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Ethnic, Linguistic, and Religious Minority Participation and Representation in the United States

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Introduction

The United States is often described as a "melting pot" because of its racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity. This diversity stems from the many different immigrant groups who make up the US population. Rather than a melting pot, scholarly work would suggest this is a mosaic where one must consider the similarities and differences between different ethnic and religious groups. As a pluralistic society and a participatory democracy, the political incorporation and representation of minority groups are crucial to the health of American democracy. That said, minority inclusion and representation are not a given. This article offers an overview of the scholarship on ethnic, linguistic, and religious minority participation and representation in the United States. A large body of work seeks to explain why ethnic minorities are less politically active than white Americans. Socioeconomic factors, politicized group identities, ethnic organizations, and mobilization efforts shape ethnic minority participation. Importantly, these studies show that these models are useful in explaining the behavior of some groups but not others. This is largely due to the diversity within the Latino and Asian American communities, which are composed of native-born and immigrant individuals as well as individuals from many national origins, making it difficult to use one-size-fits-all models. Another significant line of research centers around the causes and consequences of ethnic minority candidates and elected officials. These works show there is a demand from ethnic minorities for co-ethnic representatives. On the supply side, the size of the ethnic group and support from political parties are key determinants of having co-ethnic candidates on the ballot. Research on the consequences of having minority representatives suggests that these representatives provide a unique kind of representation. Related to the incorporation of ethnic minorities is the inclusion of linguistic minorities in the electoral process. While a majority of ethnic minorities are fluent in English, minority language media, campaign appeals, and language assistance at the ballot box have a positive impact on the incorporation of those who are not English-dominant. However, the level of acculturation and attachment to an ethnic identity of the individual renders minority language appeals ineffective. The next section discusses the mobilization and representation of religious minorities such as Muslim Americans and Mormons and also addresses how negative perceptions of religious minorities hinder their ability to gain representation through electoral politics. Lastly, the final portion of this article discusses the mobilization and representation of religious minorities such as Muslim Americans and Mormons and also addresses how negative perceptions of religious minorities hinder their ability to gain representation through electoral politics. The article concludes with future directions in the study of political participation and representation among minoritized communities.

Overviews

The works cited in this section provide general overviews on the political participation and representation of ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities in the American context. Segura and Rodrigues 2006 provides context for the relatively recent scholarship on Latinos and Asian Americans in political science. Published over a decade later, Jones-Correa, et al. 2018 and Wong and Ramakrishnan 2023 offer insightful syntheses of more recent work on Latinos and Asian Americans, respectively, and highlight important lines of inquiry for future research. García 2016 is a great introductory textbook to Latino politics for those unfamiliar with the field. Wong, et al. 2011 is a great resource for understanding the broad contours of Asian American participation; notably, this book uses data from the first national survey of Asian American political behavior. For further scholarly sources on ethnic minorities see the separate *Oxford Bibliographies* in Political Science articles "Minority Political Engagement and Representation in the United States" by Jessica Carew, "Racial and Ethnic Descriptive Representation in the United States and its Impact by Robert R. Preuhs, and "Asian American Mobilization and Political Identities" by Sara

Sadhwani and Jane Junn. For work on linguistic minorities, Tucker 2009 discusses the history and implementation of the minority language provisions of the Voting Rights Act, while Hertzke, et al. 2018 provides an accessible and succinct overview of the political attitudes and behavior of various religious minorities.

García, John A. *Latino Politics in America: Community, Culture, and Interests*. 3d ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

This textbook is a great introduction to the study of Latino politics. Considers the different national origin groups that make up the Latino population and includes chapters on political participation, electoral behavior, and Latino activism.

Hertzke, Allen D., Laura R. Olson, Kevin R. den Dulk, and Robert Booth Fowler. "Judaism, Islam, and Other Expressions of Religious Pluralism." In *Religion and Politics in America: Faith, Culture, and Strategic Choices*. **6th ed. By Allen D. Hertzke, Laura R. Olson, Kevin R. den Dulk, and Robert Booth Fowler, 81–105. New York: Routledge, 2018.**

Provides an overview of the role of religious minority groups in American politics. Discusses each group's political orientations and their realized or potential influence in the political process.

Jones-Correa, Michael, Hajer Al-Faham, and David Cortez. "Political (Mis)Behavior: Attention and Lacunae in the Study of Latino Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* **44.1 (2018): 213–235.**

Reviews three major strands of the Latino politics literature including participation and representation. Also points to areas of research that deserve more attention from scholars such as the relationship between threat and mobilization and changes in the electorate due to naturalization rates.

Segura, Gary M., and Helena Alves Rodrigues. "Comparative Ethnic Politics in the United States: Beyond Black and White." *Annual Review of Political Science* **9.1 (2006): 375–395.**

Argues that the field of political science has paid little attention to minority groups outside of the Black-white binary. Discusses how the experiences of Latinos and Asian Americans differ from those of African Americans and the implications of these differences for applying models of political behavior across racial and ethnic minorities.

Tucker, James Thomas. *The Battle Over Bilingual Ballots: Language Minorities and Political Access under the Voting Rights Act*. **Election Law, Politics, and Theory. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009.**

Comprehensive overview of language assistance in the electoral process. Covers the period before the 1975 expansion of the Voting Rights Act through its 2006 reauthorization, discussing the debates around its minority language provisions and their implementation.

Wong, Janelle S., and Karthick Ramakrishnan. "Asian Americans and the Politics of the Twenty-First Century." *Annual Review of Political Science* **26.1 (2023): 305–323.**

This recent article provides an up-to-date review of the literature on Asian American participation and representation and also gives a historical context to understanding the place of Asian Americans in politics in the present day.

Wong, Janelle, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, and Jane Junn. *Asian American Political Participation: Emerging Constituents and Their Political Identities*. **New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011.**

Must-read for readers seeking a foundational understanding of Asian American political behavior. Provides a comprehensive analysis of political participation among Asian Americans of various national origins and immigration histories, among other characteristics. The analyses rely on the 2008 National Asian American Survey, the first national survey of Asian Americans focused on political behavior.

Ethnic Minorities in American Politics

The sections below focus on the levels of political participation and integration among ethnic minorities. The works cited include foundational texts that test standard models of participation among Latinos and Asian Americans, as well as more recent developments such as psychological approaches that center emotions as a catalyst for political participation. One section focuses on the incorporation of immigrant communities and first-generation Americans. The last section addresses the impact of voter ID laws on ethnic minority participation.

Models of Ethnic Minority Participation

Scholars of racial and ethnic politics in the American context have long noted the lower participation rates of Latinos and Asian Americans compared to Black and white voters. Several models have been put forth to explain these differences. Verba, et al. 1993 uses a resource model of participation which includes socioeconomic factors and civic skills. Lien 1994 and Wong, et al. 2005 focus on the role of ethnicity, group consciousness, and ethnic organizations in promoting political participation among Latinos and Asian Americans. Cho, et al. 2006 explores the role of threat in mobilizing Arab Americans to register to vote after the passage of the Patriot Act. Leighley and Vedlitz 1999 compares various models of participation including socioeconomic factors and group-based variables. Jones-Correa and Leal 2001 and Chan and Phoenix 2020 tests the role of religious affiliation and context on the participation of Latinos and Asian Americans, respectively. Other work looks at contextual variables such as group size; for example, using a rational choice framework, Jang 2009 argues that group size and economic status shape perceptions of group-level benefits, which in turn impact turnout. Similarly, Fraga 2018 shows that the size of the ethnic group best explains turnout rates among minority voters, more so than the presence of a co-ethnic candidate.

Chan, Nathan K., and Davin L. Phoenix. "The Ties That Bind: Assessing the Effects of Political and Racial Church Homogeneity on Asian American Political Participation." *Politics and Religion* **13.3 (2020): 639–670.**

Examines how political homogeneity within churches affects Asian American political participation. Previous studies have found that racial and ethnic homogeneity in churches increases participation, but this study shows political similarity in religious organizations to be a stronger predictor of Asian American political participation.

Cho, Wendy K. Tam, James G. Gimpel, and Tony Wu. "Clarifying the Role of SES in Political Participation: Policy Threat and Arab American Mobilization." *The Journal of Politics* **68.4 (2006): 977–991.**

Posits that while higher socioeconomic status may provide individuals with the resources to participate in politics, it is not a sufficient condition for mobilization. Using the case of Arab Americans after 9/11, the study shows the role of threat in increasing voter registrations among this minority population.

Fraga, Bernard L. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. **1st ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.**

Tests a parsimonious model of turnout to explain the turnout gap between whites and racial/ethnic minorities. Argues that the size of the racial or ethnic group, rather than socioeconomic or shared candidate ethnicity, explains the differential turnout rates, and uses novel data to test this argument. In addition, the book includes a useful historical overview of the turnout gap.

Jang, Seung-Jin. "Get Out on Behalf of Your Group: Electoral Participation of Latinos and Asian Americans." *Political Behavior* **31.4 (2009): 511–535.**

Seeks to explain levels of political participation among Latinos and Asian Americans with a revised model of the rational calculus of voting that includes perceptions of group-level benefits. Using data from the 2000 Current Population Survey, the study finds that contextual

variables like the size and economic status of the group as well as county racial heterogeneity shape turnout for Latinos and Asian Americans.

Jones-Correa, Michael A., and David L. Leal. "Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly* **54.4 (2001): 751–770.**

Challenges previous work that argued that for Latinos, who tend to identify as Catholic, religion did not promote political participation as it did for other racial groups. Shows that religious service attendance promotes political participation and that Catholic affiliation (compared to Protestant affiliation) is sometimes associated with higher participation.

Leighley, Jan E., and Arnold Vedlitz. "Race, Ethnicity, and Political Participation: Competing Models and Contrasting Explanations." *The Journal of Politics* **61.4 (1999): 1092–1114.**

Foundational work in the study of political participation among racial and ethnic minorities. Tests several well-established models of political participation for various racial and ethnic groups including Mexican Americans and Asian Americans. The results suggest that socioeconomic status, political interest, homeownership, and being US-born increase political participation among these populations.

Lien, Pei-te. "Ethnicity and Political Participation: A Comparison between Asian and Mexican Americans." *Political Behavior* **16.2 (1994): 237–264.**

Examines how acculturation, ethnic ties, and group consciousness affect turnout and nonvoting participation among Mexican and Asian Americans. Through an analysis of survey data from 1984, it finds that measures of ethnic ties and acculturation tap into different concepts among both populations and that while acculturation promotes participation, ethnic ties do not, by and large, discourage political activity.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry Brady, and Norman H. Nie. "Race, Ethnicity and Political Resources: Participation in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* **23.4 (1993): 453–497.**

In this important study, the authors apply their resource model of political participation to white, Black, and Latino individuals and examine how members of these groups obtain resources that allow them to participate in politics. In addition to socioeconomic factors such as education and income, the authors also measure civic skills and examine how these may be obtained at work and religious settings.

Wong, Janelle S., Pei-Te Lien, and M. Margaret Conway. "Group-Based Resources and Political Participation among Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* **33.4 (2005): 545–576.**

Examines the role of linked fate and ethnic organizations on Asian American political participation. Finds that a sense of ethnic linked fate (but not pan-ethnic linked fate) and belonging to an ethnic organization promotes nonvoting political participation. Voting, however, is mostly explained by socioeconomic factors.

Ethnic Mobilization

There is scholarly consensus that the lack of mobilization of racial and ethnic minorities is in large part responsible for the lower levels of turnout among these sectors of the voting-eligible population. Most works in this section focus on Latino mobilization but others (e.g., García Bedolla and Michelson 2012) also examine Asian American mobilization. Barreto, et al. 2004 looks at how group size increases turnout (see also Fraga 2018 and Jang 2009 under Models of Ethnic Minority Participation). Leighley 2001 also argues that group size matters because as the size of the ethnic group increases, political elites have greater incentives to mobilize them. Other work explores nonpartisan mobilization. For example, García Bedolla and Michelson 2012 amassed a wealth of data from field experiments. Together with Michelson, et al. 2009, these studies find two-round phone banks to be effective in mobilizing Latinos and Asian Americans. Co-ethnic appeals and contacts are also important factors in mobilization efforts, but their effectiveness varies (see de la Garza, et al. 2008 and Valenzuela and Michelson 2016). García Bedolla 2005 and Zepeda-Millán 2017 use a qualitative approach to examine how Latinos respond

in contexts of discrimination and threat and the consequences for political participation. While Zepeda-Millán looks at the threat of an anti-immigrant bill on mobilization, Gutierrez, et al. 2019 assesses the mobilizing effect of anti-immigrant rhetoric in the 2016 election. Lastly, Wallace, et al. 2014 tests the effect of mobilization on Latino attitudes toward government.

Barreto, Matt A., Gary M. Segura, and Nathan D. Woods. "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout" *American Political Science Review* **98.1 (2004): 65–75.**

Tests two competing hypotheses on the role of majority-Latino districts in Latino turnout. Argues that rather than depress turnout, majority-Latino districts will increase it. Provides supporting evidence for their argument by analyzing voter records in five Southern California counties for three elections between 1996 and 2000.

de la Garza, R. O., M. Abrajano, and J. Cortina. "Get Me to the Polls On Time: Coethnic Mobilization and Latino Turnout." In *New Race Politics in America: Understanding Minority and Immigrant Politics* **Edited by Jane Junn and Kerry L. Haynie, 95–113. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.**

Tests the role of co-ethnic mobilization on Latino turnout for the 2000 election. Using survey data of Latino citizens with validated voter records in California, Illinois, Florida, New York, and Texas, the authors find mixed evidence for their argument. While co-ethnic mobilization increases turnout in some states, it does not do so across the board.

García Bedolla, Lisa. *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.**

In this ethnographic study of two Latino communities in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, Garcia Bedolla shows how identity responds to its social context. Similar to other research on minority participation, this work demonstrates the importance of looking beyond socioeconomic factors to understand political engagement among Latinos.

García Bedolla, Lisa, and Melissa R. Michelson. *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-out-the-Vote Campaigns***. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.**

Provides a necessary extension to the well-known work of Gerber and Green on get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts by focusing on their impact on mobilizing racial and ethnic minorities. The authors engaged in a monumental multiyear data collection effort by partnering with non-partisan organizations to conduct over 260 randomized field experiments. There is much to learn from this book for both academics and practitioners about mobilizing ethnic minorities.

Gutierrez, Angela, Angela X. Ocampo, Matt A. Barreto, and Gary Segura. "*Somos Más***: How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era."** *Political Research Quarterly* **72.4 (2019): 960–975.**

Offers an emotion-based explanation for political participation. Argues that Trump's rhetoric about Latinos and immigrants may have resulted in anger, which in turn led Latinos to engage in "costly" political acts. Data comes from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Postelection Study (CMPS).

Leighley, Jan E. *Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities***. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.**

Foundational work in the study of racial and ethnic minority mobilization that explains how elite mobilization, relational goods, and the size of the ethnic group shape political participation for white, Black, and Latino individuals. Using existing survey data as well as original surveys of elites and minority voters in Texas, Leighley's work underscores how our models may not apply similarly to different racial groups.

Michelson, Melissa R., Lisa García Bedolla, and Margaret A. McConnell. "Heeding the Call: The Effect of Targeted Two-Round Phone Banks on Voter Turnout." *The Journal of Politics* **71.4 (2009): 1549–1563.**

Shows the effectiveness of a second phone contact to increase turnout among Latinos and Asian Americans. The authors conducted four field experiments focusing on populations considered to have low-propensity voters, including Latinos and Asian Americans.

Valenzuela, Ali A., and Melissa R. Michelson. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *American Political Science Review* **110.4 (2016): 615–630.**

Results from two get-out-the-vote field experiments show that appeals that emphasize ethnic identity (Latino or Hispanic) increase turnout among Latinos living in communities with lower resources and lower levels of acculturation. On the other hand, ethnic and national (American) identity appeals increase turnout in high-resource and high-acculturated Latino communities.

Wallace, Sophia J., Chris Zepeda-Millán, and Michael Jones-Correa. "Spatial and Temporal Proximity: Examining the Effects of Protests on Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* **58.2 (2014): 433–448.**

Leveraging a protest dataset and the 2006 Latino National Survey, this study examines how exposure to the 2006 immigration protests shaped feelings of efficacy and trust in government among Latinos. Finds that the number of protests increased political efficacy but, counterintuitively, large protests had the opposite effect. The authors complement these results with in-depth interviews to better understand their findings.

Zepeda-Millán, Chris. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism.* **Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017.**

Focuses on the 2006 immigration protests in response to the Sensenbrenner Bill (H.R. 4437) that targeted undocumented immigrants and anyone who assisted them. Through different qualitative approaches and social movement theory, it offers an insightful analysis of why Latinos mobilized during this time and how they used their community's resources and organizations to do so.

Political Participation among Immigrant Populations

Ethnic minority populations in the United States consist of native-born Americans and individuals who immigrated. The latter group of immigrants can also be divided into those who have naturalized, those who are not yet naturalized, and those who are undocumented. What types of political participation are available for these groups varies and so do the models that help explain the incorporation of immigrants into American democracy. As Cho 1999 argues, the standard socioeconomic model of participation hides the underlying mechanisms that do not apply to immigrant populations. Studies of immigrants often focus on participation aside from voting, such as engagement in civic organizations, as not every immigrant is a naturalized citizen (e.g., see DeSipio 2011 and Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). Others examine the decision to naturalize as an important step toward incorporation (e.g., see Jones-Correa 2001 and Leal 2002). As DeSipio 1996 shows, however, naturalized citizens are still less likely to participate than their native-born counterparts. Nicholls 2013 studies the activism of a population that has not been incorporated and whose political participation is risky: undocumented youth. Overall, these works show that while immigrant populations are less active when it comes to standard measures of political participation, there are other avenues through which they are civically engaged.

Cho, Wendy K. Tam. "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-)Voting." *The Journal of Politics* **61.4 (1999): 1140–1155.**

Suggests that socioeconomic explanations of political participation are undertheorized. Argues that underlying the explanatory power of socioeconomic factors among the native-born is a process of political socialization that immigrant populations may not have. Supportive evidence for this argument is shown with survey data from 1984 of Black, Latino, white, and Asian residents of California.

DeSipio, Louis. "Making Citizens or Good Citizens? Naturalization as a Predictor of Organizational and Electoral Behavior among Latino Immigrants." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* **18.2 (1996): 194–213.**

Tests the then-common narrative that naturalization led Latinos to be more politically active. Using the 1989–1990 Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), the article finds differences between naturalized and US-born Latinos, with the former being on average less politically active than the latter after accounting for socioeconomic factors.

DeSipio, Louis. "Immigrant Incorporation in an Era of Weak Civic Institutions: Immigrant Civic and Political Participation in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* **55.9 (2011): 1189–1213.**

Discusses five different avenues of political incorporation relevant to immigrant populations, from the standard measures of political participation and engagement with civic organizations to naturalization rates and transnational engagement.

Jones-Correa, Michael. "Institutional and Contextual Factors in Immigrant Naturalization and Voting." *Citizenship Studies* **5.1 (2001): 41–56.**

Argues that in order to understand the decision to naturalize and to participate among Latino immigrants, scholars should move beyond the standard socioeconomic model of participation. The article then examines contextual and institutional variables such as electoral rules and holding double nationality and finds these to be important predictors of being naturalized and voting.

Leal, David L. "Political Participation by Latino Non-Citizens in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* **32.2 (2002): 353–370.**

Shows that Latino noncitizens are less likely to be politically active than Latino citizens. Notably the standard socioeconomic predictors do not explain levels of political participation among noncitizens—instead political knowledge and interest, English proficiency, plans to naturalize, and group consciousness increase this population's political activity.

Nicholls, Walter. *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate.* **Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.**

Documents the political activism of young undocumented immigrants, often referred to as DREAMers. Shows how the movement has developed and how the image of the "DREAMer" and the strategies of the movement are contested within the group.

Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick, and Irene Bloemraad, eds. *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement.* **New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008.**

This edited volume examines the relationship between immigrant organizations and the political incorporation of immigrants. The essays focus on either variation of place, ethnic group, or organizational type to understand when and how immigrant organizations lead to the political engagement of immigrant groups. While most essays focus on the United States, there are case studies of other countries that serve as a comparison.

Politicized Ethnic Identities and Participation

Scholars of racial and ethnic minorities emphasize the role of identity in political attitudes and behavior. However, not all identities are politically relevant, so measures of a politicized racial or ethnic identity aim to discover the extent to which individuals are motivated to act on behalf of their group. McClain, et al. 2009 discusses how concepts like group consciousness and linked fate were developed in Black politics literature and cautions readers about applying them to understand the behavior of Latinos and Asian Americans. This is because the experiences of the latter groups are different in many important regards and the implied unity one might expect may not exist (e.g., see

Beltrán 2010). The findings from Stokes 2003, Sanchez 2006, and Masuoka 2008 underscore this conclusion. Finally, Zepeda-Millán and Wallace 2013 flips the causal arrow to show how mobilization shapes perceptions of a politicized identity.

Beltrán, Cristina. *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*. **New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.**

Argues that being Latino is an identity that is continually contested and defined by the individuals who are part of the group. Rather than assume unity among Latinos, Beltrán encourages the reader to think about unity as an outcome of a process of contestation. Examines two case studies of Mexican American and Puerto Rican social movements to elucidate these processes.

Masuoka, Natalie. "Defining the Group: Latino Identity and Political Participation." *American Politics Research* **36.1 (2008): 33–61.**

Examines how attachment to national, pan-ethnic, and racial identities shapes Latino political participation, showing that identifying with one's national origin decreases the probability of being registered to vote and voting while racial group consciousness increases nonvoting participation in Latino-related activities.

McClain, Paula D., Jessica D. Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton Jr., and Candis S. Watts. "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* **12.1 (2009): 471–485.**

Provides an overview of the concepts of group identity and group consciousness and how these have been applied in the study of African American politics. The article then discusses to what extent group consciousness and linked fate may apply to Latinos and Asian Americans.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Political Participation Among Latinos in the United States." *American Politics Research* **34.4 (2006): 427–450.**

Builds on Stokes 2003 to test how the different components of Latino group consciousness impact participation related to Latino issues and candidates. Finds that while only perceptions of discrimination predict turnout, other measures of group consciousness help explain participation in Latino-related issues and campaigns.

Stokes, Atiya Kai. "Latino Group Consciousness and Political Participation." *American Politics Research* **31.4 (2003): 361–378.**

This paper is one of the first to discuss Latino group consciousness and test its relationship to political participation. Examines each component of group consciousness and finds that the components that predict political participation among Latinos vary by national origin.

Zepeda-Millán, Chris, and Sophia J. Wallace. "Racialization in Times of Contention: How Social Movements Influence Latino Racial Identity." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* **1.4 (2013): 510–527.**

Leverages the timing of the 2006 immigration protests and of the 2006 Latino National (LNS) survey data collection to assess the impact of the demonstrations on Latino racialized identity. By comparing responses to the LNS collected before, during, and after the protests, the authors find that Latinos' perceptions of being a distinct racial group increased as a result of the demonstrations.

Campaign Appeals toward Latinos

Political campaigns often make electoral appeals to racial and ethnic minorities with policy and nonpolicy outreach. In the case of appeals toward Latino voters, candidates use cultural symbols as well as the Spanish language to create targeted ethnic-based appeals. The works featured here explore various dimensions of these appeals. For example, Abrajano 2010 and Collingwood 2020 show that there has been an increase in advertisements targeted at Latinos and find that these appeals increase support for candidates. As DeFrancesco Soto and

Merolla 2006 and Abrajano 2010 demonstrate, however, these ethnic-based appeals are more effective among less acculturated Latinos. An important caveat in the literature is that partisan identification can be more important than ethnic appeals (e.g., see Michelson 2005). While both parties appeal to Latinos, Democrats are often better aligned with Latino voters on immigration and economic issues whereas Republicans are closer to Latinos on social issues. Fraga and Leal 2004 offers an explanation for why Republicans appeal to Latinos and how such appeals may end up not helping to address their concerns. Lastly, Ostfeld 2019 examines how appeals toward Latinos affect support among white Democrats which the party must maintain to be electorally successful. Other relevant works for this topic that specifically focus on the use of Spanish by campaigns appear under Linguistic Minority Representation.

Abrajano, Marisa. *Campaigning to the New American Electorate: Advertising to Latino Voters*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

Examines the increase in television advertising targeting Latino voters and its impact on Latino turnout and vote choice. The author conducts a content analysis of Spanish- and English-language advertisements to show how the type of appeal varies with the former using more ethnic-based appeals and the latter more policy-based content. Results show that Spanish-language advertisements increased turnout among less acculturated Latinos.

Collingwood, Loren. *Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Challenges existing literature on racial and ethnic appeals and posits a theory of cross-racial mobilization (CRM). Argues that Anglo candidates can appeal to minority voters through cultural outreach and policy-based strategies. This theory is primarily tested among Latino voters using an original survey and election results from Senate races.

DeFrancesco Soto, Victoria M., and Jennifer L. Merolla. "Vota Por Tu Futuro: Partisan Mobilization of Latino Voters in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Political Behavior* 28.4 (2006): 285–304.

Assesses the impact of targeted television advertisements on Latino turnout in the 2000 election. Using the number of ads that mentioned Latinos, featured a Latino, had a Latino narrator, or were in Spanish as the explanatory variable, the results suggest that these appeals increase turnout among Spanish-dominant Latinos but decrease it among their English-dominant counterparts.

Fraga, Luis Ricardo, and David L. Leal. "PLAYING THE 'LATINO CARD': Race, Ethnicity, and National Party Politics." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 1.2 (2004): 297–317.

Argues that Republican appeals toward Latinos can help soften the socially and racially conservative image of the Republican Party among white independents and moderates. This approach, which the authors term "symbolic mainstreaming," has implications for the substantive representation of racial and ethnic minorities.

Michelson, Melissa R. "Does Ethnicity Trump Party? Competing Vote Cues and Latino Voting Behavior." *Journal of Political Marketing* 4.4 (2005): 1–25.

Through a case study of a 2000 congressional race in Central California that featured a white Democrat against a Latino Republican, Michelson shows that despite the importance of co-ethnicity on vote choice, Latinos' partisanship can trump it.

Ostfeld, Mara Cecilia. "The New White Flight? The Effects of Political Appeals to Latinos on White Democrats." *Political Behavior* 41.3 (2019): 561–582.

Tests whether the Democratic Party's appeals toward Latinos lead to decreased support among white Democrats in a similar fashion as some white Democrats responded to their party's courting of Black voters after the passing of the Voting Rights Act. Through three survey experiments, the author finds that white Democrats are less likely to say they would vote for Obama and Clinton.

Voter ID Laws and Ethnic Minority Participation

In the past decade, several states have passed voter identification laws that, in some cases, require citizens to present a photo identification to cast a ballot. These harsher laws come from state legislatures dominated by the Republican Party. As a result, media and scholars alike are interested in the impact of such laws on minority turnout. Highton 2017 offers a review of the literature prior to the passage of these most recent laws and mentions that further research is needed to examine the impact of these stricter laws. Hajnal, et al. 2017 takes up this question and finds that strict photo ID laws depress turnout for Latino, Black, and Asian Americans. This article resulted in a dialogue between Grimmer, et al. 2018 and Hajnal, et al. 2018 that points to methodological challenges in assessing the impact of these stricter requirements. Using a difference-in-differences approach, Kuk, et al. 2022 provides further evidence in support of their earlier findings using aggregate-level data. Lastly, Fraga and Miller 2022 leverages data from Texas that allows them to see who would be most affected by strict photo ID laws. Their results support the conclusion that racial and ethnic minorities are differentially affected by these laws.

Fraga, Bernard L., and Michael G. Miller. "Who Do Voter ID Laws Keep from Voting?" *The Journal of Politics* **84.2 (2022): 1091–1105.**

Provides the most direct test of the impact of voter photo ID laws on minority turnout. Leverages a provision in Texas voter ID law that allowed voters without a photo ID to vote so long as they file a form indicating why they could not produce such a document. Finds that Black and Latino voters are overrepresented among voters without a photo ID.

Grimmer, Justin, Eitan Hersh, Marc Meredith, Jonathan Mummolo, and Clayton Nall. "Obstacles to Estimating Voter ID Laws' Effect on Turnout." *The Journal of Politics* **80.3 (2018): 1045–1051.**

Critiques Hajnal, et al. 2017, arguing that measurement issues and coding decisions in their study lead to inaccurate conclusions and that once corrected, there is no evidence to make firm conclusions about the impact of voter ID laws on minority turnout.

Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. "Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes." *The Journal of Politics* **79.2 (2017): 363–379.**

Uses validated turnout for general and primary elections from 2006–2014 from the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES) to test the impact of strict photo identification laws on minority turnout. After controlling for individual and contextual political factors, it finds a negative effect on Latino turnout in general elections and Latino, Black, and Asian American turnout in primary elections.

Hajnal, Zoltan, John Kuk, and Nazita Lajevardi. "We All Agree: Strict Voter ID Laws Disproportionately Burden Minorities." *The Journal of Politics* **80.3 (2018): 1052–1059.**

Responds to Grimmer, et al. 2018 and shows that the critique largely replicates their original findings.

Highton, Benjamin. "Voter Identification Laws and Turnout in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* **20.1 (2017): 149–167.**

Review of the literature on voter identification laws. Discusses the different types of laws that states have passed and the theoretical and empirical challenges in estimating their impact on turnout. While the studies reviewed find no negative effects of these laws, Highton points out that the strictest ID laws had only been passed in the 2010s and 2020s so more study is warranted.

Kuk, John, Zoltan Hajnal, and Nazita Lajevardi. "A Disproportionate Burden: Strict Voter Identification Laws and Minority Turnout." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* **10.1 (2022): 126–134.**

Analyzes county-level aggregate turnout in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections to estimate the impact of strict voter ID laws on minority turnout. To do so, it employs a difference-in-differences design and finds that as the proportion of racial and ethnic minorities in the county increases the negative effect of strict ID laws on aggregate turnout increases.

Latine and Asian American Representation

Representation scholars examine different types of representation and the connections between them. Particular attention has been paid to the appearance and electoral success of minority candidates (i.e., descriptive representatives). Similarly, many studies listed below explore the connection between descriptive representation and substantive representation, which refers to how policy outcomes reflect the interests of the minority group. Other work shows that descriptive representatives can provide symbolic benefits as well such as increased political interest and trust in government.

Ethnic Minority Attitudes Toward Descriptive Representation

The articles in this section explore the variance in attitudes toward descriptive representation. While studies show that on average ethnic minorities prefer co-ethnic candidates over non-co-ethnics, this is not the case for every individual. Casellas and Wallace 2015 finds that many Black and Latino voters do not consider having co-racial/co-ethnic representatives important, although on average they have a higher preference for descriptive representation compared to white voters. Wallace 2014 finds that, among Latinos, a sense of linked fate and perceptions of discrimination increase preferences for co-ethnic candidates. Schildkraut 2013 examines the role of ethnic and national origin identities among Latinos and Asian Americans.

Casellas, Jason P., and Sophia J. Wallace. "The Role of Race, Ethnicity, and Party on Attitudes Toward Descriptive Representation." *American Politics Research* **43.1 (2015): 144–169.**

Provides a foundational descriptive analysis of how partisan, racial, and ethnic identities shape preferences toward having descriptive representatives. The findings suggest that sizable proportions of Latino, Black, and white individuals do not consider having descriptive representatives that important, but that racial and ethnic minorities do have a higher preference for co-ethnic/co-racial representatives.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. "Which Birds of a Feather Flock Together? Assessing Attitudes About Descriptive Representation Among Latinos and Asian Americans." *American Politics Research* **41.4 (2013): 699–729.**

Examines how members of ethnic minority groups have varied preferences for descriptive representation. Using data from the 2006 Latino National Survey and the 2008 National Asian American Survey, the article finds that ethnic minorities who identify primarily with a national origin or pan-ethnic label have a higher preference for co-ethnic representatives.

Wallace, Sophia J. "Examining Latino Support for Descriptive Representation: The Role of Identity and Discrimination." *Social Science Quarterly* **95.2 (2014): 311–327.**

Examines which Latinos are more likely to prefer co-ethnic representatives. Using the 2006 Latino National Survey, it finds that the two factors of having a sense of linked fate with other Latinos and speaking Spanish show a large and positive association with a preference for Latino representatives. Furthermore, perceptions of discrimination have a positive but much smaller impact.

Mobilization by Co-ethnic Candidates

The literature on political participation offers a variety of models to explain when ethnic minorities are mobilized. The three works discussed here, along with two others included in other sections, specifically address how the presence of co-ethnics on the ballot may increase minority turnout. A foundational work in this area is Barreto 2010, which examines how ethnic cues mobilize Latinos and increase support

for Latino candidates. Others (e.g., Leighley 2001 under Ethnic Mobilization) point out how the size of the ethnic group creates incentives for political elites to mobilize these minority voters. Since the presence of a co-ethnic candidate and the size of the ethnic group are correlated, Fraga 2016 seeks to disentangle the effects of these factors and argues that the latter is a better predictor (see also Fraga 2018 under Models of Ethnic Minority Participation). Most of the work in this area focuses on Black and Latino population, but Sadhwani 2022 studies how these factors impact Asian American participation.

Barreto, Matt A. *Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.

Key work in the study of Latino voting behavior. Building on the literature on Black political behavior, it argues that shared ethnicity shapes Latino voting behavior in two ways. Posits and tests a theory of ethnic mobilization by co-ethnic candidates and increased support of Latinos for these candidates. The data used includes public opinion surveys, election results, and validated voter records.

Fraga, Bernard L. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 60.1 (2016): 97–122.

Seeks to disentangle the impact of a co-ethnic candidate from the size of the ethnic group in explaining minority turnout. Delineates the major theories of ethnic mobilization and tests competing explanations with novel data that overcome empirical challenges present in previous work. Using voter records with predicted voter race or ethnicity for three federal elections, it shows that group size increases Black and Latino turnout.

Sadhwani, Sara. "Asian American Mobilization: The Effect of Candidates and Districts on Asian American Voting Behavior." *Political Behavior* 44.1 (2022): 105–131.

Examines the effects of co-ethnic candidates and the proportion of co-ethnics in a district on Asian American turnout. Leverages the variation in the proportion of Asian Americans across districts for elections for the California State Assembly. Results show that, in the aggregate, both candidate ethnicity and district characteristics increase Asian American turnout, although results vary across national origins.

Electing Ethnic Minority Representatives

The articles in this section examine the factors that contribute to the election of ethnic minorities to political office. Some studies focus on the preferences of minority voters for co-ethnic representatives (McConnaughy, et al. 2010 on Latinos and Sadhwani 2022 on Asian Americans; see also Barreto 2010 under Mobilization by Co-ethnic Candidates). Much of the scholarship in this area has used the language of supply and demand for minority candidates. On the demand side, minority candidates often come from jurisdictions with a large minority population which has led to a perception that minority candidates are disadvantaged in white districts. Gonzalez Juenke 2014 and Gonzalez Juenke and Shah 2016 show that, after controlling for selection bias in who runs, minority candidates do as well as their white counterparts. These works suggest that perhaps the problem is on the "supply side," with minority candidates receiving less support from party elites. Ocampo and Ray 2020 provides evidence of this. Lastly, Fraga, et al. 2020 shows that descriptive representation in Congress motivates other minority candidates to run for office.

Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. "One Run Leads to Another: Minority Incumbents and the Emergence of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates." *The Journal of Politics* 82.2 (2020): 771–775.

This short article puts forth an additional factor to minority candidate emergence in state legislative races: the presence of a minority representative in Congress. The analysis includes white, Black, Latino, and Asian American state legislative candidates and finds that the presence of a co-ethnic in Congress increases the probability of a minority candidate running even when the racial/ethnic group does not comprise a majority of the district.

Gonzalez Juenke, Eric. "Ignorance Is Bias: The Effect of Latino Losers on Models of Latino Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* **58.3 (2014): 593–603.**

Shows that to accurately estimate the impact of the size of the Latino population on the probability that a co-ethnic candidate is elected it is important to control for the fact that not every election has a Latino candidate on the ballot. Results suggest that Latino candidates have good chances of being elected in districts without a majority-Latino constituency.

Gonzalez Juenke, Eric, and Paru Shah. "Demand and Supply: Racial and Ethnic Minority Candidates in White Districts." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* **1.1 (2016): 60–90.**

Building on Gonzalez Juenke 2014, the authors test whether minority candidates are systematically disadvantaged in white districts. Analyzing races for the 2012 state legislative elections, the authors use a matching procedure to compare districts with similar populations where the only difference is the presence of a minority candidate. They find that Black and Latino candidates perform similarly to their white counterparts.

McConnaughy, Corrine M., Ismail K. White, David L. Leal, and Jason P. Casellas. "A Latino on the Ballot: Explaining Coethnic Voting Among Latinos and the Response of White Americans." *The Journal of Politics* **72.4 (2010): 1199–1211.**

Tests the role of ethnicity as a cue for Latino voters through a survey experiment. Does not find a statistically significant preference for the Latino candidate among their co-ethnics—however subgroup analyses show that Latinos with a sense of linked fate do prefer a co-ethnic candidate. Also shows the impact of a Latino ethnic cue on vote choice for white voters.

Ocampo, Angela X., and John Ray. "Many Are Called but Few Are Chosen: The Emergence of Latino Congressional Candidates." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* **8.4 (2020): 738–761.**

Expands on previous work in Gonzalez Juenke and Shah 2016 by examining how access, or lack thereof, impacts the emergence of Latino candidates. The authors collect a dataset of candidates and potential candidates and show that Latino candidates receive fewer endorsements from party elites, which in turn impacts a candidate's electoral success.

Sadhwani, Sara. "The Influence of Candidate Race and Ethnicity: The Case of Asian Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* **10.4 (2022): 616–652.**

Analyzes co-ethnic voting among Asian Americans using precinct-level data from state assembly and congressional elections featuring at least one Asian American candidate. By focusing on races where both candidates are from the same party, the author convincingly shows co-ethnic voting among Asian Americans. In addition, Sadhwani finds evidence that when two Asian Americans are on the ballot, national origin becomes an important cue.

Substantive Representation of Latines

An important question in the literature on racial and ethnic minority representation is whether descriptive representatives provide a level of substantive representation distinct from what non-descriptive representatives offer. The works in this section explore this question in relation to Latino representation. Griffin and Newman 2007, Minta 2009, and Wallace 2014 focus on members of Congress and analyze their legislative behavior through roll-call votes, cosponsorship of bills, participation in oversight hearings, and overall measures of ideology. Two book-length treatments, Casellas 2011 and Rouse 2013, expand their scope to include state legislators, which provides leverage due to the larger number of Latino representatives at the state level. Gonzalez Juenke and Preuhs 2012 similarly looks at state legislators but relies on NOMINATE scores as their measure of substantive representation. Overall, these works find that descriptive representatives offer a distinct kind of representation.

Casellas, Jason P. *Latino Representation in State Houses and Congress*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Tackles two of the biggest questions in the literature on Latino representation by addressing the determinants of electing Latino representatives and the consequences for substantive representation of electing such candidates. Unlike previous work, the book focuses on representation in legislatures at the state and federal levels. This is a great resource for understanding the causes and consequences of descriptive representation.

Gonzalez Juenke, Eric, and Robert R. Preuhs. "Irreplaceable Legislators? Rethinking Minority Representatives in the New Century." *American Journal of Political Science* 56.3 (2012): 705–715.

Examines whether descriptive representatives behave differently due to their racial/ethnic identity or to the composition of the districts that tend to elect them. Analyzing the NOMINATE scores of state legislators from all fifty states for the 1999–2000 legislative session, the authors show that Black and Latino Democratic representatives differ from their white counterparts after accounting for the racial and ethnic composition of their constituency.

Griffin, John D., and Brian Newman. "The Unequal Representation of Latinos and Whites." *The Journal of Politics* 69.4 (2007): 1032–1046.

Tests the level of substantive representation that Latino constituents get. Focuses on the level of ideological congruence between members of Congress and their constituents. The results show that compared to white constituents, Latino constituents are ideologically further apart from their representatives, particularly in districts where Latinos make up between 40 and 50 percent of the population. In these same districts, descriptive representation decreases the ideological gap.

Minta, Michael D. "Legislative Oversight and the Substantive Representation of Black and Latino Interests in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34.2 (2009): 193–218.

Moves beyond the common approach in studies of minority substantive representation by examining participation in oversight hearings. Argues that this is an area where Black and Latino representatives can represent the interests of their co-ethnics in different ways from roll-call voting where party is the strongest predictor.

Rouse, Stella M. *Latinos in the Legislative Process: Interests and Influence*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Builds on Casellas 2011 to study how and when Latinos are represented in state legislatures and Congress. Importantly, the research expands the outcomes of the legislative process beyond roll-call voting to include bill sponsorship and committee participation. The empirical analyses rely on quantitative and qualitative data, including elite interviews with state legislators.

Wallace, Sophia J. "Representing Latinos: Examining Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 67.4 (2014): 917–929.

Examines the causal link from descriptive to substantive representation. Focuses on the roll-call votes and bill co-sponsorships of members of Congress on three high-salience issues for Latinos as measures of substantive representation. Finds that while a legislator's party explains roll-call behavior, co-ethnic representatives are more likely to co-sponsor bills on these issues.

Non-Policy Impacts of Descriptive Representation

In addition to the substantive representation that descriptive representatives offer ethnic minorities, some studies show that having a co-ethnic representative can also have an impact on non-policy outcomes. Building on empowerment theory, first introduced in the literature on Black politics, Pantoja and Segura 2003 examines the effect of having a Latino representative on political alienation. Sanchez and Morin

2011 also looks at political alienation but expands its outcome measures to include political efficacy and focus on descriptive representation in mayoral offices. Wolak and Juenke 2021 argues that descriptive representation has the potential to increase political knowledge, which democratic theorists consider crucial for an engaged polity, and finds some positive, but limited, effects for descriptive representation in this area. See also Fraga, et al. 2020 under Electing Ethnic Minority Representatives for the impact of congressional representatives on the decision of other minorities to run for office.

Pantoja, Adrian D., and Gary M. Segura. "Does Ethnicity Matter? Descriptive Representation in Legislatures and Political Alienation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* **84.2 (2003): 441–460.**

Focuses on the impact of having one or more Latino representatives on Latinos' attitudes toward government. The authors test their argument with data from the 1997 Tomás Rivera Policy Institute postelection survey. The findings show that descriptive representation increases perceptions that the government works for all rather than special interests. Political knowledge moderates these results.

Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Jason L. Morin. "The Effect of Descriptive Representation on Latinos' Views of Government and of Themselves." *Social Science Quarterly* **92.2 (2011): 483–508.**

Builds on Pantoja and Segura 2003 and assesses the role of pan-ethnic and national-origin descriptive representation in the mayoral office on Latino attitudes toward government. The results suggest that having a Latino mayor or a mayor who shares the same national origin decreases feelings of alienation and increases political efficacy among Latinos.

Wolak, Jennifer, and Eric Gonzalez Juenke. "Descriptive Representation and Political Knowledge." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* **9.1 (2021): 129–150.**

Argues that descriptive representation may increase knowledge about politics among Black, Latino, and Asian Americans. Leverages data from the 2006–2014 Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES) that asked respondents about their own representative's partisanship and race/ethnicity. Findings show that having a descriptive representative differentially impacts racial and ethnic minorities' knowledge of their representatives but not of politics more generally.

Inclusion of Minority Languages in Politics

The works under this section deal with the inclusion of minority languages in the voting process and in campaigns. These two sections reflect the attention of scholars to the political integration of language minorities. The first section focuses on access to political information in a minority language and how this access allows a larger portion of the population to vote. The second section shows how political scientists have applied research from sociolinguistics to explore the instrumental as well as symbolic role of minority language. In other words, language is about understanding what someone says but also communicates belonging and respect. These mechanisms can, in turn, influence political behavior. The last section places the American experience in a comparative context, showing how minority language inclusion operates similarly in other countries. These works point to productive framework to use in American politics research.

Ballot Inclusion

Perhaps the most explicit way in which linguistic minorities are included in American elections is in the use of multilingual ballots. In 1975, the Voting Rights Act (VRA) was amended and, under Sections 203 and 4(f)4, specified the conditions under which jurisdictions with voting-age citizens with limited English proficiency must provide language accommodations when voting. Tucker and Espino 2007 provides a comprehensive look at the language provisions mandated by the VRA and the actual accommodations that jurisdictions provide for Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. While there is a paucity of research on the impact of the VRA's language provisions, Jones-Correa 2005 shows that turnout rates for Latinos and Asian Americans are higher in covered jurisdictions. Parkin and Zlotnick 2014 examines registration rates among Latinos and find a positive impact but only among English-proficient Latinos. To overcome methodological obstacles, Hopkins 2011 uses a research discontinuity design and finds a positive impact on turnout for limited English-proficient Latinos. Fraga and Merseth 2016 uses a similar design and expands their population of interest to cover Asian Americans as well as Latinos. Moving

beyond voting, Marschall and Rutherford 2016 tests the impact of the VRA language provisions on getting Latinos elected to local office, considering variation in how jurisdictions comply with the law.

Fraga, Bernard L., and Julie Lee Merseth. "Examining the Causal Impact of the Voting Rights Act Language Minority Provisions." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* **1.1 (2016): 31–59.**

Builds on Hopkins 2011 to examine both voter registration and turnout rates among Latinos and Asian Americans. This study not only includes the fastest-growing minority group, Asian Americans, but also analyzes the impact of Section 203 outside of California and other states that are now fully covered by the VRA. Methodologically, it uses individual-level data on actual registration and turnout rather than on self-reports.

Hopkins, Daniel J. "Translating into Votes: The Electoral Impacts of Spanish-Language Ballots." *American Journal of Political Science* **55.4 (2011): 814–830.**

Leverages the population thresholds that activate coverage under Section 203 to use a research discontinuity design to study the causal impact of language coverage on Latino turnout. This methodological advancement allows for a stronger causal identification and shows not just how linguistic minorities benefit from inclusion but also tests decreased support for California's Proposition 227 which restricted bilingual education.

Jones-Correa, Michael. "Language Provisions Under the Voting Rights Act: How Effective Are They?" *Social Science Quarterly* **86.3 (2005): 549–564.**

Examines the impact of Section 203 coverage on the turnout of Latinos and Asian Americans for the 1996 and 2000 presidential elections.

Marschall, Melissa J., and Amanda Rutherford. "Voting Rights for Whom? Examining the Effects of the Voting Rights Act on Latino Political Incorporation." *American Journal of Political Science* **60.3 (2016): 590–606.**

Examines the impact of the VRA language provisions on the election of Latinos to local school boards. Importantly, it considers how uninterrupted coverage and compliance of jurisdictions with law affects the election of Latinos. This is the first study to move beyond registration and turnout rates to see how the inclusion of language minorities affects the election of co-ethnics.

Parkin, Michael, and Frances Zlotnick. "The Voting Rights Act and Latino Voter Registration: Symbolic Assistance for English-Speaking Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* **36.1 (2014): 48–63.**

Uses survey data from the 2006 Latino National Survey to examine whether coverage under the VRA is associated with higher turnout among Latinos. Finding support for this relationship only among Latinos who are proficient in English, the authors propose that the VRA fulfills a symbolic rather than instrumental role in the inclusion of this minority group.

Tucker, James T., and Rodolfo Espino. "Governmental Effectiveness and Efficiency? The Minority Language Assistance Provisions of the VRA." *Texas Journal on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights* **12.2 (2007): 163–232.**

Comprehensive overview of the language provisions in the Voting Rights Act. Provides a breakdown of the number of jurisdictions where Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Alaska Natives should receive language accommodations. Through a survey of covered jurisdictions, it shows the kind of accommodations that jurisdictions have offered minority citizens.

Linguistic Minority Representation

The works in this section represent several ways in which language minorities are included in campaign efforts and the media. Abrajano and Panagopoulos 2011 and Mann, et al. 2020 examine the use of Spanish-language appeals in nonpartisan get-out-the-vote efforts. Panagopoulos and Green 2011 focuses on similar efforts to increase turnout via radio. Ramírez 2011 highlights the key role radio plays for Latino communities and shows how this medium was important in organizing the 2006 immigration protests. Branton and Dunaway 2008 focuses on Spanish-language media and finds that coverage of immigration varies by language. As Garcia-Rios and Barreto 2016 shows, this difference is important for creating a policitized immigrant identity. In addition, Flores and Coppock 2018 shows that campaign appeals in Spanish can increase support among Latino voters, but Zárate, et al. 2024 demonstrates that the candidate's language proficiency matters. Importantly, Darr, et al. 2020 finds that inclusion of Spanish in campaigns and in the media can increase feeling of belonging among Latinos but may also lead to backlash from white Americans; Hopkins 2014 provides supporting evidence of this backlash.

Abrajano, Marisa, and Costas Panagopoulos. "Does Language Matter? The Impact of Spanish Versus English-Language GOTV Efforts on Latino Turnout." *American Politics Research* **39.4 (2011): 643–663.**

Examines the effectiveness of nonpartisan get-out-the-vote appeals in Spanish vis-à-vis similar appeals in English in a local election. Uses a field experiment to test competing expectations of the impact of Spanish-language appeals. Both Spanish- and English-language appeals appear to be effective, but the latter has a more consistent impact on Latino turnout.

Branton, Regina, and Johanna Dunaway. "English- and Spanish-Language Media Coverage of Immigration: A Comparative Analysis." *Social Science Quarterly* **89.4 (2008): 1006–1022.**

Through a content analysis of immigration coverage in newspapers, this article shows that English- and Spanish-language media differ in their coverage. Argues this is due to demand-side explanations, where a Latino and immigrant audience incentivizes higher and more positive coverage of immigration by Spanish-language media.

Darr, Joshua P., Brittany N. Perry, Johanna L. Dunaway, and Mingxiao Sui. "Seeing Spanish: The Effects of Language-Based Media Choices on Resentment and Belonging." *Political Communication* **37.4 (2020): 488–511.**

Tests how exposure to Spanish-language media affects non-Hispanic whites' views of Hispanics and Hispanics' sense of belonging. Builds on existing theories of language effects in surveys but tests them outside of the issue of immigration to tease out the role of Spanish itself.

Flores, Alejandro, and Alexander Coppock. "Do Bilinguals Respond More Favorably to Candidate Advertisements in English or in Spanish?" *Political Communication* **35.4 (2018): 612–633.**

Leverages real campaign advertisements to test how bilingual Latinos respond to candidates who make Spanish-language appeals. The experimental design relies on English and Spanish advertisements produced by three different candidates, two of whom are white and the other is Latino. Results show a positive impact on candidate evaluations among bilinguals for the Latino candidate and one of the white candidates.

Garcia-Rios, Sergio I., and Matt A. Barreto. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* **2.3 (2016): 78–96.**

Argues that Spanish-language media shapes a politicized immigrant identity, which in turn leads to greater political participation. Includes a concise literature review and argument on the role of Spanish-language media in the immigration debate.

Hopkins, Daniel J. "One Language, Two Meanings: Partisanship and Responses to Spanish." *Political Communication* **31.3 (2014): 421–445.**

Examines how non-Hispanic whites respond to hearing or seeing Spanish in two studies, one experimental and one observational. Finds that exposure to Spanish increases anti-immigration attitudes among Republicans.

Mann, Christopher B., Melissa R. Michelson, and Matt Davis. "What Is the Impact of Bilingual Communication to Mobilize Latinos? Exploratory Evidence from Experiments in New Jersey, North Carolina, and Virginia." *Electoral Studies* **65 (June 2020): 102132.**

Tests whether there is a difference in the impact of English-only and English-Spanish mailers on Latino turnout. Results from field experiments in two states show that both versions increase turnout but replicate other findings that find English-language materials more effective.

Panagopoulos, Costas, and Donald P. Green. "Spanish-Language Radio Advertisements and Latino Voter Turnout in the 2006 Congressional Elections: Field Experimental Evidence." *Political Research Quarterly* **64.3 (2011): 588–599.**

Tests the impact of nonpartisan Spanish-language radio advertisements by conducting a field experiment. Analyzing Hispanic turnout rates in over two hundred congressional districts, it finds a positive impact for Spanish-language radio advertisements. Further, it argues these ads compare quite favorably to other types of mobilization efforts in terms of cost-effectiveness.

Ramírez, Ricardo. "Mobilization En Español: Spanish-Language Radio and the Activation of Political Identities." In *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*. **Edited by Kim Voss and Irene Bloemraad, 63–81. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.**

Discusses the role of Spanish-language radio in mobilizing Latinos during the 2006 protests. Compares the role of Spanish-language media with the role played by Black-oriented radio during the civil rights movement.

Zárate, Marques G., Enrique Quezada-Llanes, and Angel D. Armenta. "_Se Habla Español_**: Spanish-Language Appeals and Candidate Evaluations in the United States."** *American Political Science Review* **118.1 (2024): 363–379.**

Complicates the effectiveness of language-based appeals by examining the role language proficiency plays in the use of Spanish by candidates. Argues that Latinos will evaluate a candidate's ability and willingness to represent Latinos based on the candidate's Spanish-language proficiency.

Linguistic Minorities in Comparative Context

Ethnic and linguistic minorities are not unique to the United States. Recent studies in the comparative politics literature show how linguistic minorities can achieve representation and inclusion in the political system. Crisp, et al. 2018 focuses on the case of the Maori people in New Zealand and on representatives speaking the minority language while discussing legislation. Hänni 2017 conducts a comparative study of more than sixty democracies across three continents, and finds that inclusion of a minority representative in the executive provides substantive representation in the form of increased minority language rights. In addition to these results that parallel the American politics literature, other work provides useful theoretical frameworks for future research. Liu 2021 provides a detailed theory of minority incorporation based on networks defined by language. Lastly, Pérez and Tavits 2022 test a linguistic-psychological theory of cognition and public opinion that complicates how scholars should think about the beliefs of language minorities.

Crisp, Brian F., Betul Demirkaya, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Courtney Millian. "The Role of Rules in Representation: Group Membership and Electoral Incentives." *British Journal of Political Science* **48.1 (2018): 47–67.**

Studies the substantive representation of the Maori in the New Zealand parliament and the role that electoral rules play in providing incentives to represent minority interests. Measures substantive representation as the number of Maori-related questions asked during debate as well as the use of the Maori language on the floor. Finds that Maori members of parliament (MPs) elected in single-member districts and in the proportional representation tier are distinguishable from their non-Maori counterparts.

Hänni, Miriam. "Presence, Representation, and Impact: How Minority MPs Affect Policy Outcomes." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* **42.1 (2017): 97–130.**

Examines the effects of ethnic minority representatives on minority language and economic rights across multiethnic democracies in Europe, the Americas, and Oceania. Results show that descriptive representation increases minority language rights when a minority representative is included in the government and as the size of the ethnic group increases.

Liu, Amy H. *The Language of Political Incorporation: Chinese Migrants in Europe*. **Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2021.**

Provides a theory of political incorporation of language minorities arguing that the linguistic repertoire of migrants allows them to form different types of networks and, in turn, experience different levels of political incorporation. The empirical analysis focuses mostly on Chinese immigrants in European countries, but the theoretical framework is widely applicable to other contexts.

Pérez, Efrén O., and Margit Tavits. *Voicing Politics: How Language Shapes Public Opinion*. **Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022.**

Bridges the gap between linguistics and political psychology to offer a theory of language effects on public opinion and candidate evaluations. Using experimental designs among samples of bilingual adults in the United States, Sweden, and Estonia, this book provides evidence for how different aspects of language (such as whether the language is gendered or is a minority language) shapes political thinking.

Religious Minority Representation

The sections below discuss the research on the representation and inclusion of religious minorities in American politics. The research in this area is relatively sparse when compared to research on ethnic minorities. This lack of research is partly due to challenges in studying groups that make up only a small percentage of the population and partly to a general disinterest in studying religion, much less religious minorities. In the last decade, some scholars have begun to find creative ways to overcome some of these challenges by employing audit studies or using social media data. Others have used common approaches in the study of legislative behavior. As is often the case with racial and ethnic politics literature, much work on the inclusion of religious minorities centers the attitudes of the majority population and this latter group's willingness to support candidates from religious minorities. The last section examines the extent to which models of political participation used to study other religious traditions are applicable for Muslim Americans. One important aspect of the research on Muslim Americans is the difficulty in disentangling this identity from racial/ethnic identities. Since Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) and Muslim identities are often conflated, scholars are careful in specifying which groups they study. The research on Muslim Americans thus often includes Arab, South Asian, and Black Americans, but not always (see also Future Directions).

Representation of Religious Minorities

With few exceptions, political scientists have paid relatively little attention to the representation of religious interests in American politics. This is even more so the case for religious minorities. Three studies listed below examine the representation of Muslims, measuring the level of substantive representation through roll-call votes (Martin 2009), responses to emails as part of an audit experiment (Lajevardi 2020), and social media posts (Lajevardi and Spangler 2022). Campbell, et al. 2014 provides a book-length treatment of Mormons, paying attention to both their mobilization in politics as well as how other Americans have perceived them. Along similar lines, Karpowitz, et al. 2016 conducts an experiment to test how Americans react to derogatory language targeting different religious groups. Lastly, considering the outsize attention that conservative Christians receive on the media, Stenger 2005 assesses who religious interest groups represent and finds that liberal Christians are underrepresented in their efforts.

Campbell, David E., John Clifford Green, and J. Quin Monson. *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*. **Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion and Politics. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014.**

One of the few major studies in political science that examines the role of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in American politics. After providing a much-needed political profile of Mormons, it shows the potential for religious mobilization as well as the challenges Mormons faced as a group outside of the religious mainstream.

Karpowitz, Christopher F., J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson. "Who's In and Who's Out: The Politics of Religious Norms." *Politics and Religion* **9.3 (2016): 508–536.**

Examines how Americans apply norms of equality to different religious groups. Such norms are important because they can define which groups are perceived as legitimate in American politics and thus deserving of political representation.

Lajevardi, Nazita. "Access Denied: Exploring Muslim American Representation and Exclusion by State Legislators." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* **8.5 (2020): 957–985.**

Provides a much-needed examination of political representation of Muslim American constituencies. By examining audit studies of state legislators' responses to Muslim constituents and local religious leaders, it shows that this religious minority receives less attention from their representatives compared to constituents from majority groups.

Lajevardi, Nazita, and Liesel Spangler. "Evaluating Muslim American Representation." *PS: Political Science & Politics* **55.2 (2022): 285–290.**

This short article uses the framework of descriptive and substantive representation to review the nascent study of Muslim American representation. Presents a descriptive analysis of the number of tweets by members of Congress as well as the sentiment of those tweets as a way of examining minority representation.

Martin, Shane. "The Congressional Representation of Muslim-American Constituents." In *Special Issue: Muslims in America*. **Edited by Ted G. Jelen and Sabrina P. Ramet.** *Politics and Religion* **2.2 (2009): 230–246.**

Examines the policy responsiveness of members of Congress to the proportion of Muslim Americans living in their district. The empirical analysis is focused on three congressional votes in 2005 and 2006 related to the Patriot Act.

Stenger, Katherine E. "The Underrepresentation of Liberal Christians: Mobilization Strategies of Religious Interest Groups." *The Social Science Journal* **42.3 (2005): 391–403.**

Christian interest groups have been an important force in advancing the interests of conservative Christians in Washington. Stenger argues that liberal Christians are underrepresented among Christian interest groups, in part due to liberal religious groups being less likely to be membership-based.

How Religious Minority Candidates Are Perceived

Many scholars of political behavior are interested in how voters evaluate candidates based on different candidate characteristics including religious identities. While mainstream religious identities are often beneficial for candidates, those from several religious minorities face hurdles from negative stereotypes. Some work focuses on a specific group; for example, Calfano, et al. 2013 tests how being a Mormon may have impacted Mitt Romney's presidential candidacy, while Braman and Sinno 2009 and Kalkan, et al. 2018 examine attitudes toward Muslims candidates and Franks 2017 addresses the challenges faced by atheist candidates. Other work such as Madrid, et al. 2022 examines attitudes toward all three of these religious minority groups at once. Moreover, two pieces included here test how to combat this prejudice. Campbell, et al. 2012 examines how social contact with religious minorities reduces prejudice against Mormon candidates. Benson, et al. 2011 also tests this social contact hypothesis for Mormon, Muslim, and atheist candidates. Kane, et al. 2004 finds that Jewish candidates no longer face the same hurdles they once did—that said, Berinsky and Mendelberg 2005 shows that even discredited stereotypes may continue to affect Jewish candidates. All of these studies use experimental designs.

Benson, Brett V., Jennifer L. Merolla, and John G. Geer. "Two Steps Forward, One Step Back? Bias in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Electoral Studies* 30.4 (2011): 607–620.

Uses two list experiments to examine American's willingness to support an atheist, Mormon, or Muslim candidate for president. Also evaluates if social contact with religious minorities decreases the backlash that religious minority candidates face.

Berinsky, Adam J., and Tali Mendelberg. "The Indirect Effects of Discredited Stereotypes in Judgments of Jewish Leaders." *American Journal of Political Science* 49.4 (2005): 845–864.

Presents a theory of how discredited stereotypes of Jewish people can still have an impact on evaluations of Jewish candidates through the activation of other less socially unacceptable stereotypes. Also examines under what contexts the effect of stereotypes is undermined.

Braman, Eileen, and Abdulkader H. Sinno. "An Experimental Investigation of Causal Attributions for the Political Behavior of Muslim Candidates: Can a Muslim Represent You?" In *Special Issue: Muslims in America*. **Edited by Ted G. Jelen and Sabrina P. Ramet.** *Politics and Religion* 2.2 (2009): 247–276.

Tests how voters judge Muslim elected officials' behavior compared to non-Muslim officials' identical behavior using an experimental design. The findings suggest that voters attribute different rationales to Muslim government officials when they fail to prosecute a terrorism case.

Calfano, Brian R., Amanda Friesen, and Paul A. Djupe. "Mitigating Mormonism: Overcoming Religious Identity Challenges with Targeted Appeals." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46.3 (2013): 562–568.

This short article reports the results from a survey experiment with Republican identifiers. The findings show that while Mormon identity may decrease the likeability and electability of a hypothetical Republican candidate, using broad Christian language can help them overcome that prejudice.

Campbell, David E., John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson. "The Stained Glass Ceiling: Social Contact and Mitt Romney's 'Religion Problem.'" *Political Behavior* 34.2 (2012): 277–299.

Evaluates how Republican voters felt about Mitt Romney's Mormon identity during the 2008 presidential primaries. Through an experimental design, it tests how voters react to different frames about Romney's religion conditional on social contact with that religious minority. Lays out a succinct explanation of social identity theory and framing effects.

Franks, Andrew S. "Improving the Electability of Atheists in the United States: A Preliminary Examination." *Politics and Religion* 10.3 (2017): 597–621.

Presents results for three experimental studies testing how atheist candidates may overcome voters' anti-atheist prejudice.

Kalkan, Kerem Ozan, Geoffrey C. Layman, and John C. Green. "Will Americans Vote for Muslims? Cultural Outgroup Antipathy, Candidate Religion, and U.S. Voting Behavior." *Politics and Religion* 11.4 (2018): 798–829.

Posits that many Americans see some groups as being outside of the cultural mainstream (e.g., atheists, gays, and lesbians). Finds that the responses of white Americans to Muslim candidates are conditioned by the respondent's antipathy toward cultural outgroups.

Kane, James G., Stephen C. Craig, and Kenneth D. Wald. "Religion and Presidential Politics in Florida: A List Experiment." *Social Science Quarterly* 85.2 (2004): 281–293.

The authors conduct a list experiment to test how voters would respond to both a real and a hypothetical Jewish candidate. Echoing public opinion polls and other experimental studies, the results show that voters are not as opposed to Jewish candidates as they once were.

Madrid, Raul, Jr., Jennifer L. Merolla, Aldo Yanez Ruiz, and Jean Reith Schroedel. "The Relevance of Religion for Political Office: Voter Bias Toward Candidates from Different Religious Backgrounds." *Political Behavior* 44.2 (2022): 981–1001.

Examines how voters evaluate Muslim, atheist, and Mormon candidates compared to candidates from mainstream religious groups on traits and issue competence. Shows experimental results indicating that Muslim and atheist candidates face the largest hurdle.

Religion as a Mobilizer for Muslim Americans

Standard models of political participation often include measures of religious service attendance and show a positive relationship between religiosity and political activity. Given that the vast majority of religious Americans are Christian, the existing analyses focused on samples of all Americans may not speak to the Muslim American experience—that said, the theoretical mechanisms for the influence of religiosity should be applicable to other religious groups such as Muslim Americans, and the studies in this section help elucidate this. Dana, et al. 2017 uses standard religiosity measures on a national sample of Muslim Americans, while Jalalzai 2009 shows this relationship through quantitative and qualitative evidence. The two remaining works emphasize important moderators in the relationship between mosque participation and political engagement. Jamal 2005 examines differences in the impact of mosque involvement for different ethnic and racial groups within the Muslim American population. Lastly, Westfall 2019 shows that the type of involvement in the mosque matters, and that attending prayer services may not be sufficient for political mobilization.

Dana, Karam, Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta, and Matt Barreto. "The Political Incorporation of Muslims in the United States: The Mobilizing Role of Religiosity in Islam." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 2.2 (2017): 170–200.

Implements the believing, belonging, and behaving framework commonly used in the study of religion and politics to examine whether more devout Muslim Americans are more likely to be involved in politics. Among a national sample of Arab, Asian, and Black Muslim Americans, the study finds a positive relationship between religiosity and political participation.

Jalalzai, Farida. "The Politics of Muslims in America." In *Special Issue: Muslims in America*. Edited by Ted G. Jelen and Sabrina P. Ramet. *Politics and Religion* 2.2 (2009): 163–199.

Uses a mixed-methods approach to study the political participation and voting behavior of Muslim Americans. The samples for the survey and the in-depth interviews include Muslim Americans who are Middle Eastern, South Asian, Bosnian, and African American. Echoing previous work, it shows how the post-9/11 political environment increased political engagement among this population.

Jamal, Amaney. "The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness." *American Politics Research* 33.4 (2005): 521–544.

Tests the role of religious institutions in promoting political participation among Muslim Americans. Data comes from a survey conducted in New York among Arab, South Asian, and African American Muslims. The impact of mosque involvement varies by racial/ethnic group, increasing political participation and group consciousness among Arabs, but only group consciousness among Black Muslims.

Westfall, Aubrey. "Mosque Involvement and Political Engagement in the United States." *Politics and Religion* 12.4 (2019): 678–709.

Argues that not all mosque participation increases political engagement. Uses the 2011 Pew Research Center survey of Muslim Americans to show that attending events at the mosque beyond the prayer services is what most consistently promotes political engagement.

Future Directions

The works in this section point to future directions for research on the participation and representation of minority groups in the United States. One future avenue for research involves the development of group consciousness (and related concepts) across racial and ethnic minorities. Chan and Jasso 2021 measures interracial linked fate and finds that it is associated with higher levels of unconventional political participation (e.g., protesting). Pérez, et al. 2024 focuses on the development of solidarity across individuals who might be classified as "people of color," and shows that portrayals of other groups as foreign or inferior contributes to this sense of solidarity. Together, these works point to the role of superordinate group identities for political representation and participation. Another future direction is the disentangling of Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) and Muslim identities; d'Urso and Bonilla 2023 uses a conjoint experiment to examine how racial and religious identities of MENA and Muslim Americans impact whether they are perceived by white Americans as belonging in the United States (see also the works cited under Religion as a Mobilizer for Muslim Americans). Lastly, two works point to an intriguing area of inquiry that leverages participation in online spaces as an outcome of interest. Hobbs and Lajevardi 2019 relies on the share of Twitter accounts with an Arab name that shared their geolocation before and after Donald Trump's first presidential campaign and eventual win, while Chan 2021 focuses on political participation that happens online and finds a participation gap between Asian and white Americans. Along with new data sources like the Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Studies that include representative samples of various racial and ethnic groups, the scrutinizing of social media, where new forms of political discussion and participation are taking place, can contribute significantly to our understanding of minority participation and representation.

Chan, Nathan K. "Political Inequality in the Digital World: The Puzzle of Asian American Political Participation Online." *Political Research Quarterly* **74.4 (2021): 882–898.**

Measures political participation on the Internet and shows that while Asian Americans have an advantage in online access relative to other racial groups, this does not result in greater online political activity. Argues that this online participation gap is a result of lower political interest, pan-ethnic identity, and mobilization from political elites.

Chan, Nathan Kar Ming, and Francisco Jasso. "From Inter-Racial Solidarity to Action: Minority Linked Fate and African American, Latina/o, and Asian American Political Participation." *Political Behavior* **45.3 (2021): 1097–1119.**

Examines the role of intergroup linked fate among Latines, Asian Americans, and Black Americans in promoting political participation. Uses data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study that includes measures of intraracial and interracial linked fate. Linked fate with other minorities is associated with higher levels of unconventional political activity such as protesting, boycotting, or signing a petition. Shows that levels of intraracial linked fate are higher than interracial linked fate.

d'Urso, Amanda Sahar, and Tabitha Bonilla. "Religion or Race? Using Intersectionality to Examine the Role of Muslim Identity and Evaluations on Belonging in the United States." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* **8.2 (2023): 202–222.**

Due to the potential conflation of Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) and Muslim identities, this study seeks to disentangle the role of race and religion in how white Americans' view Muslim belonging in the United States. Through a conjoint experiment that varies the religion and race of a potential green-card recipient, the study shows the religious identity of the individual evaluated is more salient than their racial identity.

Hobbs, William, and Nazita Lajevardi. "Effects of Divisive Political Campaigns on the Day-to-Day Segregation of Arab and Muslim Americans." *American Political Science Review* **113.1 (2019): 270–276.**

Uses social media data to examine how Arab and Muslim Americans responded to anti-Muslim rhetoric from the Trump campaign. Finds that the share of Arab Americans sharing their location on Twitter dropped following Trump's announcement of a "Muslim ban" while he was still a candidate and right after the 2016 presidential election. Results are corroborated with a small sample of Muslim Americans.

Pérez, Efrén, Bianca Vicuña, and Alisson Ramos. "Taking Stock of Solidarity between People of Color: A Mini Meta-Analysis of Five Experiments." *American Political Science Review* **118.3 (2024): 1549–1555.**

Meta-analysis of five experiments examining the conditions under which racial and ethnic minorities show solidarity with one another. The treatment in each experiment manipulates whether a racial/ethnic group (different from the sample population) is described as foreign or inferior and shows this increases feelings of intergroup solidarity. In addition, increased solidarity leads to increased support for policies that benefit the outgroup. The populations studied include Latinos, Asian Americans, Black Americans, and Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) individuals.

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