal* 1(2): 35– 52.
- Gieber, Walter. 1964. "News Is What Newspapermen Make It," in *People, Society and Mass Communications*, eds. Lewis A. Dexter and David M. White, 173-180.
- Giles, Howard, Donald M. Taylor, and Richard Bourhis. 1973. "Towards a Theory of Interpersonal Accommodation Through Language: Some Canadian Data." *Language in Society* 2 (2): 177-192.
- Gluszek, Agata, and John F. Dovidio. 2010. "The Way They Speak: A Social Psychological Perspective on the Stigma of Nonnative Accents in Communication." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14 (2): 214-237.
- Goldstein Daniel G, and Gerd Gigerenzer. 2002. "Models of Ecological Rationality: The Recognition Heuristic." *Psychology Review*. 109 (1):75–90
- Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara. 2016. "Stepping into the Vacuum: State and Cities Act on Immigration, but Do Restrictions Work?" *Migration Information Source*.
- Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "The Importance of State and Local Variation in Black-Brown Attitudes: How Latinos View Blacks and How Blacks Affect Their Views." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity*

and Politics 1-39.

- Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara, and Brooke Abrams. 2019. "Solitary Confinement in New Mexico: A Review of Policies, Practices, and Inmate Experiences in Isolation." *American Civil Liberties Union of New Mexico*. Available online.
- Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2019. "Latinos and Trump." In *Latinos in the American Political System, An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*, ed. Jessica L. Lavariega Monforti. ABL-CLO.
- Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. Forthcoming. "The Latino Rejection of the Trump Campaign: The Biggest Voter Gap on Record" in Gabriel R. Sanchez, Luis Fraga and Ricardo Ramirez (eds.) *Latinos and the 2016 Election*. Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.
- Gottfried, Jeffrey, and Elisa Shearer. 2016. "News Use Across Social Media Platforms 2016." Pew Research Center, Washington, DC.
- Gross, Peter. 2006. "A Prolegomena to the Study of the Romani Media in Eastern Europe." *European Journal of Communication*, 21(4), 477–497.
- Griffin, John D., and Michael Keane. 2011. "Are African Americans Effectively Represented in Congress?" *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (1): 145-156.
- Guskin, Emily, Paul Moore, and Amy Mitchell. 2011. "African American Media: Evolving in the New Era." *Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism*. Available online
- Gutierrez, Pedro Antonio, Maria Perez-Ortiz, Javier Sanchez-Monedero, Francisco Fernandez-Navarro, and Cesar Hervas-Martinez. 2015. "Ordinal regression methods: survey and experimental study." *IEEE Transactions on Knowledge and Data Engineering* 28 (1): 127-146.
- Hale, Matthew, Tricia Olsen, and Erika F. Fowler. 2009. "A Matter of Language or Culture: Coverage of the 2004 US elections on Spanish-and English-Language Television." *Mass Communication and Society* 12 (1): 26-51.
- Hayes, Danny. "Does the Messenger Matter? Candidate-Media Agenda Convergence and Its Effects on Voter Issue Salience." *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (1): 134-146.
- Hallahan, Kirk. 1999. "No, Virginia, it's not true what they say about publicity's "Implied Third-Party Endorsement" effect." *Public Relations Review* 25 (3): 331-350.
- Hawke, Stephanie Taylor. 2018. "The Dynamic Returns of Descriptive Representation: A

Study of Race, Politics and Policy in Urban Governments." *Portland State University*.

Hipsman, Faye, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Randy Capps. 2016. "DACA at Four: Participation in the Deferred Action Program and Impacts on Recipients." *Migration Policy Institute* 1 (398): 228.

Hopkins, Daniel J. 2011. "Translating into Votes: The Electoral Impacts of Spanish-Language Ballots." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (4): 814-830.

Hopkins, Daniel J. 2014. "One Language, Two Meanings: Partisanship and Responses to Spanish." *Political Communication* 31 (3): 421-445.

Hopkins, Daniel J., Van C. Tran, and Abigail Fisher Williamson. 2014. "See No Spanish: Language, Local Context, and Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2 (1): 35-51.

Hovland, Carl Iver, Irving Lester Janis, and Harold H. Kelley. 1953. *Communication and persuasion*. Yale University Press.

Hovland, Carl I., and Walter Weiss. 1951. "The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness." *Public opinion quarterly* 15 (4): 635-650.

Hughes, Mine Üçok, Tony Stovall, Ekin Pehlivan, and Rafael Cardona. 2018. "Multicultural Marketing Campaigns: Reaching the US Hispanic Market on Digital Media: An Abstract." In *Academy of Marketing Science World Marketing Congress*, pp. 861-862. Springer, Cham.

Ibelema, Mineabere, and Larry Powell. 2001. "Cable television news viewed as most credible." *Newspaper Research Journal* 22 (1): 41-51.

Infante, Dominic A. 1980. "The construct validity of semantic differential scales for the measurement of source credibility." *Communication Quarterly* 28 (2): 19-26.

Ingram, Mathew. 2018. "Most Americans say they have lost trust in the media." *Columbia Journalism Review*, September 12. Available online https://www.cjr.org/the_media_today/trust-in-media-down.php

Instituto Cervantes. 2016. "El Español: Una Lengua Viva. Informe 2016." Available online <https://www.cervantes.es/imagenes/File/prensa/EspanolLenguaViva16.pdf>

Islam, Gazi N. 2014. "Social Identity Theory." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 67(1): 741-763.

Iyengar, Shanto, and Kiu S. Hahn. 2009. "Red media, blue media: Evidence of ideological selectivity in media use." *Journal of Communication*, 59(1) 19-39.

- Jackob, Nikolaus Georg Edmund. 2010. "No alternatives? The relationship between perceived media dependency, use of alternative information sources, and general trust in mass media." *International Journal of Communication* 4 (1): 18.
- Jacoby, Larry L., and Mark Dallas. 1981. "On the Relationship Between Autobiographical Memory and Perceptual Learning." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 110 (3): 306.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, and Joseph N. Cappella. 2008. *Echo chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the conservative media establishment*. Oxford University Press.
- Jeffres, Leo W. 2000. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Media Use: A Panel Study." *Communication Research*, 27(4), 496–535.
- Jennings, M. Kent. 2004. "American political participation viewed through the lens of the political socialization project." *Advances in Political Psychology* 1: 1-18.
- Jennings, M. Kent. 2007. "Political socialization." In *The Oxford handbook of political behavior*.
- Johnson, Dennis W. 2010. *Routledge handbook of political management*. Routledge.
- Johnson, M. A. 2000. "How Ethnic are U.S. Ethnic Media?" *Mass Communication and Society*, 3(2), 229–248.
- Johnson, M. A. 2010. "Incorporating Self-Categorization Concepts into Ethnic Media Research." *Communication Theory* 20 (1): 106-125.
- Johnson, Thomas J., and Barbara K. Kaye. 1998. "Cruising is believing? Comparing Internet and traditional sources on media credibility measures." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 75 (2): 325-340.
- Jones, David A. 2004. "Why Americans don't trust the media: A preliminary analysis." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 9 (2): 60-75.
- Jones-Correa, Michael. 2005. "Language Provisions Under the Voting Rights Act: How Effective Are They?" *Social Science Quarterly* 86 (3): 549-564.
- Joseph, Bryce. 2017. "Political Media Bias in the United States: Immigration and the Trump Administration." *University of South Florida*.
- Juarez, Melina D., Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Sonia Bettez. 2018. "Localities and the Immigrant Detention Center Complex: Profits over Communities?" *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 6(1), 74-96.

- Kaiser Family Foundation. 2018. "Key Facts about the Uninsured Population." December 7. Available online <https://www.kff.org/uninsured/fact-sheet/key-facts-about-the-uninsured-population/>
- Kam, C. D., and Ramos, J. M. 2008. "Joining and leaving the rally: Understanding the surge and decline in presidential approval following 9/ 11." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72(4): 619– 650.
- Karpowitz, C. F., Mendelberg, T., & Shaker, L. 2012. Gender inequality in deliberative participation. *American Political Science Review*, 106(3), 533-547.
- Kerevel, Yann P. 2011. "The Influence of Spanish-Language Media on Latino Public Opinion and Group Consciousness." *Social Science Quarterly* 92 (2): 509-534.
- Kiousis, Spiro. 2001. "Public trust or mistrust? Perceptions of media credibility in the information age." *Mass communication & society* 4 (4): 381-403.
- Knobloch-Westerwick, S. 2012. "Selective exposure and reinforcement of attitudes and partisanship before a presidential election." *Journal of Communication*, 62(4), 628-642.
- Koch, Jeffrey W. 2019. "Racial Minorities' Trust in Government and Government Decisionmakers." *Social Science Quarterly* 100 (1): 19-37.
- Kohut, Andrew. 1986. "Rating the polls: The views of media elites and the general public." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50 (1): 1-10.
- Koslow, Scott, Prem N. Shamdassani, and Ellen E. Touchstone. 1994. "Exploring Language Effects in Ethnic Advertising: A Sociolinguistic Perspective." *Journal of Consumer Research* 20 (4): 575-585.
- Krogstad, Jens M. 2017. "U.S. Hispanic Population Growth Has Leveled Off." *Pew Research Center*, August 3. Available online <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/03/u-s-hispanic-population-growth-has-leveled-off/>
- Krosnick, J.A., and D. Kinder. 1990. "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President Through Priming." *American Political Science Review*, 84 (2): 497-513.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Conduct and Communication, no. 4. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ladd, J. McDonald, and G. S. Lenz. 2009. "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 394– 410.
- Lang, G. E., and K. Lang. 1981. "Watergate—An Exploration of the Agenda-Building

- Process” in G. C. Wilhoit and H. deBock (Eds.), *Mass Communication Review Yearbook* (Vol. 2, pp. 447-468). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. 2004. "Politics of presence? Congresswomen and symbolic representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 57 (1): 81-99.
- Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing public opinion: Black insurgency and racial attitudes in the civil rights era*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, Taeku, and Efrén O. Pérez. 2014. "The Persistent Connection Between Language-of-Interview and Latino Political Opinion." *Political Behavior* 36 (2): 401-425.
- Lee, Tien-Tsung. 2010. "Why they don't trust the media: An examination of factors predicting trust." *American Behavioral Scientist* 54 (1): 8-21.
- Len-Ríos, María E. 2017. "The Politics of Latino Publics: Immigration Reform, Political Participation and Intention to Vote." *Public Relations Review* 43 (1): 249-257.
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2009. "Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 821– 837.
- Lewis, Seth C. 2019. "Lack of trust in the news media, institutional weakness, and relational journalism as a potential way forward." *Journalism* 20 (1): 44-47.
- Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway, Taeku Lee, and Janelle Wong. 2001. "The Pilot Asian American Political Survey: Summary Report." *The National Asian Pacific American Political Almanac* 2: 80-95.
- Lin, W., and H. Song. 2006. "Geo-Ethnic Storytelling: An Examination of Ethnic Media Content in Contemporary Immigrant Communities." *Journalism*, 7(3), 362–388.
- Liu, Xinsheng, Eric Lindquist, and Arnold Vedlitz. 2011. "Explaining Media and Congressional Attention to Global Climate Change, 1969-2005: An Empirical Test of Agenda-Setting Theory." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (2): 405-419.
- Lopez, Mark H. 2013. "What Univision's Milestone Says About U.S. Demographics." *Pew Research Center*, July 29. Available online <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/07/29/what-univisions-milestone-says-about-u-s-demographics/>
- Lopez, Mark H., Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, and Jens M. Krogstad. 2018. "More Latinos Have Serious Concerns About Their Place in America Under Trump." *Pew Research Center*, October 25. Available online.
- Lopez, Mark H., Jens Manuel Krogstad, and Antonio Flores. 2018. "Most Hispanic Parents Speak Spanish to Their Children, but This Is Less the Case in Later Immigrant Generations." *Pew Research Center*, April 2. Available online

<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/04/02/most-hispanic-parents-speak-spanish-to-their-children-but-this-is-less-the-case-in-later-immigrant-generations/>

- Lopez, Gustavo, Neil G. Ruiz, and Eileen Patten. 2017. "Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population." *Pew Research Center*, September 8. Available online <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/08/key-facts-about-asian-americans/>
- Luna, David, and Laura A. Peracchio. 2001. "Moderators of Language Effects in Advertising to Bilinguals: A Psycholinguistic Approach." *Journal of Consumer Research* 28 (2): 284-295.
- Luna, David, and Laura A. Peracchio. 2005. "Sociolinguistic Effects on Code-Switched Ads Targeting Bilingual Consumers." *Journal of Advertising* 34 (2): 43-56.
- Luna, David, Torsten Ringberg, and Laura A. Peracchio. 2008. "One Individual, Two Identities: Frame Switching Among Biculturals." *Journal of Consumer Research* 35 (2): 279-293.
- Magaña, Lisa. 2013. "SB 1070 and Negative Social Constructions of Latino Immigrants in Arizona. *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*. 38(2): 151-161.
- Mahtani, M. 2008. "Racializing the Audience: Immigrant Perceptions of Mainstream Canadian English-Language TV news." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 33(4): 639.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent" yes"." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657.
- Manzano, Sylvia, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2010. "Take One for the Team? Limits of Shared Ethnicity and Candidate Preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (3): 568-580.
- Marian, Viorica, and Caitlin M. Fausey. 2006. "Language-Dependent Memory in Bilingual Learning." *Applied Cognitive Psychology: The Official Journal of the Society for Applied Research in Memory and Cognition* 20 (8): 1025-1047.
- Marian, Viorica, and Margarita Kaushanskaya. 2007. "Language Context Guides Memory Content." *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 14, no. 5: 925-933.
- Marian, Viorica, and Ulric Neisser. 2000. "Language-Dependent Recall of Autobiographical Memories." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 129 (3): 361.
- Massey, Douglas S. 2014. "The racialization of Latinos in the United States." *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration* 21-40.

- Masuoka, Natalie. 2006. "Together They Become One: Examining the Predictors of Panethnic Group Consciousness Among Asian Americans and Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (5): 993-1011.
- Mayerhöffer, Eva. 2018. *Elite Cohesion in Mediatized Politics: European Perspectives*. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- McCarty, Teresa L., Mary Eunice Romero, and Ofelia Zepeda. 2006. "Reclaiming the Gift: Indigenous Youth Counter-Narratives on Native Language Loss and Revitalization." *American Indian Quarterly* 30 (1): 28-48.
- McClain, Paula D., Jessica D. Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton Jr, and Candis S. Watts. 2009. "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (1): 471-485.
- McCombs, M., and D. L. Shaw. 1972. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2): 176-187.
- McCombs, M., and S. Valenzuela. 2014. "Agenda-Setting Theory: The Frontier Research Questions" in K. Kenski and K. Hall Jameson (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*. Oxford University Press.
- McConnell, Eileen Diaz, and Edward A. Delgado-Romero. 2004. "Latino Panethnicity: Reality or Methodological Construction?" *Sociological Focus* 37 (4): 297-312.
- McCroskey, James C., Virginia P. Richmond, and John A. Daly. 1975. "The development of a measure of perceived homophily in interpersonal communication." *Human Communication Research* 1 (4): 323-332.
- Meadows, M. 1995. "Ideas from the Bush: Indigenous Television in Australia and Canada." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 20(2): 197-212.
- Medina Vidal, Xavier. 2018. "Latino Immigrant Home-Country Media Use and Participation in US Politics." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 40 (1): 37-56.
- Mendoza-Denton, Norma. 2002. "Language and Identity" in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, eds. Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moran, Kristin C. 2006. "Is Changing the Language Enough? The Spanish-Language 'Alternative' in the USA." *Journalism* 7 (3): 389-405.
- Merolla, Jennifer L., Abbylin H. Sellers, and Derek J. Fowler. 2013. "Descriptive

Representation, Political Efficacy, and African Americans in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Political Psychology* 34 (6): 863-875.

- Metzger, M. J., Flanagin, A. J., Eyal, K., Lemus, D. R., & McCann, R. M. 2003. Credibility for the 21st century: Integrating perspectives on source, message, and media credibility in the contemporary media environment. *Communication yearbook*, 27(1), 293–336.
- Michelson, Melissa R. 2001. "Political trust among Chicago Latinos." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23 (3): 323-334.
- Miro, Pablo. 2017. "Attention brands: Hispanics could ignite your next big reputation crisis." *PR Week*, August 23. Available online <https://www.prweek.com/article/1442783/attention-brands-hispanics-ignite-next-big-reputation-crisis>
- Moran, Lee. 2017. "Anderson Cooper Hits Donald Trump With Biblical Part of His Inauguration Speech." *The Huffington Post*, July 30. Available online https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anderson-cooper-donald-trump-racist-stereotypes_n_5d3ff35be4b01d8c9780c020
- Morin, Rebecca. 2019. "Some 2020 Democrats Spoke in Spanish During Their First Debate. Was it 'Hispandering'?" *USA Today*, June 30. Available online <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2019/06/30/dnc-debate-spanish-beto-booker-castro-latinos-hispandering/1592517001/>
- Morogiello, Vanessa L. 2007. "A Content Analysis of Anderson Cooper 360°'s Coverage of Hurricane Katrina: Politically Slanted or Objective Reporting on a National Crisis." Seton Hall University.
- Mulder, Ronald. 1981. "A log-linear analysis of media credibility." *Journalism Quarterly* 58 (4): 635-638.
- Mutz, Diana C. 2011. *Population-Based Survey Experiments*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1995. *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford University Press.
- NAHJ (National Association of Hispanic Journalists). 2018. "NAHJ Meets with NPR to Discuss Diversity and Inclusion." December 13. Available online <http://nahj.org/2018/12/14/nahj-meets-npr-discuss-diversity-inclusion/>
- NALEO Educational Fund. 2020. "Latino Elected Officials in America." Available online <https://naleo.org/at-a-glance/>

- Náñez, Dianna M. 2020. "Latinos make up only 1% of all local and federal elected officials, and that's a big problem." *USA Today*, January 31. Available online <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2020/01/06/aoc-julian-castro-underrepresented-hispanics-aim-change-politics/4253316002/>
- Negrón, Edna I. 2011. "Case Study: Periódico Nosotros, a Catalyst for Empowering Latino Immigrants in a South Jersey Town." *Journal of Spanish Language Media*: Vol 4(1): 169-183.
- Negrón-Muntaner, Frances, Chelsea Abbas, Luis Figueroa, and Samuel Robson. 2014. "The Latino media gap: A report on the state of Latinos in US media." *Columbia University* 19.
- Nelson, T. E., S. M. Bryner, and D. Carnahan. 2011. "Handbook of experimental political science."
- Newman, Benjamin J., Todd K. Hartman, and Charles S. Taber. 2012. "Foreign Language Exposure, Cultural Threat, and Opposition to Immigration." *Political Psychology* 33 (5): 635-657.
- New York Times Licensing. No date. "Jorge Ramos." New York Times. Available online <https://nytlicensing.com/content/opinion/jorge-ramos/>
- NHMC (National Hispanic Media Coalition). 2020. "NHMC President & CEO, Brenda Victoria Castillo's Statement for Media Diversity Hearing." January 14. Available online <https://www.nhmc.org/nhmc-president-ceo-brenda-victoria-castillos-statement-for-media-diversity-hearing/>
- NHMC (National Hispanic Media Coalition). 2019. "Open Letter: 'Hollywood, I Don't Want To Tell You I Told You So, But I Told You So!'" September 3. Available online <https://www.nhmc.org/open-letter-hollywood-i-dont-want-to-tell-you-i-told-you-so-but-i-told-you-so/>
- Noriega, Jaime, and Edward Blair. 2008. "Advertising to Bilinguals: Does the Language of Advertising Influence the Nature of Thoughts?." *Journal of Marketing* 72 (5): 69-83.
- Oh, David C. 2016. "Reconsidering Ethnic Media Research: An Argument for a Diasporic Identity Framework." *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 24(5): 264-275.
- Ojo, T. 2006. "Ethnic Print Media in the Multicultural Nation of Canada." *Journalism*, 7(3), 343 – 361.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 2014. *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge, 2014.

- Ostfeld, Mara. 2017. "Unity Versus Uniformity: Effects of Targeted Advertising on Perceptions of Group Politics." *Political Communication* 34 (4): 530-547.
- Panagopoulos, Costas, and Donald P. Green. 2011. "Spanish-Language Radio Advertisements and Latino Voter Turnout in the 2006 Congressional Elections: Field Experimental Evidence." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (3): 588-599.
- Park, Robert E. 1970. *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Pantoja, Adrian. 2006. "Descriptive Representation, Political Alienation, and Political Trust: The Case of Latinos in Connecticut." *Latinos in New England* 225-236.
- Pantoja, Adrian D., and Gary M. Segura. 2003. "Does ethnicity matter? Descriptive representation in legislatures and political alienation among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 84 (2): 441-460.
- Peake, Jeffrey S. 2001. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy." *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (1): 69-86.
- Pérez, Efrén O., and Margit Tavits. 2017. "Language Shapes People's Time Perspective and Support for Future-Oriented Policies." *American Journal of Political Science* 61 (3): 715-727.
- Pérez, Efrén O. 2011. "The Origins and Implications of Language Effects in Multilingual Surveys: A MIMIC Approach with Application to Latino Political Attitudes." *Political Analysis* 19 (4): 434-454.
- Pérez, Efrén O. 2016. "Rolling Off the Tongue into the Top-of-the-Head: Explaining Language Effects on Public Opinion." *Political Behavior* 38 (3): 603-634.
- Pew Research Center. 2018. "Hispanic and African American News Media Fact Sheet." *Journalism and Media*. July 25. Available online <https://www.journalism.org/fact-sheet/hispanic-and-african-american-news-media/>
- Pew Research Center. 2019a. "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2019." April 11. Available online <https://www.people-press.org/2019/04/11/public-trust-in-government-1958-2019/>
- Pew Research Center. 2019. "Hispanic and Black News Media Fact Sheet." July 9. Available online <https://www.journalism.org/fact-sheet/hispanic-and-black-news-media/>
- Pew Research Center. 2008. "Media Credibility." August 17. Available online <https://www.people-press.org/2008/08/17/media-credibility/>

- Pew Research Center. 2010. "Americans Spending More Time Following the News, Section 5: News Media Credibility." September 12. Available online <https://www.people-press.org/2010/09/12/section-5-news-media-credibility/>
- Pew Research Center. 2010. "Trust in government: 1958-2015." November 23. Available online <https://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/1-trust-in-government-1958-2015/>
- Pratt, Gregory. 2019. "Lori Lightfoot's Airing First Spanish-Language Ad of Chicago Mayoral Runoff Campaign." *Chicago Tribune*, March 25. Available online <https://www.chicagotribune.com/politics/elections/ct-met-chicago-mayors-race-lori-lightfoot-spanish-ad-20190325-story.html>
- Pornpitakpan, Chanthika. 2004. "The persuasiveness of source credibility: A critical review of five decades' evidence." *Journal of applied social psychology* 34 (2): 243-281.
- Preuhs, Robert R. 2005. "Descriptive representation, legislative leadership, and direct democracy: Latino influence on English only laws in the states, 1984–2002." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 5 (3): 203-224.
- Prior, Markus. 2007. *Post-broadcast Democracy: How media choice increases inequality in political involvement and polarizes elections*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Prior, Markus. 2014. "Visual Political Knowledge: A Different Road to Competence?" *Journal of Politics* 76(1): 41-57
- Pulley, B. 2004. *The Billion Dollar BET: Robert Johnson and the Inside Story of Black Entertainment Television*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.
- Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and schuster, 2000.
- Rainie, Lee, Scott Keeter, and Andrew Perrin. 2019. "Trust and Distrust in America." *Pew Research Center*, July 22. Available online <https://www.people-press.org/2019/07/22/trust-and-distrust-in-america/>
- Ramakrishnan, Karthick, and Farah Z. Ahmad. 2014. "Language Diversity and English Proficiency: Part of the 'State of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders' Series." *Center for American Progress*, May 27. Available online <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/A-API-LanguageAccess1.pdf>
- Ramos, Jorge. No date. "Biography Jorge Ramos Ávalos." Available online

<https://jorgeramos.com/en/biography/>

- Ramos, Jorge. 2017. "Jorge Ramos: Donald Trump, I Don't Want to Be Your Friend." *Time Magazine*, March 3. Available online <https://time.com/4687936/jorge-ramos-donald-trump-harvard-speech/>
- Ramos-Zayas, Ana Y. 2004. "Delinquent Citizenship, National Performances: Racialization, Surveillance, and the Politics of 'Worthiness' in Puerto Rican Chicago." *Latino Studies* 2 (1): 26-44.
- Reber, Rolf, Piotr Winkielman, and Norbert Schwarz. 1998. "Effects of Perceptual Fluency on Affective Judgments." *Psychological Science* 9 (1): 45-48.
- Reber, Rolf, and Norbert Schwarz. 1999. "Effects of Perceptual Fluency on Judgments of Truth." *Consciousness and Cognition* 8 (3): 338-342.
- Riggins, Stephen H. 1992. "The Promise and Limits of Ethnic Minority Media" in S. H. Riggins (Ed.), *Ethnic Minority Media: An International Perspective* (pp. 276–287). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Rivas-Rodriguez, Maggie. 2003. *Brown Eyes on the Web: Unique Perspective of an Alternative Latino Online Publication*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 15-18.
- Roberts, Marilyn, Wayne Wanta, and Tzong-Hong Dzwo. 2002. "Agenda Setting and Issue Salience Online." *Communication Research* 29 (4): 452-465.
- Robinson, Sue. 2009. "If you had been with us': mainstream press and citizen journalists jockey for authority over the collective memory of Hurricane Katrina." *New Media & Society* 11 (5): 795-814.
- Robinson, Michael J., and Andrew Kohut. 1988. "Believability and the press." *Public opinion quarterly* 52 (2): 174-189.
- Rodriguez, America. 1999. *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Roper, Burns W. 1985. *Public Attitudes Toward Television and Other Media in a Time of Change: The 14. Report in a Series by the Roper Organization Inc*. Television Information Office.
- Rosenbaum, D. P., A.M. Schuck, S.K. Costello, D.F. Hawkins, and M.K. Ring. 2005. "Attitudes Toward the Police: The Effects of Direct and Vicarious Experience." *Police Quarterly* 8 (3): 343-365.
- Roth, Wendy D. 2014. "'Latino Before the World': The Transnational Extension of

- Panethnicity." In *Latino Identity in Contemporary America*, pp. 12-32. Routledge.
- Saenz, Rogelio. 2018. "Fin de una época y el silencio de la voz Latina." *Statesman*, September 26. Available online <https://www.statesman.com/news/opinion-fin-una-epoca-silencio-voz-latina/QvGDZXOSJWTCvha2Uif5RI/>
- Saenz, Rogelio, and Aurelia Lorena Murga. 2011. *Latino Issues: A Reference Handbook*. ABC-CLIO.
- Salas, Lorraine Moya, Cecilia Ayón, and Maria Gurrola. 2013. "Estamos Traumados: The Effect of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and Policies on the Mental Health of Mexican Immigrant Families." *Journal of Community Psychology* 41 (8): 1005-1020.
- Sampson, Robert J. 2011. "11 Neighborhood effects, causal mechanisms and the social structure of the city." *Analytical sociology and social mechanisms* 1(1): 227-249.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion." *Political Research Quarterly* 59 (3): 435-446.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga. 2017. "Latino Rejection of the Trump Campaign: How Trump's Racialized Rhetoric Mobilized the Latino Electorate as Never Before." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, 42(2), 165-181.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Natalie Masuoka. 2010. "Brown-Utility Heuristic? The Presence and Contributing Factors of Latino Linked Fate." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32 (4): 519-531.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Jason L. Morin. 2011. "The Effect of Descriptive Representation on Latinos' Views of Government and of Themselves." *Social Science Quarterly* 92 (2): 483-508
- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Jillian Medeiros. 2016. "Linked Fate and Latino Attitudes Regarding Health-Care Reform Policy." *Social Science Quarterly* 97 (3): 525-539.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R., Edward D. Vargas, Melina D. Juarez, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Francisco I. Pedraza. 2017. "Nativity and Citizenship Status Affect Latinos' Health Insurance Coverage Under the ACA." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(12): 2037-2054.
- Santa Ana, Otto. *Brown tide rising: Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public discourse*. University of Texas Press, 2002.
- Satorra, Albert, and Peter M. Bentler. 2001. "A scaled difference chi-square test statistic

- for moment structure analysis." *Psychometrika* 66, no. 4: 507-514.
- Scherer, Nancy, and Brett Curry. 2010. "Does descriptive race representation enhance institutional legitimacy? The case of the US courts." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (1): 90-104.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. 2007. "Framing, Agenda-Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media-Effects Models." *Journal of Communication*, 57(1): 9-20.
- Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2013. "Which Birds of a Feather Flock Together? Assessing Attitudes About Descriptive Representation Among Latinos and Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* 41 (4): 699-729.
- Schmidt, Ronald. 2002. "Racialization and Language Policy: The Case of the USA." *Multilingua* 21 (2): 141-162.
- Schudson, Michael. 2019. "The Fall, Rise, and Fall of Media Trust." Columbia Journalism Review, Winter. Available online https://www.cjr.org/special_report/the-fall-rise-and-fall-of-media-trust.php
- Schwarz, Norbert. 2004. "Metacognitive Experiences in Consumer Judgment and Decision Making." *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 14 (4): 332-348.
- Shah, Dhavan V., Jack M. McLeod, and Nam-ji Lee. 2009. "Communication Competence as a Foundation for Civic Competence: Processes of Socialization into Citizenship." *Political Communication*, 26(1), pp.102-117.
- Shin, Hyon B., and Jennifer M. Ortman. 2011. "Language Projections: 2010 to 2020." *US Census Bureau*. April 21. Available online <https://www.census.gov/library/working-papers/2011/demo/2011-Shin-Ortman.html>
- Shingles, Richard D. 1981. "Black consciousness and political participation: The missing link." *American Political Science Review* 75 (1): 76-91.
- Siapera, Eugenia, and Andreas Veglis, 2012. Eds. *The handbook of global online journalism*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Skogerbo, Eli. 2001. "Sami Media: Identity Projects in a Changing Society" in K. Ross & P. Playdon (Eds.), *Black Marks: Minority Ethnic Audiences and Media* (pp. 157–175). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Slater, Michael D. 2007. Reinforcing spirals: The mutual influence of media selectivity and media effects and their impact on individual behavior and social identity. *Communication Theory*, 17(3): 281-303.

- Stayman, Douglas M., and H. Rao Unnava. 1997. "Special Session Summary New Directions in Research on Self-Referencing." *ACR North American Advances*.
- Stefanski, Leonard, and Buzas, Jeffrey. 1995. Instrumental Variable Estimation in Binary Regression Measurement Error Models. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 90(430), 541-550. doi:10.2307/2291065
- Stein, Joel. 2007. "The Alt TIME 100." Time Magazine, May 3. Available online http://content.time.com/time/specials/2007/time100/article/0,28804,1595326_1616364_1616317,00.html
- Steinberg, Sheila L. 2004. "Undocumented immigrants or illegal aliens? Southwestern media portrayals of Latino immigrants." *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 28(1): 109-133.
- Stewart, Craig O., Margaret J. Pitts, and Helena Osborne. 2011. "Mediated intergroup conflict: The discursive construction of "illegal immigrants" in a regional US newspaper." *Journal of language and social psychology* 30 (1): 8-27.
- Stokes, Atiya Kai. 2003. "Latino Group Consciousness and Political Participation." *American Politics Research* 31 (4): 361-378.
- Subervi-Velez, F.A. 1999. "Spanish-Language Television Coverage of Health News." *Howard Journal of Communication* 10.3: 207-228.
- Subervi-Vélez, Federico A., and Xavier Medina Vidal. 2015. "Latino Politics and the Media." *Oxford Bibliographies*, March 30, 2015.
- Subervi-Velez, F., and V. Sinta. 2015. "Latinos in TV network news 2008-2014: Still mostly invisible and problematic." *Unpublished manuscript*, submitted to the Communications Workers of America. Retrieved from <http://www.nahj.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Latinos-in-TV-network-news-2008-2014.pdf>.
- Suro, Roberto. 1994. *Remembering the American dream: Hispanic immigration and national policy*. Brookings Inst Press, 1994.
- Sundar, S. S. 2015. The MAIN Model: A heuristic Approach to Understanding Technology Effects on Credibility. In M. Metzger & A. J. Flanagin (Ed.), *Digital Media, Youth and Credibility*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Swers, Michele L. 1998. "Are women more likely to vote for women's issue bills than their male colleagues?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(3): 435-448.
- Tate, Katherine. 2003. *Black Faces in the Mirror: Blacks and Their Representatives in the US Congress*. Princeton University Press

- Taylor, Paul, Mark Hugo Lopez, Jessica Martínez, and Gabriel Velasco. 2012. "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity." *Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends*, April 4. Available online <https://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/04/when-labels-dont-fit-hispanics-and-their-views-of-identity/>
- Terborg, Roland, Laura García Landa, and Pauline Moore. 2006. "The language situation in Mexico." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 7(4): 415-518.
- Tewksbury, David. 2003. "What Do Americans Really Want to Know? Tracking the Behavior of News Readers on the Internet." *Journal of Communication* 53 (4): 694-710.
- The World. 2018. "Jorge Ramos: We can't 'be neutral' with a president like Trump." May 4. Available online <https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-05-04/jorge-ramos-we-cant-be-neutral-president-trump>
- Tirodkar, Manasi A., and Anjali Jain. 2003. "Food Messages on African American Television Shows." *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(3): 439-441.
- Tsfati, Yariv, and Joseph N. Cappella. 2003. "Do people watch what they do not trust? Exploring the association between news media skepticism and exposure." *Communication Research* 30 (5): 504-529.
- Tucker, James Thomas. 2006. "Enfranchising Language Minority Citizens: The Bilingual Election Provisions of the Voting Rights Act." *NYUJ Legis. & Pub. Policy* 10(1): 195-260.
- Tucker, James Thomas. 2016. *The Battle over Bilingual Ballots: Language Minorities and Political Access Under the Voting Rights Act*. Routledge.
- Tulving, Endel, and Donald M. Thomson. 1973. "Encoding Specificity and Retrieval Processes in Episodic Memory." *Psychological Review* 80 (5): 352.
- Tyler, Tom R. 2005. "Policing in Black and White: Ethnic Group Differences in Trust and Confidence in the Police." *Police quarterly* 8 (3): 322-342.
- Uggen, Christopher, and Jeff Manza. 2002. "Democratic contraction? Political consequences of felon disenfranchisement in the United States." *American Sociological Review* 67(6): 777-803.
- Univision. 2018. "Los Seis Candidatos a la Gobernación de California, Cara a Cara Este Jueves en Univision." *Univision Noticias*, January 25. Available online <https://www.univision.com/local/los-angeles-kmex/los-seis-candidatos-a-la-gobernacion-de-california-cara-a-cara-este-jueves-en-univision>

- US Census Bureau. 2018. "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2017." September 12. Available online <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2018/demo/p60-263.html>
- Vargas, Edward D., Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Juan A. Valdez. 2017. "Immigration Policies and Group Identity: How Immigrant Laws Affect Linked Fate Among US Latino Populations." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 2(1): 35-62.
- Vargas, Edward, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Matt Barreto. Forthcoming. "How Latinos' Perceptions of Environmental Health Threats Impact Policy Preferences." *Social Science Quarterly*.
- Varsanyi, Monica W. 2008. "Rescaling the 'Alien,' Rescaling Personhood: Neoliberalism, Immigration and the State." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98 (4): 877-96.
- Verba, Sidney, and Gabriel Almond. *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Villar, Maria Elena, and Yvette Bueno Olson. 2013. "Differences in English-and Spanish-Language Health News: A Comparison of Newspapers in Two Cities." *Howard Journal of Communications* 24 (1): 57-70.
- Viswanath, K., and P. Arora. 2000. "Ethnic Media in the United States: An Essay on Their Role in Integration, Assimilation, and Social Control." *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(1): 39-56.
- Volden, Craig, Alan E. Wiseman, and Dana E. Wittmer. 2013. "When are women more effective lawmakers than men?." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (2): 326-341.
- Von Studnitz, Roswitha E., and David W. Green. 2002. "Interlingual Homograph Interference in German-English Bilinguals: Its Modulation and Locus of Control." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 5 (1): 1-23.
- Wahl, Ana-Maria Gonzalez, R. Saylor Breckenridge, and Steven E. Gunkel. 2007. "Latinos, Residential Segregation and Spatial Assimilation in Micropolitan Areas: Exploring the American Dilemma on a New Frontier." *Social Science Research* 36 (3): 995-1020.
- Weesie Jeroen. 1999. "Seemingly Unrelated Estimation and the Cluster-Adjusted Sandwich Estimator." *Stata Tech Bull* 9(52):34-47.
- Weitzer, Ronald. 1999. "Citizens' Perceptions of Police Misconduct: Race and Neighborhood Context." *Justice Quarterly* 16 (4): 819-846.

- Weitzer, Ronald, and Steven A. Tuch. 2004. "Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct." *Social Problems* 51 (3), 305-325.
- Wells, C. (2015). *The Civic Organization and the Digital Citizen: Communicating Engagement in a Networked Age*. Oxford University Press.
- Whiteley, Paul F. 1995. "Rational choice and political participation—Evaluating the debate." *Political Research Quarterly* 48(1): 211-233.
- Williams, Ann E. 2012. "Trust or bust? Questioning the relationship between media trust and news attention." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 56 (1): 116-131.
- Williams, Richard. 2006. "Generalized Ordered Logit/Partial Proportional Odds Models for Ordinal Dependent Variables." *The Stata Journal* 6 (1): 58-82.
- Wong, Janelle S., S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, Jane Junn. 2011. *Asian American Political Participation: Emerging Constituents and Their Political Identities*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Wood, Joanne V. 1989. "Theory and research concerning social comparisons of personal attributes." *Psychological bulletin* 106 (2): 231.
- Yadamsuren, Borchuluun, and Sanda Erdelez. 2010. "Incidental Exposure to Online News." *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 47 (1): 1-8.
- Ybarra, Vickie D., Lisa M. Sanchez, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2016. "Anti-Immigrant Anxieties in State Policy: The Great Recession and Punitive Immigration Policy in the American States, 2005–2012." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16 (3): 313-339.
- Yuan, Ke-Hai, and Wai Chan. 2016. "Measurement invariance via multigroup SEM: Issues and solutions with chi-square-difference tests." *Psychological methods* 21 (3): 405.
- Zhou, Yuqiong, and Patricia Moy. 2007. "Parsing Framing Processes: The Interplay Between Online Public Opinion and Media Coverage." *Journal of Communication*, 57(1): 79-98.