

The Political Consequences of Prejudice among Mexicans and Mexican Americans

by

María del Rosario Aguilar Pariente

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Donald R. Kinder, Chair
Professor Nancy E. Burns
Professor Daniel H. Levine
Associate Professor Vincent L. Hutchings
Associate Professor Denise J. Sekaquaptewa

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 2005 two diplomatic incidents between Mexico and the U.S. brought attention to the concepts of race and racism between these two polities. In the first one the Mexican president, Vicente Fox, urged the U.S. government to carry out a comprehensive immigration reform that would legalize the status of a large number of illegal Mexican immigrants, who in Fox's words "take jobs that *not even blacks want to do*" (Thompson 2005, online). This comment spurred anger among African American leaders in the U.S. because of the stereotypes implied: that African Americans are the ones who perform the worst jobs in the U.S. and that this can only be explained because of traits specifically ascribed to that group. The White House called the statements "insensitive and inappropriate" (Melgar and Gracia 2005, online). President Fox met twice with Reverend Jesse Jackson to clarify his statement and assure him that his government was doing its best to attack discrimination against minorities. When pressed by Jackson, President Fox said he "very much regret[s] the misinterpretation" of the statement, but he did not apologize for it ("Fox defends record after gaffe on race" 2005, online). The rationalization behind Fox's statement was that African Americans made up the majority of poor people in the U.S. and that what he wanted to say was that Mexican immigrants come to the U.S. to do the jobs that even the poorest people do not want to do. In reality, however, the majority of poor people in the U.S. are

White. Research on Americans' feelings towards the welfare policy show that President Fox is not alone in his mistake; the majority of White Americans believe that African Americans constitute the majority of poor people and welfare recipients. In general White Americans believe that African Americans' low social status is their own responsibility, and that they are therefore undeserving welfare recipients (Gilens 1999). President Fox's statement showed that in Mexico it is acceptable to make comments based on stereotypes related to people's racial appearance without worrying about offending them.

The second diplomatic incident took place a couple of weeks later, when the Mexican postal service printed postal stamps depicting a comic strip black character with exaggerated physical features similar to those used in the blackface tradition called Memín Pinguín. These stamps were part of a series of stamps commemorating the history of comic books in the country.

[Illustration 1.1 here]

While in the U.S. members of the White House, politicians, and social movement leaders condemned the postal stamp as racist, the Mexican government, a large number of editorialists, and most of the public argued that Americans were wrong in taking offence. In their view, Americans did not understand Mexican culture: Mexicans loved Memín with all his flaws and qualities. The thing that the defenders of the postal stamps failed to grasp is that the image of Memín itself is offensive to people of African descent and that the “funny” traits of Memín are negative stereotypes typically associated with Blacks.¹ In response to the attacks from the U.S. government, a spokesman for the then Mexican ambassador in the U.S. responded that:

¹ Memín is characterized by a lack of sophistication and critical judgment; he does not do well in school, and others take advantage of his good nature, making fun of him without his noticing, etc

Speedy González has never been interpreted in a racial manner by the people in Mexico, because he is a cartoon character (...) I am certain that this commemorative postage stamp is not intended to be interpreted on a racial basis in Mexico or anywhere else (McKinley Jr., 2005, online).

This statement raises two important issues: a) Mexico's political establishment did not see a problem with an official endorsement of a comic that could be offensive to some groups, and b) Mexico's official and social perceptions of admissible behavior in terms of race vary considerably from the perceptions of their U.S. counterparts. While it is incorrect to generalize, and argue that everyone in Mexico agreed with the government's position, a columnist in the third most read national newspaper in Mexico (Carreón et al. 2007), *Reforma*, explained to his readers that the U.S. could not understand the non-racial meaning of the stamps because the "U.S. is a profoundly racist country because it did not experience mestizaje (racial intermixing) as Brazil, Cuba, or Mexico did (...) [Mexico] is not as racist nation as the U.S. It is a classist society, not a racist one" (Tello Díaz 2005, online).²

In this dissertation I take the contrary position to Mr. Tello Díaz's. Mexicans do differentiate among themselves according to their racial appearance, and they attach different stereotypical traits to people according to that appearance. These stereotypes become the rationalization for prejudiced behavior, understood as "an antipathy" for an individual or a group of people that is "based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" that might be felt or expressed (Allport 1954, 9). If we understand stereotypes as the cognitive dimension of prejudice then, it is possible to argue that people might be cognizant of stereotypes associated to other groups of people but may not act on them because of internal or external motivations (Devine et al. 2002). The expression of prejudice depends on the social context

² The text reads: "Estados Unidos, un país profundamente racista porque no conoció el mestizaje, en contraste con Brasil o Cuba, o incluso México (...) [México] es una nación menos racista que estados Unidos. Es clasista, no racista."

regulating people's behavior. Specifically, social norms regulate people's social behavior as they are informal standards of behavior that describe acceptable social conducts agreed by most members of the culture (Mendelberg 2001). In contexts where social norms discourage the expression of stereotypes associated to racial phenotypes (i.e., in the U.S.) people will tend to suppress prejudiced behavior. In contrast, in places where those norms do not discourage such expression (i.e., in Mexico) people will tend not suppress their prejudiced behavior.

This dissertation explores and compares the expression and political implications of prejudice related to racial markers, or phenotypes, among members of the Mestizo race in Mexico and the United States. Phenotypes are the observable characteristics of a person produced by the interaction of the person's genotype with the environment. Thus, researchers use relevant phenotypic characteristics as racial markers (skin color, height, facial features, etc.) when differentiating among racial groups. This research analyzes the effect of different political and social contexts, as well as racial ideologies, on the political behavior of members of what is considered a single racial group, thus questioning current thinking about race and political behavior in American and comparative politics.

The main argument of this research is that phenotypic prejudice among members of the Mexican race has an impact on the way they think about politics and evaluate politicians. This study maps the effect of two types of racial ideologies on people's political behavior: 1) one that seeks to differentiate members of a polity into different racial groups (as in the United States); and 2) one that seeks to erase racial differences by grouping the majority of members of a polity into a single racial group (as in Mexico). Both types of ideologies obscure the existence and consequences of phenotypic prejudice among Mexicans and

Mexican-Americans. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to understand the way Mexican and Mexican-Americans think and act politically based on phenotypes.

The best methodological approach to test this theory of phenotypic prejudice is through experiments in controlled environments. Through experiments, the researcher is able to isolate the factor influencing participants' reactions, so they have strong internal validity (McGraw et al. 2003). The existence of phenotypic prejudice has not been tested among Mexicans or Mexican-Americans so it is important to guarantee that participants' answers in the research are produced by the phenotypic stimuli. This dissertation aims to test the effect of different contexts, in specific social norms, on people's reactions to phenotypes. The ideal groups to do that are Mexicans in Mexico, and U.S.-born and raised Mexican Americans. Both groups of people have to be socialized in their own societies to show the effect that such socialization has on their reactions. Mexico City and Chicago are the best places to conduct this type of research. Both are urban centers, far away from the U.S.-Mexico border, and Chicago has the second largest Mexican-American population in the U.S. after Los Angeles, California.

Overview of the dissertation

Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical framework of the research. First, it provides a brief review of the development of Mexican and American racial ideologies. It discusses the ambiguous place of Mexican-Americans in the U.S. racial system. The chapter shows how Mexico's official ideology, one that groups the majority of members into one racial group, has failed to eradicate racism from Mexico's society and has simply made it more difficult to measure the extent of racism.

Chapter 3 discusses the findings of an experiment designed to measure the effect of phenotypic stereotypes in social settings, as well as the content of stereotypes associated to different phenotypes. The experiment was only conducted in Mexico City. This chapter indicates that more negative stereotypes are associated with Indigenous phenotypes than to White or Mestizo phenotypes. At the same time, the results show that subjects evaluate both the White and Indigenous individuals more favorably than they do the Mestizo individuals. These findings suggest that participants are less inclined to act on the stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes when it is clear that they are evaluating an Indigenous person.

Chapter 4 explores the political consequences of phenotypic prejudice among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. The experiment discussed in this chapter asks participants to evaluate and vote for electoral candidates who vary in their phenotypic appearance. The results suggest that a positive and significant bias towards the White individual exists in Mexico City, while the opposite exists in Chicago. The relationship between participants' evaluations of a particular candidate and their willingness to vote for that candidate is also explored. There is evidence showing that phenotypic prejudice affects voters' decisions independently of their evaluation of the candidate.

Finally, the conclusion wraps up the theoretical discussion and empirical findings of the dissertation. It also proposes suggestions for the future direction of research in this area.

Chapter 1-Tables

Illustration 1.1
“Memín Pinguín Postal Stamps”



Chapter 2

The political consequences of phenotypic prejudice across polities

The analysis of this dissertation centers on the effect of different social contexts and ideologies on people's political and social behavior. In the area of race and politics, research has tended to focus on the decisions people make about those of different racial groups. However, by contrasting the social and political behavior of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, it is possible to explore the existence of stereotypes associated with different racial features among members of the same supposed racial group, Mestizo. Shortly after Mexico gained independence from Spain, the term Mestizo came into use in Mexico as a way to unify all Mexicans under a common banner and uplift those that the elites deemed culturally inferior. Despite this effort, this research argues that Mexicans and Mexican-Americans do stereotype and differentiate one another based on what could be called racial variations. Furthermore, these stereotypes translate into prejudiced behavior when such behavior is accepted.

The expression of prejudice in politics and social life depends on the social norms that mediate people's behavior, so this research compares the behavior of similar people who live under different social norms. The hypotheses are tested by conducting two experiments in Mexico City and Chicago that test for the existence of stereotypes and prejudices associated to racial features, and look at their impact on the evaluation of regular

individuals and electoral candidates. This project tests for the existence of such discrimination among people who identify with the same race.

The purpose of this chapter is to locate this research within different bodies of literature. First, the literature on the relationship between race and politics in both Mexico and the United States is discussed, followed by the research on the influence of racial ideologies and social norms on people's prejudiced behavior. Finally, the theoretical framework that incorporates research on phenotypes, stereotypes, prejudice, and social norms from political science and social psychology is laid out, in order to show how this research deepens our understanding of the impact that racial prejudice and social norms have on people's political action.

Race and politics under different contexts

Race as a concept is a product of the European expansion in the 15th century (Stevens 1999, 186). As Europeans conquered new lands in Africa and the Americas they developed a hierarchical system linking perceived biological and behavioral differences to diverse racial labels that would allow them to maintain power as a superior race (Anderson and E. Fienberg 1999, 174). The idea of race as a meaningful genetic or biological term has lost its previous support. As early as 1944, Myrdal wrote that "the definition of the 'Negro race' is thus a social and conventional, not a biological concept" and this social concept "determines the status of an individual and his place in interracial relations" (115). Further research demonstrated and sustained that race is a subjective and social construct (Lewontin 1995). In spite of these findings, social psychologists and political scientists show that people from different perceived racial groups continue to rely on negative/positive stereotypes associated with racial appearance (Devine 1989; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001;

Sears and Kinder 1985; Sears and Henry 2005; Sigelman et al. 1995; Sniderman and Piazza 1993; Valentino et al. 2002, among others).

One of the areas most developed in the study of political behavior in the United States is the area of race and politics. The intersection of politics and race includes the analysis of the effect of factors such as stereotypes, group identity, formal and informal rules of behavior, among others, on people's political behavior. As a line of conflict that divides society, race has played an important, and sometimes destabilizing, role in the construction of the American political system (Myrdal 1944; Hutchings and Valentino 2004). In the case of the U.S., most of the research on the political consequences of race centers on non-Hispanic Whites and African Americans (Devine 1989; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001; Sears and Kinder 1985; Sears and Henry 2005; Sigelman et al. 1995; Sniderman and Piazza 1993; Valentino et al. 2002). Other research has looked at non-Hispanic Whites' reactions towards minority candidates who differ in their skin tones (Terkildsen 1993; Hochschild et al. 2003; Hochschild et al. 2004). In the 1970s political scientists started to look more systematically at Latinos and other minority groups' political behavior (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Sawyer 2005; for a review on Latino research look at: Fraga et al. 2006).

At the end of the 20th century, scholars began to turn their attention more methodically to other countries with important Black and non-Black populations. The comparative research of South Africa, Brazil, and the U.S., for example, looked at nation-building (Marx 1998), official racial ideologies (Nobles 2000), and comparisons of the political participation of Blacks in Brazil and the U.S. (Telles 1999; Winat 1999). Researchers studying race in Mexico have focused on relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous

groups (Bonfil Batalla 1980; Stavenhagen 1992). In the field of political science specifically, scholars have primarily looked at Indigenous social movements (Trejo 2004).

These studies shed light on the consequences of different legal arrangements organizing race and on the consequences of different racial hierarchies. Yet, they do not go far enough to test the influence of different social, political and racial contexts on the political consequences of racial prejudice. While places like the U.S. and Mexico have different histories with race and therefore different racial ideologies, the lessons learned from comparing their experiences can greatly inform our understanding of the role race plays in both countries.

By comparing the effect of different racial characteristics on the political behavior of people born and raised in Mexico, to that of Mexican-Americans born and raised in the U.S., this research tests the effect of social, racial and political contexts on the political expression of prejudice in an often overlooked population. One of the motivations behind this project is to understand the expression of racial prejudice in places where such prejudice and racial distinctions is not assumed to exist. Specifically, it looks at the effects race based stereotypes and prejudices have on voters' evaluation of electoral candidates. This research is innovative because it tests the applicability of previous research conducted on racially different populations to the case of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans who are categorized as members of one race, but live under different social norms.

In the next section the creation of the Mestizo race is explored. The Mexican and American racial ideologies are compared and it is discussed how these different settings might affect people's behavior.

Racial ideology and discourse in Mexico: the creation of a 'hybrid' race

We don't have races here. We don't have racism here. Races and racism exist in the United States and South Africa. We are all Mexicans (Bonilla-Silva and Glover 2005, 149).

Mexico's current racial ideology groups the majority of Mexicans under the same racial group, the Mestizo group. This racial ideology has been in the making since Mexico gained its independence from Spain. As in the case of the United States, race became a relevant factor in Mexico's society and politics after the European conquest.³ The Spanish elites established a caste system to differentiate among people according to their ancestry.⁴ After Mexico's independence in 1820 the political elites abolished slavery and the caste system, promoting the construction of a national identity that overlapped with a racial identity (Mexicans would generally belong to the Mestizo racial group). By creating this broad racial group that includes most of people in society, Mexico gave the impression of overcoming the problem of racism. The implication was that if everybody belongs to the same racial group no one can be a racist.

Historically researchers have considered Mexico along with the rest of Latin American countries as part of the *Iberian exceptionalism* or *racial democracy* thesis (Degler 1971; Freyre 1946; Pierson 1942; Tannenbaum 1947). According to this theory, race lost its relevance as an important social factor in Latin America after the region's independence from Spain and Portugal, and the abolition of slavery. The conclusion of the racial democracy thesis is that Latin American societies lack any problem of racism as their national characters are "racially egalitarian" (Sidanius et al. 2001, 829).

³ Indigenous people differentiated among themselves as they belonged to different tribes, but those differences were more cultural and religious than based on phenotypes.

⁴ For the list of those categories look at the Appendix I, Table 1.

Following the racial democracy argument, individuals form social groups along the lines of social class, not racial features. Critics of the racial democracy theory, however, argue that, in spite of the differences between Latin America and the United States' racial relations, Latin American societies do, in fact, display racist attitudes as well (Hanchard 1994; Marx 1998; Nobles 2000; Sidanius et al. 2001; Sawyer 2006; Wade 1997). The main counterargument of these authors is that the myth of racial democracy obscures the existence of racial discrimination.

This dissertation assumes that to understand prejudices and social norms regulating people's racial behavior, it is necessary to comprehend each society's racial ideology. While communities may differ in how they organize people into races, it is possible to talk about phenotypic variations in all populations. Phenotypes are those perceptible individual characteristics caused by the interaction between the individual's genetic information and the environment (hair, skin tone, facial features, etc.) that people use to differentiate among each other when identifying with a racial group ("OED online" 2005). Therefore, in referring to the differences that exist among Mexicans this research employs the term racial phenotypes.

The organization of race and the relevance of racial phenotypes have been different in Mexico and in the U.S. These differences have, in turn, produced different rules of behavior and different means of expressing prejudice in both polities. In one polity, the U.S., race is categorical, so racial categories are more important than people's phenotypic appearance. The one drop rule, for example, prescribed that regardless of physical appearance, a person was Black if there was at least one Black ancestor at some point in his or her family's genetic history (Grant 1921). Therefore, it was possible for a White-looking⁵

⁵ For purposes of brevity, throughout the dissertation I omit the "looking" word when referring to different appearances. For example I use interchangeably the words: White and White-looking doing the same for the other two categories: Mestizo and Indigenous. Every time I talk about these

individual to be Black. In Mexico, on the other hand, where almost everyone belongs to the same racial group regardless of phenotypic appearance, race is generic and phenotypes become relevant for people to distinguish among each other. In other words, Mexicans do not use racial categories to differentiate among each other, but they do use “phenotypic” terms to differentiate among people who are lighter or darker than others. The intriguing aspect of comparing Mexico and the U.S. is to look at the behavior of Mexican-Americans who have inherited Mexico’s racial ideology but have been socialized into the U.S.’ racial system.⁶

In keeping with Mexico’s racial ideology and scholars who study race relations in Latin America, I distinguish between Mexicans according to two main ethnic categories: Mestizo and Indigenous. By Indigenous I mean members of those communities who maintain their pre-Columbian traditions and cultural characteristics. In that way, we can talk about phenotypic prejudice among non-Indigenous people. Students in Mexico’s elementary schools learn to distinguish Indigenous people from the rest of society based on ethnic attributes, specifically their language. According to the fourth grade history textbook, Indigenous language “constitutes a special way of looking at life, looking at the world.” The secondary factors that differentiate Indigenous people are: “traditions, their own authorities, and their wardrobe” (SEP 2000, 39, my own translation).⁷

Research focused on deconstructing the myth of racial democracy must acknowledge the relevance of the country’s racial history. In other words: “any analysis of Mexican racism

categories I always refer to the way people think about the way they and others look like, or are perceived, I never assume any genetic or essential difference among them

⁶ In a future research I plan to look at Mexican immigrants in the U.S. who differ in the time they have spent in the U.S. This analysis would look at the way individuals deal with new social norms that might contradict the ones learnt during their early years of socialization.

⁷ The text reads: La lengua indígena “constituye una manera especial de ver la vida, de ver el mundo”.

demands some grasp of Mexican race relations as they have historically developed” (Knight 1990, 72). Therefore, a brief discussion of the role of race in Mexico’s history follows.

As mentioned before, during the time Mexico was a Spanish colony its society was divided into different groups with different rights and duties. Spanish people born in Europe were the dominant group holding the most important political, economical, social, and religious positions. The *Criollos*, who were the children of Spanish parents born in the Americas, were the second group. The *Mestizos*, who were the offspring of a Spanish parent and an Indigenous parent, followed the *Criollos* in power. There were also different categories to designate people whose ancestors came from more than one race. Indigenous and African⁸ people were at the bottom of the social scale (Knight 1990, 72).

Criollos fought against the Spaniards born in Europe for Mexico’s independence. As the *Criollos* could not win by themselves, they incorporated the rest of the society into the fight. In this process *Criollos* had to stress the extraordinary aspects about being born in the Americas while maintaining their dominance over the rest of society (Bonfil Batalla 1980, 84). In their view, *Criollos* were the superior group because they had pure European blood, whereas *Mestizos* had inherited inferior qualities and abilities from their Indigenous parents (Bonfil Batalla 2000, 83).

After independence in 1820 policymakers developed positivistic policies and ideas greatly influenced by Social Darwinism and Spencer’s evolutionism, with the latter’s denigration for human hybrids. Following these policymakers’ ideas, the government unsuccessfully tried to “advance” Mexico’s so-called race by attracting White European immigrants so their blood would “improve” Indigenous blood, which they hoped would

⁸ Mexico’s racial discourse generally excludes the idea of any African influence. Nonetheless, a good number of African slaves worked in Mexican mines. Among the studies that cover the African influence in Mexico the reader can look at: (Aguirre Beltrán 1989; Vinson III and Vaughn 2005).

expire sooner rather than later. This was seen as the only way of civilizing Indigenous people (Knight 1990, 78). The myth of the lazy natives was used during Mexico's early modernization at the end of the 19th century to account for peasants' resistance to proletarianization and to justify hard measures to silence the resistance (Knight 1990, 79).

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century Mestizo ideology triumphed over the Criolla one. Mestizo ideology celebrated the birth of a new group of people and culture which resulted from a biological and cultural fusion of Indigenous and European races (Bonfil Batalla 2000, 85). As a result, at the end of 1800s, Mexicans stood formally as equal citizens before the law with regard to race.⁹

Under Mestizo ideology, Indigenous value resides in the past. That is, Indigenous people are valued for the greatness of their historic civilizations but devalued for maintaining the purity of their Indigenous race and culture rather than assimilating into the rest of Mexican society. The Mestizo race, in contrast, was seen as superior because it took the best from the native and European cultures and races. As an example of this ideology, the current fourth grade history textbook quotes Benito Juárez, the first Indigenous Mexican president, when referring to his parents whom he did not meet: "I had the disgrace of not knowing my parents, Indians of *primitive race*" (SEP 2000, 124 my own translation, italics are mine).¹⁰

After the Mexican Revolution (1920) "being a Mexican became synonymous with being a Mestizo" (Massey and Denton 1992, 238). Since then, the Mexican state has sought the construction of a homogeneous society, a Mestizo society (Bonfil Batalla 2000, 91). One of the most important intellectuals behind the consolidation of the Mestizo race as the dominant race after the country's Revolution was José Vasconcelos, Mexican philosopher,

⁹ There were disparate rights and duties for women and men, but there were not legal differences because of race.

¹⁰ The original text reads: "Tuve la desgracia de no conocer a mis padres, indios de raza primitiva".

educator, and politician. In his famous book, *La raza cósmica: misión de la raza iberoamericana; Argentina y Brasil* (1948), Vasconcelos argues that in the future, a new race would inhabit the world. This fifth race, in Vasconcelos's words, would be a mixture of all the existing races: White, Black, Indigenous, and Asian. All these races would mix, and the fifth race, or cosmic race, would acquire all the strengths and none of the weaknesses of the races, thus becoming the superior one. Vasconcelos was not a racially egalitarian thinker. He thought that Whites (specifically, Anglo-Saxons) were, in many aspects, superior to the other three groups. In Vasconcelos' view, the arrogance of Whites prevented them from mixing with other racial groups, thereby missing the opportunity to improve their race. Unlike Whites in the U.S. and Canada, Spanish people mixed with the various groups of people they encountered in Latin America. Vasconcelos believed that this intermixing had to continue until the disappearance of the other racial groups so that the cosmic race would lead the world.

Beyond his written work, Vasconcelos had an impact as a public figure. He became president of Mexico's oldest university (1920-1921), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), and proposed a new university motto that expressed his dream of the disappearance of the "pure races" with the creation of the cosmic race. The motto still reads, *por mi raza hablará el espíritu*, or "The spirit shall speak for my race."

José Vasconcelos not only affected Mexico's racial ideology, but he greatly influenced its educational system as well. As Secretary of Education from 1921 to 1924, his objective was to deliver education to everyone in Mexico, regardless of their location. He believed that education could improve Indigenous people by teaching them not only to master Spanish, but to leave behind their traditions so they could become Mestizos. Vasconcelos ordered the translation of classical Western books of philosophy, history, etc., making them part of the curricula in the public school system. His policies revealed a

positive bias towards Western heritage over Indigenous heritage; Indigenous thought and literature were seen as inferior to Western ideas, which was manifest in the curricula.

Following Vasconcelos' ideas, physical differences are not enough to distinguish between members and non-members of the Mestizo race. Elementary school textbooks¹¹ in Mexico claim that the process of intermixing between different groups has not finished. Students read that "later on, the African and Asian people arrived, contributing to Mexicans' physical diversity. This intermixing (*mestizaje*) has not ended. People from different places continue arriving to Mexico. Mestizaje exists in many countries"(SEP 2000, 72).¹² Under this racial ideology, physical differences are not useful criteria when distinguishing between members and non-member of the Mestizo group, as Mestizos are by definition phenotypically diverse.

The Mestizo ideology has been successful in providing a sense of identity for the majority of the population in Mexico, who identify themselves as both Mestizo and Mexicans. The mestizaje, more than a biological process, is a social and cultural process. One becomes Mestizo by adapting to society and leaving behind one's ancestral traditions. It is by doing so that Octavio Paz, Nobel Laureate of Literature, argues that Mexicans deny their past and their origins, and are consequently left in complete solitude:

The Mexican does not want to be either an Indian or a Spaniard. Nor does he want to descend from them. He denies them. And He does not affirm himself as a Mestizo, but rather as an abstraction: he is a man. He becomes the son of Nothingness. His beginnings are in his own self (1961, 87)

Paz' argument shows a conflict inside the Mestizo ideology of wanting to assert themselves as different and, according to Vasconcelos, superior to other groups; yet Mestizos continue

¹¹ The first director of the National Free Textbook Commission in charge of producing textbooks for students in all the country was one of Vasconcelos' students, writer Martín Luis Guzmán.

¹² The original text reads: "Mas tarde llegaron africanos y asiáticos que contribuyeron a la diversidad física de los mexicanos. Ese mestizaje no ha terminado. A México sigue llegando gente de muchos lugares. El mestizaje existe en muchos otros países."

to compare themselves to their main ancestors, Indigenous and Spanish people. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Indigenous people were defeated by the Spanish, and the Mestizo ideology that had considered the Indigenous civilizations to be great prior to the conquest now disregarded them. From the Mestizo perspective, it is better to be Mestizo than Indigenous, and it is better to be more White-looking than Indigenous-looking. Far from eradicating racism in Mexico, the Mestizo ideology exchanged the White European vs. Indigenous dichotomy for the Mestizo vs. Indigenous dichotomy (Machuca 1998, 47). This conflict between Mestizos and Indigenous people affects relationships among Mestizos as well, for Mestizos will discriminate against other Mestizos who are more Indigenous-looking than them.

A review of the official elementary school textbooks produced by the government in the 1970s and 2000s¹³ was conducted to look for evidence of this official effort to create a homogeneous, Mestizo society. The researcher conducted the review at the office of the National Free Textbook Commission in Mexico City. She went through all the elementary social science and natural science textbooks edited in up to that time. There have been five editions after the first publication of the textbooks in 1960.¹⁴ The textbooks start mentioning the origin of Mexico as a nation in the fourth grade, so the researcher read through the textbooks paying special attention to the sections that talk about Mexico's history, origins, and development. Any mention of race or human diversity was noted, as well as any omission of it. For example, the researcher noted when the textbooks mentioned the racial origins of Mexico's politicians and revolutionaries, as well as when they did not mention

¹³ According to government regulations all schools have to use the free textbooks produced by the government. It usually happens that private schools require other textbooks besides the official ones.

¹⁴ The years of the editions are 1972, 1980, 1987, 1993, and 2000. The textbooks were reprinted many times between the editions.

them.¹⁵ Inconsistencies and differences between the textbooks editions were also observed. Finally, she also noted if when discussing Mexico's history there was any value given to the different groups involved (e.g. the textbooks talk about the heroism of the Aztecs before the conquest, etc.)

In the textbooks, students learn that "Indigenous and Spanish heritages became the foundations of the Mexican people." Furthermore, it states that "a diversity of people live in Mexico (...) but the majority of Mexicans are Mestizo; in other words, people of different origins (including the mixtures of different Indigenous groups)" (SEP 2001, 50, 92, my own translation).¹⁶

Mexico's government has almost entirely removed race from the current textbooks. In the social sciences' textbooks used in the 1970s the concept of race is not used at all. Instead, the textbooks talk about human groups. For example: "There were three human groups in the Spanish colonies: Indigenous, Whites and Blacks. These groups mixed and Mestizos were born (children of Whites and Indigenous people) (...) Mulattos (of White men and Black women), Zambos (of Blacks and Indigenous people). The mixed groups were called castes" (SEP 1978, 127, my own translation).¹⁷ The texts stressed the mixed origins of Mexicans: the Mexican nation is the product of the "mixing of Spaniards, Indigenous people, and some Blacks" (SEP 1974, 173, my own translation).¹⁸ The current Mexico, the text

¹⁵ The textbooks mention the Indigenous origins of President Benito Juárez, but they omit mentioning the Indigenous origins of revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata.

¹⁶ The text reads: "La herencia indígena y la española se afirmaron como cimientos del pueblo mexicano". And "En México vive gente diversa (...) Pero la mayoría de los mexicanos somos mestizos; es decir, gente de orígenes distintos (incluidas las mezclas de diferentes etnias indígenas)."

¹⁷ The text reads: "En las colonias españolas hubo 3 grupos humanos: indígenas, blancos y negros. Estos grupos se mezclaron y nacieron mestizos (hijos de blancos e indígenas)... mulatos (de blanco y negra), zambos (de negros e indígenas). A los grupos que habían surgido de las mezclas se les llamo castas."

¹⁸ The text reads: Nación mexicana como resultado de la "mezcla de españoles, indígenas, y algunos negros"

continues, is the result of the encounter of the Indigenous and Spanish cultures.¹⁹ The idea of race appears a couple of times in the history textbooks of the 1980s when the students read about the country's independence and only then as a way to distinguish between Spaniards and Indigenous people. In the 1990s and afterwards, the textbooks go back to avoiding use of the term race, but mention of physical differences occurs a few times, but only to reiterate the idea that differences are socially inconsequential. Finally, the current history textbook claims that Mexican society got a unique character out of this *mestizaje* (mixture), differentiating it from the rest of societies in the world (SEP 2001).

Government's efforts to obtain this Mestizo society have paid off. In a face-to face, with a nationally representative sample, post-electoral survey after the midterm elections in 2003 respondents were asked "the race question." The question was: "In some countries, people have similar characteristics. In other countries, people have different characteristics. Do you consider yourself Indigenous, Mestizo, White, or of some other race?"²⁰ (Benton et al. 2004, my own translation). As one can see in this survey data the majority of Mexicans identify as Mestizos:

[Table 2.1 here]

After the revolution, social mobility created an optical illusion in Mexico (Knight 1990). As in other Latin American countries, people believed that Indigenous and African people could become Mestizos through education, by leaving their communities, educating

¹⁹ An interesting difference between the textbooks of 2001 and 1974 is that the latter mentions the African influence in Mexico's nationality while, for some reason the former, ignored it mentioning the only Indigenous and Spanish influences as constitutive elements of Mexico's society.

²⁰ The question in Spanish reads: En algunos países la gente tiene características similares. En otros países, la gente tiene características diferentes, ¿cómo se considera usted: indígena, mestizo, blanco o de otra raza?

themselves, and adopting Western habits of dress. Therefore, “upwardly mobile individuals were *whitened*” but they will never be completely White.

More than a racial category, being Mestizo is a social fact, an ascribed and achieved status (Knight 1990, 73). As Knight argues, independent Mexico did not eliminate race in favor of socioeconomic cleavages; rather, both coexist together. Hayes-Bautista argues that income and phenotypic appearance are highly correlated in Mexico as “Indians [are] at the lower end of the [income] scale, [and] Europeans at the top” (1983, 275). Currently, Mexicans “take account of social class as well as appearance in determining degrees of whiteness” (National Research Council 2004, 29).

Mexicans also continue to hold dearly to negative stereotypes of Indigenous people. Spanish in Mexico is rife with pejorative nouns related to race. For example, a documented definition of the concept of *Indio* in Mexico is “Indian, often implying a dim-witted, surly type” (Stephens 1989, 126). Another slang word, commonly used among non-indigenous Mexicans as an insult, is *naco*, which meaning a “stupid, indigenous person with innate inferior qualities, ignorant indigenous person” (Stephens 1989, 175). As such, a well educated, upper-class Indigenous-looking individual faces discrimination because of her appearance that a White-looking person with the same characteristics (social class and education) does not face. As Knight puts it, this discrimination opposes the state’s ideology “[A] whole range of prejudices and discriminations therefore exists, but exists in defiance of official ideology. Indian languages are officially endorsed, while unofficially frowned upon” (Knight 1990, 100).

One of the main arguments in this research is that discrimination according to one’s phenotypes is not only present between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, but also among that broad group of people who identify as Mestizo, and between Whites and

Mestizos as well. In a sense, official ideology has failed to eradicate racism from Mexico's society; rather, it has simply made it more difficult to measure it.

Racial ideology and discourse in the United States: the place of Mexican Americans

Mexicans recognize that being non-white carries a significant social stigma and that there are advantages to being labeled as white (Massey and Denton 1992, 239)

The construction of the racial system in the U.S. dates to the 1790 census in which the government started placing individuals into different racial categories. Among the many purposes of the census, the race question was aimed at differentiating free from enslaved individuals while at the same time maintaining the purity of the European races. The census' racial categories have changed a lot through time. People who were not considered White at some point (i.e. Italians, Jews, etc.) are now considered White by the census. These changes have also affected the place of people of Mexican descent.

The earliest attempt to measure the number of Mexicans in the U.S. was in 1930 when the census added "Mexican" to the racial categories. The category was dropped after "the Mexican government responded with an official protest to the effect that *all Mexicans are white.*" Thus, "for decades the U.S. Census Bureau automatically recoded as 'white' any Mexican who answered 'Mestizo,' 'Mexicano,' or 'la Raza' to the race question" (Perlmann and Waters 2002, 5, italics are mine).

As Mexicans and others whose ancestors can be traced to Latin America are phenotypically diverse, the U.S. government came up with a way for people of Hispanic descent to identify on the census as members of a distinct, homogeneous group and as members of a specific race. In 1970, a new question was added, allowing people of Hispanic ancestry to indicate that they were of Hispanic origin. Thus a person could identify with a

specific racial group (i.e. Black, Native American, White, etc.) while belonging to the same ethnic group, Hispanic. In looking at the answers to these two questions about origin and race, an interesting finding arises: the majority of people of Mexican descent identifies as Hispanic and responds to “other” to the race question. When pressed to supply their racial identity these folks respond Mestizo, Mexican American, Mexican, etc. (Grieco and Cassidy 2001).²¹ Equally interesting is a study conducted in the 1995 Current Population Survey which revealed that a large majority of Hispanics would prefer that Hispanic be one of the options under race, thereby eliminating the necessity of identifying as white, black, or some other racial category (Anderson and E. Fienberg 1999). One interpretation of this result is that most people of Hispanic descent do not share the same racial discourse with African Americans and non-Hispanic Whites that would enable them to locate themselves within the established American racial categories. In other words, there “are different perspectives on race and ethnicity even within the Hispanic population” (National Research Council 2004, 211).

One could argue that this preference of the term Hispanic is in keeping with the Mexican tradition of grouping all its citizens into one culturally based category regardless of phenotypic appearance. The presence of this preference then is evidence that people of Mexican descent transmit to their children the Mexican racial ideology an ideology slightly at odds with the current U.S. racial system.

There is also evidence of the lack of correlation between Mexican-Americans’ phenotypic appearance and the racial label they identify with. In 1989 the Latino National Political Survey (de la Garza et al. 1998) asked interviewers to assess the respondents’ skin

²¹ I asked Mexican-American subjects for their racial group in the experiments. Almost every subject in the candidate’s experiment answered to the race question “Other” and wrote: Latino, Mexican American, Mexican, Hispanic, etc.

color on a five-point scale with the following categories: Very Light, Light, Medium, Dark, and Very Dark. Analyzing only respondents who qualified as being of Mexican ancestry²² we find that different racial categories tend to have more or less the same skin tone distribution. Therefore, these racial labels do not map onto different physical attributes.

[Graph 2.1 here]

Yet, the Mexican racial ideology is far from panacea. Research shows that Mexican-Americans do think of themselves in color terms, and that people who identify as Hispanic discriminate against one another based on skin tone (Hayes-Bautista 1983). For example, studies done on Mexican-Americans and housing segregation argue that “Mexicans recognize that being non-white carries a significant social stigma and that there are advantages to being labeled as white” (Massey and Denton 1992, 239). This research shows evidence that accounts for unequal living conditions among Mexican-Americans related to their skin color. The evidence shows that darker-skinned Mexican-Americans do not do as well as their fairer-skinned counterparts (Espino and Franz 2002). In spite of the fact that the government has not being able to come up with a good way to classify Mexican-Americans according to their different phenotypes, a researcher documents the way Mexican-American teenagers talk about themselves in terms of skin tone:

The informants [Mexican-American teenagers] placed great emphasis on skin color, often referring to skin color as a predominant descriptor. Barry described himself as “light skinned,” Mundo joked that he is “tall, dark, and handsome,” and Marla lamented that people call her “Puerto Rican” because of her dark skin color. Linda noted she is “dark complected [sic]” and added, “Everybody in a family has one person that’s the darkest out of the whole family, and it’s me” (Holleran 2003, 8).

²² Respondents were included in this category if at least one of their parents or two of their grandparents were of Mexican ancestry.

It has not been clearly shown, however, whether or not the discrimination observed in the Hispanic, and specifically Mexican-American, community mirrors phenomena in Latin America and Mexico. This evidence opens up the opportunity for research the influence that different contexts have on people's behavior. The comparison among Mexican-Americans and Mexicans will also help to understand better the causes of inequality among them, as well as the political consequences of these inequalities. This dissertation helps weight the relevance of different contexts on the political behavior of people when evaluating phenotypically diverse candidates while holding stereotypes associated to those phenotypes.

Stereotypes, prejudice, racial ideology and social norms

Research in social psychology indicates that people rely on stereotypes when dealing with their environment because they are constantly processing information to make sense of the world (Taber 2003). It is impossible for individuals to be conscious of this information processing; as a matter of fact we are hardly conscious at all. As Bargh and Chartrand (1999) put it:

(...) most of a person's everyday life is determined not by their conscious intentions and deliberative choices but by mental processes that are put into motion by features of the environment and that operate outside of conscious awareness and guidance (462).

People's inability to consciously process the information they receive from the environment causes them rely on stereotypes. Physical features are most frequently the initial basis for stereotyped judgments (Fiske and Taylor 1984; Ashmore and del Boca 1981).

The persistence and expression of stereotypes and prejudice depends on whether the person discriminated against bears phenotypical traits that clearly identify him or her as a member of the undesirable group (Maddox 2004). As an example, Terkildsen (1993) shows that non-Hispanic White voters are less prejudiced towards and tend to vote more for an

African American candidate who depicts more European than African phenotypes. Hochschild and her colleagues (2004) also show that non-Hispanic White voters would rather vote for minority candidates who look more European. I extend on these arguments by looking at the effect of phenotypic prejudice among members of what is usually considered a single racial group but who are phenotypically diverse, Mestizo Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

The expression of prejudice depends on the social context regulating people's behavior. That is, in contexts where the expression of stereotypes associated with racial phenotypes is discouraged, as in the U.S., people will tend to suppress prejudiced behavior. In contrast, in places like Mexico, where stereotypes are often freely expressed, prejudicial behavior is widely accepted. The social norms regulating people's behavior on race are a part of each polity's racial ideology. People learn about their racial origins and understanding of race through their racial ideology. This ideology also includes positive and negative stereotypes about physical appearance.

The comparison between Mexicans to Mexican-Americans is ideal to test this argument. Both groups share common ideas about their racial origins, and knowledge of stereotypes associated to European and Indigenous phenotypes, but they live in two different polities with different social norms regulating their phenotypic behavior. People adhere to social norms because the majority of their society accepts them as standards that guide behavior, differentiating acceptable from the unacceptable behavior (Mendelberg 2001). This study contrasts the effect that opposing social norms regarding phenotypes (i.e. U.S. and Mexico's norms) have on people's behavior when they evaluate other individuals, including electoral candidates.

In the case of social norms, this study assumes that the norm of racial equality—“the consensus that the ideology of white supremacy is morally and empirically bankrupt” (Mendelberg 2001, 112)—influences desirable behavior for U.S. inhabitants, including of Mexican-Americans. In a more general way, the norm of racial equality condemns any judgment or action that implies the superiority or inferiority of members of any group because of their phenotypic appearance. The extension of the U.S. norm to Mexican-Americans implies that among Mexican-Americans there will not be distinctions of superiority based on phenotypic appearance. This study argues that in the case of Mexico, the social norm is that of “racial inequality” as people privilege and openly prefer White (European) heritage over Indigenous heritage. This argument is supported by research done on stereotypes and prejudice historically associated with Indigenous people in Mexico (Gall 2004; Knight 1990; Urías Horcasitas 2007).

The analysis of voters’ evaluations of electoral candidates is a good test for a comparative analysis of phenotypic prejudice. In this test, the researcher is able to manipulate the phenotypic appearance of the electoral candidate while keeping all other information (personal and professional information, policy positions, party identification, etc.) the same. When contrasting voters’ evaluation of candidates who vary only in their phenotypes, one can argue that if there is any variance in the results, such variance is due to the candidate’s phenotypic appearance.

Phenotypic Prejudice and Evaluation of Electoral Candidates

This dissertation argues and explores the idea that while Mexicans and Mexican-Americans possess the same knowledge of stereotypes associated to their racial appearance,

the translation of such stereotypes into prejudice in the political and social realms differs according to the social norms regulating their behavior.

As it has been discussed, the Mestizo racial ideology includes stereotypes associated with both White and Indigenous phenotypes. This research explores the existence of these stereotypes, and whether they affect all people in the same way regardless of their own phenotypic appearance and social norms regulating their behavior. Research in social psychology has shown that people are capable of controlling the expression of prejudice even while believing stereotypes involving racial phenotypes (Devine 1989). According to these studies less prejudiced people invest attention and time when trying to overcome stereotypes learned during their childhood. In these cases people might be following social norms that prohibit prejudiced behavior against others based on their phenotypic appearance (Devine et al. 2002; Mendelberg 2001).

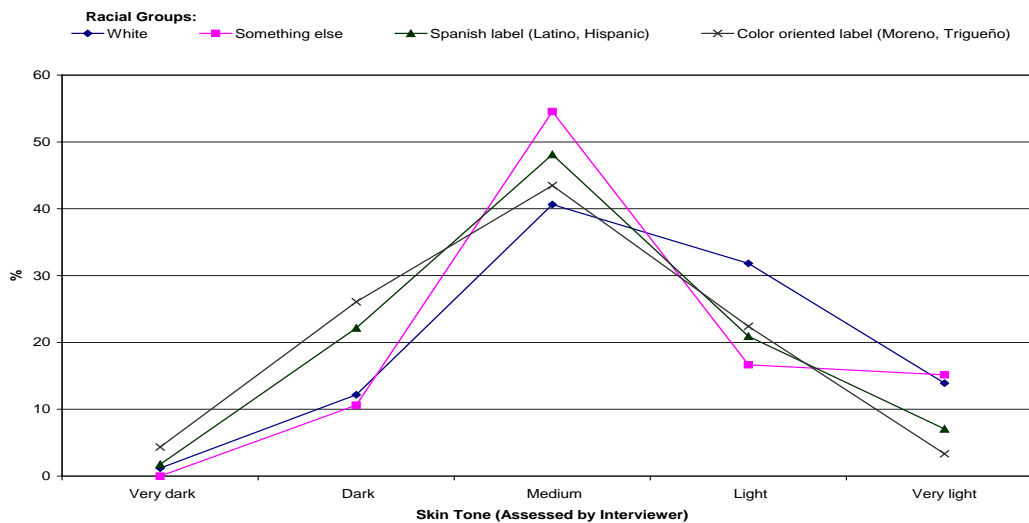
Experiments allow the researcher to isolate the factor influencing participants' reactions, and to test and identify the cognitive processes in action (McGraw et al. 2003). Therefore, I designed two experiments explore the existence and effect of phenotypic prejudice among Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The first is the stereotype experiment which seeks to identify the stereotypes governing the thoughts and actions of the participants. The second is the candidate experiment which tests the effects these stereotypes have on participants' decisions about political candidates. In the next chapters the analysis of the data collected from the stereotype and the candidate experiments is discussed.

Chapter 2- Tables

Table 2.1²³
Mexican Respondents by Race, 2003

Race	%of R's by Race
Indigenous	20.30
Mestizo	62.50
White	10.10
No Answer	7.10
Total	100 (N= 1,990)

Graph 2.1
Distribution of Mexican American Respondents' Skin Tone According to their Racial Group²⁴



²³ Data from: A. Benton, U. Beltrán, J. Buendía, G. González, J. Langston, F. Lehoucq, S. Minushkin and G. Trejo, *CSES-CIDE Postelectoral Survey, 2003*. CIDE version, Mexico: 2004.

²⁴Data from: Rodolfo de la Garza, A. Falcon, F.C. Garcia, and J. A. Garcia. *Latino National Political Survey, 1989-1990* [Computer file]. 3rd ICPSR version. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University, Institute for Social Research, 1998. Respondents coded in the Color oriented Label gave a similar answer to: Moron/Triune/Brown/Olive/Tan/Cafe, etc. Respondents coded in the Race Label answered one of the following: Mulatto, American/Indian. I omitted the respondents who identified as Black and those who didn't answer as they did not account for 1% of all respondents.

Chapter 3

Exploring the Content and Existence of Phenotypic Stereotypes

This chapter discusses the findings of the experiment that was conducted in Mexico City²⁵ to explore the existence and content of stereotypes associated with different phenotypes. The concept of race in Mexico is explored, as well as the stereotypes and prejudices associated with different racial phenotypes. Next, the hypotheses and expectations that motivated this experiment are examined, followed by a discussion of the results

Phenotypes and Stereotypes

According to social psychology research, people group the things and living beings that surround them into categories. Therefore, “categorizing individuals on the basis of salient, observable characteristics such as race, gender, age (...) is inevitable, occurs automatically, and activates biases associated with these characteristics” (National Research Council 2004, 23). People’s ability to relate to their environment is based on their use of concepts to capture the idea that some objects are similar, while others are different (Smith and Medin 1981). As Smith and Medin explain it, when we meet a person for the first time, we make inferences based on the person’s characteristics because “such inferences will reduce the effort that need be put into classification” (1981, 9).

²⁵ For reasons of timing the research among Mexican-Americans could not be conducted before submitting the dissertation. The findings from the Mexico City experiment will be discussed with the expectations from the Chicago experiment.

If people are composed of abstract and perceptual features, it can be said that other people generally have secondary knowledge about the relationship between the person's abstract and perceptual features. People organize these relationships in schemata, understood as structures in which people automatically organize their ideas in their memory (Monroe et al. 2000). Schemata are particularly interesting because recalling one element of a schema can bring to mind all the concepts included in that schema. For example, if Mexicans and Mexican-Americans possess a schema related to Indigenous people, one look at an Indigenous person will trigger all the ideas that are part of that schema. This research argues that by showing Mexicans and Mexican-Americans pictures of people with specific phenotypes, a whole range of ideas associated with White, Mestizo, and Indigenous people is stimulated. It is assumed that both Mexicans and Mexican-Americans have schemata for other members of their communities according to their phenotypic appearance. Indeed, the Mestizo ideology shows that these schemata would include stereotypes associated with people's phenotypic appearance. As Hilton and von Hippel (1996) explain, stereotypes are beliefs people have about the behavior, characteristics, and attributes of members of different groups. Stereotypes also explain the relationships between these attributes and characteristics in both positive and negative fashions. When people rely on stereotypes, they run the risk of ignoring individual differences of the members of the evaluated group. While stereotypes can be based on actual perceived differences among groups, it is more often the case that stereotypes are erroneous generalizations about groups that lack empirical evidence. As explained in the previous chapter, stereotypes are considered the cognitive element necessary for prejudiced behavior in these studies. In other words, stereotypes provide a rationalization for prejudiced behavior against people whom one perceives as "different."

In the specific case of Mexico, at the time of the Spanish conquest and after Mexico's independence Indigenous people were mainly working in the rural sector, and when living in cities they were concentrated in manual labor. Throughout Mexico's economic development the poor and excluded sectors of society have been mainly indigenous people. Therefore, according to Campbell and LeVine (1972) there are some stereotypes that should overlap with the ethnic cleavage in Mexico:

- a) Rural groups are seen as: country-bumpkin, unsophisticated, confused, guileless and ill (156).
- b) Manual workers are seen as: strong, stupid, pleasure-loving and improvident (157).

As the relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people became more institutionalized, the social stereotypes attached to indigenous people acquired certain "social validity" (1972: 159). Indigenous people didn't have access to the same resources (education, access to technology, basic needs, job training, etc.) therefore the stereotypes became a sort of "self-fulfilling prophecy".

This work assumes that there is always a tension between Indigenous and European heritages for Mestizos, who have a bias towards European heritage. The Mexican State developed a sort of assimilating racism through which indigenous people were assimilated as they mixed with Europeans, a process of progressive whiteness (Gall, 2004).

There are five hypotheses formulated in this research:

- 1) Scale hypothesis: Mexican and Mexican-Americans categorize members of their racial group into different groups according their phenotypic appearance, showing the relevance of phenotypes in their daily lives.

- 2) Main hypothesis: People will tend to evaluate more positively the ambiguous actions of a person with racial phenotypes associated with the dominant group (e.g. White) over an individual with different phenotypes (e.g. Indigenous). It is further expected that all participants,²⁶ regardless of their own racial phenotypes, will assess the actions of the dominant group more favorably.
- 3) Matching hypothesis: Participants will tend to evaluate the actions of an individual who shares their racial phenotypes more favorably than if the individual does not share similar phenotypes.
- 4) Stereotype hypothesis: Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are generally cognizant that more negative stereotypes are attached to Indigenous phenotypes than to White phenotypes.
- 5) Context hypothesis: As Mexican-Americans follow the social norm of racial equality they will not evaluate the individual in the ambiguous story differently according to his phenotypes. In contrast, Mexicans will behave according the main or the matching hypotheses.

It is expected that both Mexicans and Mexican Americans are knowledgeable of the stereotypes associated to both White and Indigenous phenotypes. The knowledge of the stereotypes does not translate into automatic prejudiced behavior, as norms or even personal beliefs regulate such behavior (Devine 1989; Mendelberg 2001). As the norm hypothesis explains, it is expected that Mexican-Americans will not behave according the stereotypes associated to different phenotypes because of the social norm of racial equality. In the case

²⁶ Throughout the dissertation the terms subjects and participants are used interchangeably to refer to those persons who took part of the experiments conducted.

of Mexicans, the expectation is that they will openly express their prejudice, if they ascribe to the stereotypes, because of the norm of racial inequality. It is possible for Mexicans not to act on the known stereotypes, but such behavior could be only attributed to personal beliefs.

Research Design

I designed an experiment to test the five aforementioned hypotheses among two groups: Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. The experiment consisted of three different sections. The first section of the experiment mapped how Mexicans and Mexican-Americans group other Mexicans and Mexican-Americans based on their phenotypic appearance. If phenotypes do not matter for Mexicans and Mexican-Americans interactions, then they should not categorize other Mexicans and Mexican-Americans according to the phenotypic appearance. This section will provide data to look into whether Mexicans and Mexican-Americans distinguish themselves according to their phenotypic appearance. The second section was designed to test whether a subject's evaluation of an individual varies depending on a) the subject's phenotypic appearance, and b) the individual's phenotypic appearance, by automatically priming phenotypic stereotypes. The purpose of the third section was to explore the content of socially known stereotypes associated to different phenotypes among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. In this last section, subjects are made aware of the person's phenotypic appearance so they can consciously list traits socially associated to that person's phenotypic characteristics.

The chronology of the experiment continues next.²⁷ After that, the description of each section of the experiment with the results follows.

²⁷ The complete stimuli for the Mexico City and Chicago experiments are in Appendix 4.

Chronology of the Experiment

The experiment was administered to students while in their classroom. In each case, the professor introduced the experimenter to the students and then left the classroom. The experimenter told the students that they were free to leave at any time if they did not want to take part in the research and explained that the purpose of the research was to understand the way people think about other individuals. The experimenter asked participants to carry out the task individually, and reassured them that there were no correct or incorrect answers. After making sure that there were not any questions, the experimenter gave out the consent forms for the participants to sign. After all the consent forms were collected, the experimenter gave each student a large envelope with the experiment stimuli inside. The envelopes were marked with an “M” for male, and an “F” for female. The “M” and “F” envelopes had a different set of pictures for the first section of the experiment. “M” envelopes were given to male subjects and contained only male pictures, whereas “F” envelopes were given to female subjects and contained only pictures of females for the scale section.

Inside of each envelope the subject would find: two small envelopes numbered “1” and “2”; and four sheets of paper numbered from one through four. The experimenter asked the subjects to follow her instructions throughout the task. First, the experimenter asked the subjects to take out **sheet 1** out of the envelope together with the two small envelopes. Subjects were asked to read the instructions from the sheet of paper and ask if they had any questions. If subjects had any questions, the experimenter approached them individually to answer them. Then, they were told to complete the task, that they had 15 minutes to so, and once they were done they should put both envelopes and the sheet of paper back into the large envelope and wait for further instructions from the experimenter.

In the small envelope numbered “1”, subjects found the twenty-seven pictures of either male or female individuals designed to test the scale hypothesis. In the second envelope they had clips and post-its they could use to group the categories and number them. The experimenter told subjects when they had five minutes left. Most of the participants (95%) finished before the fifteen minutes were over. Once the fifteen minutes were over the experimenter asked participants who were still looking at the pictures to wrap up and finish.

Once this task was complete, the experimenter asked participants to take out **sheet 2** out of the envelope. She asked participants to read the instructions and raise their hands if they had any questions. Below the instructions there was a picture of a male individual followed by the ambiguous story in which he had supposedly engaged. The experimenter told participants they had fifteen minutes to complete the task. The task involved reading the story and evaluating the individual on eleven traits. The experimenter asked subjects to put the sheet of paper back inside the envelope once they were done. All participants finished the task before the time was over.

The experimenter asked participants to take **sheet 3** out of the envelope and asked them to read the instructions and raise their hands if they had any questions. Below the instructions the researcher had put the picture of a male individual. Participants were asked to write everything they could think other Mexicans would think of that person before talking to him. The instructions explained that the researcher was not interested in their own opinions, but on what other people would think of that person, whether or not participants agreed with those ideas. The experimenter told participants they had fifteen minutes to finish, and asked them to put the sheet of paper back inside the envelope once they were done. All participants finished before the time was over.

Finally, the experimenter asked subjects to take **sheet 4** out the envelope and asked them to answer the questionnaire and to put it back in the envelope once they were done. The questionnaire asked socio-demographic questions. When all the participants were done, the experimenter collected the envelopes and gave them the debrief form. The subjects read about the real purpose of the experiment and they also learned that the researcher needed to take their picture. The experimenter asked participants if they had any questions. After signing the debrief form the experimenter took the picture of the participants. The experimenter explained briefly the overall research project to the subjects and thanked them for their participation.

The pictures used in the second and third sections were selected from nine pictures. Of the nine pictures, three depict White individuals, another three depict a Mestizo, and the last three depict Indigenous individuals. All the pictures are of fictitious people made from hybridized photographs of real models to appear as White, Mestizo, or Indigenous.²⁸ The copies of the pictures were ordered in three stacks, one for each type of phenotypic appearance: White, Mestizo, and Indigenous.²⁹ The researcher mixed the pictures in each stack so there were not arranged according any order. When assigning the pictures to sections two and three of the experiment for the first envelope, the researcher picked the first picture from the first stack for section two, and the first picture of the second stack for section three. Then, for the second envelope, she picked the first picture of the third stack for section two and the second picture of the first stack for section three of the same envelope. She followed this order when assigning the rest of the pictures for all the

²⁸ Most of the pictures used to create the stimuli are from the project “La Cara del Mexicano” (The Mexican Face) whose authors collected pictures of 2890 Mexican people from different parts of the country. None of the originals were used as the stimuli consist of only hybridized pictures. For information related to the project, please look at: (Serrano et al. 1997). I am grateful to Dr. Serrano and Dr. Villanueva for making available a subset of the pictures.

²⁹ The pictures are in Appendix 4, Illustration A4.3.

envelopes. The purpose of such method was to have subjects look at individuals with different phenotypes in sections two and three of the experiment.

Data collection

Data were collected at three universities in Mexico City between February and March of 2007. A total of 136 undergraduate students participated. The students were mostly enrolled in social science majors (e.g. political science, international relations, economics, sociology, etc.) One of the universities is private, and the other two are public. Access to the students was granted with prior approval of their professors, who told the students that their participation was necessary for the researcher to complete her graduate degree.

Of the 136 students, 48% were male and 52% were female, with an average age of 21. Most came from families with a monthly average income between 16,001 and 20,000 Mexican pesos (1,178-1,472 U.S. dollars).

Experiment Design and Results

First section: Phenotypic Scales

This section was designed to test the *scale hypothesis* following Thurstone's consensual locating scaling method (Thurstone 1927, 1928; Thurstone and Chave 1929; Scott 1968). The purpose of this section was to explore if subjects differentiate people based on their phenotypic appearance.³⁰

³⁰ A detailed discussion of this section design is in Appendix 4.

Second Section: Priming and Evaluation

The purpose of this section of the experiment is to test the *main* and *matching hypotheses*. This part examines the effect an individual's phenotypic appearance has on how people evaluate his ambiguous actions (Srull and Wyer Jr. 1979, 1980; see also Bargh and Pietromonaco 1982; Carver and Ganellen 1983; Devine 1989) to measure. In this type of experiments, subjects are usually primed with words about specific traits related to stereotypes associated with specific groups (e.g. African Americans). After the priming, subjects read a story of a person who engages in ambiguous actions related to the traits that had been primed. The general purpose of this kind of experiment is to determine whether subjects evaluate an individual along the lines of certain traits after being primed for those traits. A more specific goal is to see if the relationship between the priming and subjects' evaluation of the individual is attenuated by the person's race, gender, or some other characteristic of interest. If primed individuals evaluate a White person in a more positive light than a person whose race is unknown after reading the same ambiguous stereotyped actions, then one can argue that there is a positive bias towards the White individual that has subsequently attenuated a subject's evaluation of her or him. Following these experiments, this second section measures the effect of phenotypes on people's evaluation of an individual who engages in ambiguous actions that are related to stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes. In this experiment the priming is done by a picture of a person who depicts White, Indigenous, or Mestizo phenotypic characteristics. The expectation is that the picture will automatically prime the stereotypes associated with the person's appearance.

The participants read a story that depicts ambiguous situations regarding different stereotypes related to Indigenous-looking people of Mexican descent. The stereotypes were

chosen based on a literature review of the position and evaluation of Indigenous groups in Mexico (Bonfil Batalla 1980; Gall 2004; Knight 1990; Urías Horcasitas 2007), as well as on research that looks into stereotypes associated to different groups (LeVine and Campbell 1972). At the time of the Spanish conquest, and after Mexico's independence, Indigenous people were mainly working in the rural sector, and when living in cities they were concentrated in manual labor. Throughout Mexico's economic development the poor and excluded sectors of society have been mainly indigenous people. According to LeVine and Campbell (1972) members of rural groups are considered country-bumpkin, unsophisticated, confused, guileless and ill (156) ; while manual workers are evaluated as strong, stupid, pleasure-loving and improvident (157)

As relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people became more institutionalized, the social stereotypes attached to Indigenous people acquired certain "social validity" (LeVine and Campbell 1972, 159). Indigenous people didn't have access to the same resources (education, access to technology, basic needs, job training, etc.) therefore the stereotypes became a sort of "self-fulfilling prophecy".

These stereotypes used in the story are of a person being: lazy, unintelligent, unsophisticated, untrustworthy, and non-enterprising. After reading the story, participants evaluated the individual on different traits, some of them stereotype-related and some other non-stereotype related. The evaluation was done on a seven-point scale that ranged from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree." The ambiguous story is the following:³¹

"I visited my parents for a few weeks last summer. My mom told me that my best friend from high school, Pedro, had moved back to town a couple of months before. The last time Pedro and I met was 15 years ago. I called Pedro to get together and we agreed in

³¹ The character's name for the Chicago experiment is Matt.

meeting at the mall. Pedro needed new frames for his glasses and I was looking for new shoes.

At the mall Pedro told me that he had saved some cash for the glasses' frames, because his old glasses broke a couple of months ago. His financial situation was not good after divorcing from his wife and losing his job at an internet company. Pedro told me that he was lucky he was getting a monthly payment through a job insurance company which gives a six-month compensation to people who lose their jobs. He almost didn't get the insurance because according to the policy one has to be working in the same job for at least a year in order to get it. Pedro had switched jobs and he needed another 15 days to fulfill the year requirement. He talked to other folks who had the same insurance and he found a way to get the insurance.

Pedro and I went into the department store. I went to look for shoes as he went to look for frames. The store did not have a lot of different boot models so I decided I would not buy any. I waited for Pedro to pay for the frames he had chosen and as we were leaving the store the exit alarm went on. Pedro and I looked surprised at each other, and a security guard approached us and asked us to come back into the store and show him our bags. Pedro was upset about it, and he told the officer we had not taken anything unpaid from the store with us. The officer found a cheap cleaning cloth for glasses stuck to Pedro's new frames. Pedro explained he didn't take the cleaning cloth and that it must have been an accident. I told the officer that it must be a mistake because the cleaning cloth was very cheap and no one would try to steal it while leaving the price tag on. Pedro was very upset, but after I convinced the officer that it was not intentional we were able to leave the store.

As it was getting late, I proposed to get some food at the mall's food corner. Pedro said he would prefer to eat in the old taco place next to our high school because he did not trust the new restaurants that served international food. When we arrived to the taco place we found out that it had been replaced by a convenient store. I told Pedro I knew of a place close by that served homemade food, so we went there. Pedro invited me over to his place to have a beer outside in the community yard. We sat at a table outside when Pedro's neighbor walked by and Pedro asked him if he could have back the hammer he had agreed to let the neighbor keep the day before. Pedro told me that he decided to stop paying the rent until the landlord painted his apartment walls. It was getting late so I needed to go to meet my parents for dinner, so I said goodbye to Pedro."

Results

There were forty-eight subjects in both the White and Indigenous conditions, while there were forty in the Mestizo condition. Participants in the three conditions were indistinguishable in all socio-economic variables.³²

Participants evaluated “Pedro” on eleven traits, nine of which were associated with Indigenous phenotypes. These traits are: likeable, friendly, honest, formally educated, aggressive, intelligent, trustworthy, entrepreneurial, and sophisticated. The seven-point scale was recoded from zero to one, with zero meaning “Strongly Disagree” and one meaning “Strongly Agree.” In addition to exploring the relationship between a person’s phenotypes and each trait, an evaluative scale was designed using the nine traits. Through a reliability test, these traits were mapped on the same construct (Cronbach $\alpha=0.79$), and the evaluative score was created by averaging the scores given by the subjects on each of the nine traits.³³

The first step in analyzing the data is to look at the observed values of the variables of interest in each condition.

[Table 3.1 here]

The table with the observed average scores on each trait for each experimental condition shows the existence of differences between the conditions on most of the traits. There is one important exception; subjects’ perception of Pedro’s level of aggressiveness and education level are not very different across conditions. An interesting pattern arises: the Mestizo individual is always the worst evaluated in comparison to the White and Indigenous individuals, except in the level of aggressiveness. The evaluative scale is significantly lower for the Mestizo individual in comparison to the White and Indigenous ones.

³² The One-way ANOVA table is in Appendix 2, Table A2.1.

³³ In order to build the scale, the aggressiveness variable was recoded, so “0” means “the person is aggressive” and “1” means the opposite. The mean score for each trait is in Appendix 2, Table A2.2.

A linear regression was conducted for each variable to test whether the differences were statistically significant. The independent variables are two dichotomous variables for the experimental condition (the Mestizo condition is the excluded category).³⁴

[Table 3.2 here]

The results show a more positive evaluation for both the White and Indigenous individuals over the Mestizo one. Both conditions are positive and statistically significant in five out of the ten models under a two-tail test. Subjects in the White and Indigenous conditions identified the individual as being more honest and sophisticated than did the subjects in the Mestizo condition. The Indigenous individual is considered more entrepreneurial, and friendlier than the Mestizo person. The White individual is considered more intelligent and trustworthy than the Mestizo one. It is not surprising that both the White and Indigenous individuals score significantly higher on the overall evaluative scale. The observed data also showed that there might be significant differences between the Indigenous and White conditions. Therefore, the linear regressions were run with the White condition as the excluded category. There was only one model in which the Indigenous condition is statistically significant from the White condition.

[Table 3.3 here]

These results show that both the Indigenous and Mestizo individuals are deemed less intelligent than the White person. The expectation regarding Mexican-Americans behavior is that, in contrast to these results, there will not be any differences on the way Mexican-American subjects evaluate the individual based on his phenotypic traits. As this dissertation

³⁴ As the largest differences are observed between the Mestizo and the other two conditions, the Mestizo condition was the omitted category.

assumes that Mexican-Americans follow the social norm of racial equality, they will control any influence, if there is any at all, that the person's phenotypic appearance might have on their judgment.

The alternative hypothesis argues that participants' phenotypic appearances should be relevant to the evaluations they give to the individual. The argument is that people will give more positive evaluations to persons who look like them than to those who do not. Participants' phenotypic appearance was calculated by the researcher and an independent Mexican judge. Each judge evaluated the participants' hair, skin tone, and facial features on a continuous scale ranging from zero (White-looking) to one (Indigenous-looking). The average of all those scores was the overall phenotypic measure. There were no large differences (more than one standard deviation) between the judges' overall scores. The final phenotypic measure is the average of both judges' overall scores.³⁵

The models designed to test this hypothesis include the independent variables of the prior model, in addition to a dichotomous variable that takes the value of "1" when the subject matches the condition she is in and of "0" otherwise. White subjects are those whose phenotype score is less than 0.40; Mestizo subjects' phenotypic measure is between 0.40 and 0.59; and Indigenous subjects' phenotypic score is equal to or greater than 0.60.

The observed average evaluation for each trait, differentiating by the participants who match and do not match the condition, is as follows:

[Table 3.4 here]

The results show important differences between the matching and non-matching subjects in their evaluation of some of the traits. In the case of the White condition, there

³⁵ The distribution of the phenotypic measure can be found in Appendix 2, Graph 2.1.

are three relevant differences between the groups of respondents: White participants think that the White person is: not as likeable (0.05); more aggressive (0.07), and less sophisticated (0.09) than non-White subjects.³⁶ In the case of the Mestizo condition, the matching subjects think that the individual is more educated (0.20) than the non-matching subjects, while the latter think that the Mestizo person is more entrepreneurial than the former (0.09). Finally, in the case of the Indigenous person, the matching subjects perceive him as more likeable (0.05); more honest (0.09); less aggressive (0.09); and more sophisticated (0.13), than the non-matching subjects. Multiple linear regression models were used to evaluate whether any of these differences were statistically significant. The independent variables were the matching variables, in addition to the same variables of the previous model. The Mestizo condition was the omitted category. As before, the models were run omitting the variables related to the White condition. Only the results of the models that showed significant results for the variables related to the Indigenous condition were reported.

[Table 3.5 and Table 3.6 here]

The results support some of the patterns observed in the data. First, the White and Indigenous individuals received an overall better evaluation on the scale than the Mestizo individual by the subjects who did not look like them. None of the matching variables reached any statistical significance in the evaluative scale model. The same pattern held true for the evaluation of the target individual's honesty, as the non-matching subjects evaluated the White and Indigenous individuals as more honest than their counterparts in the Mestizo condition. In the case of "Pedro's" intelligence, the non-matching subjects evaluated him more poorly in the Indigenous and Mestizo conditions than in the White condition. When

³⁶ The numbers in parentheses represent the absolute value of the difference between the evaluation of the matching and non-matching participants.

compared to the Mestizo and White conditions, the Indigenous individual was evaluated as friendlier by the non-matching subjects. The White individual was considered more sophisticated and more likeable than the Mestizo individual by the non-matching subjects. Finally, non-matching subjects considered the White individual to be significantly more likeable and more trustworthy than the Indigenous person under a one-tailed significance test.

The models show mixed results for the alternative hypothesis. In the case of evaluating “Pedro’s” academic background, the participants whose appearances matched the experimental condition in the Indigenous and White conditions thought that “Pedro” had not studied quite a bit while in school. The opposite is true for the matching subjects in the Mestizo condition, who evaluated “Pedro” positively on this trait. Matching participants believed that the White, Mestizo, and Indigenous persons were more entrepreneurial (statistically significant under a one-tailed test). Finally, when compared to non-Indigenous-looking individuals, Indigenous-looking subjects believed that the Indigenous person was more sophisticated.

Following the Mestizo ideology, the main hypothesis would predict that participants would more positively evaluate the White person, followed by the Mestizo, and finally, the Indigenous individual. While the findings do show that the White individual received a better overall evaluation than the other two, it is the Mestizo individual who ended up at the bottom of the evaluation in every trait. There was a positive bias towards the Indigenous person in comparison to the Mestizo one. One of the reasons for such a finding could be the type of sample used. The participants were in a privileged situation; all of them were undergraduate students. Furthermore, the large majority of them were enrolled as social science majors. As students, they might have been more sensitive to issues of racial

appearance in Mexico, particularly since racial issues have been raised in Mexico's recent history. In 1994, the Zapatista movement rebelled against the national and local government as an Indigenous movement, demanding respect for all Indigenous communities. This movement mobilized undergraduate students by raising awareness of the situation of Indigenous people in Mexico.³⁷ Furthermore, the questionnaire included the "race question." Participants were asked whether they identified as: White (Blanco); Mestizo; Indigenous (Indígena); or Other (Otro). Some students rejected the categories offered and under "Other" wrote: "human being;" "citizen of the world;" "*chilango*" (person from Mexico City.) These answers represent a rejection of the concept of race as understood in Mexico. The following section will show that students are sensitive to the way people's phenotypic appearances shape others' perceptions.

As in the case of the *main hypothesis* this research anticipates that Mexican-Americans behavior will not be influenced by either their own or by the individual's phenotypes, as Mexican-Americans follow the social norm of racial equality.

Third Section: Knowledge and Content of the Stereotypes

The purpose of the experiment's third section is to test the *stereotype hypothesis* by measuring the content and knowledge of stereotypes associated to different phenotypes among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. A picture of a male individual with White, Mestizo, or Indigenous phenotypes was attached to a sheet of paper. In the sheet of paper subjects were asked to write all the traits they could think other Mexicans or Mexican-Americans would attribute to that person. Subjects were told that the researcher was not interested in their personal beliefs or whether they approve of what other people would

³⁷ The support of the Zapatista movement ranges from students adopting their demands to their own, as in the case of student movements in public universities, to organizing concerts to raise funds for Indigenous communities, both in private and public universities.

think. In contrast to the previous section, the researcher is forcing subjects to be conscious of stereotypes associated to people's phenotypic appearance. The second section is designed to map the effect of a person's phenotypic appearance on subjects' evaluation of his actions by automatically priming those stereotypes using a picture. The third section asks subjects to take a careful look at the individual and express all the ideas that other people might have of him because of his appearance. The instructions in this section are:

“In this part I just want to ask you to think about the way people, in general, think about other individuals depending on the way they look. I am not interested in your personal beliefs.

Please, look at the picture of this person and write down the way other people³⁸ in Mexican society would think about him before talking to him:

What his qualities, flaws, and characteristics are? Please list any number of characteristics you could think people would think about when looking at this person regardless of whether you agree or do not agree with their opinions.”

Results

There were three missing cases in which participants expressed their disagreement with the task, arguing that someone could not know someone else just by looking at him. Of the 133 remaining cases, forty-seven subjects saw the picture of a White person, forty-two of a Mestizo individual, and forty-four looked at an Indigenous individual. The individuals in these conditions were completely indistinguishable from each other in all socio-demographic factors (income, age, gender, and appearance.)³⁹

³⁸ For the Chicago experiment instead of reading “other people” it reads “other Mexican-Americans.”

³⁹ The results of the One-way ANOVA are in Appendix 2, Table A2.3

Coding

The open-ended data were coded by writing down all the words used to describe the person in the picture. Following the stereotype literature, and after looking at the data, twenty-five different categories were created (Carver and Ganellen 1983; Devine 1989; Spencer-Rodgers 2001; Hilton and Von Hippel 1996). Subjects' responses were grouped under these categories.⁴⁰ Multiple words relating to the same category were coded once. Only those categories that receive ten percent or more mentions were considered for the analysis as relevant traits.⁴¹ The traits were divided into three groups: positive, negative, and neutral. Finally, twenty-eight subjects referred to the person's phenotypes when describing him (e.g. "They would think that he is poor because he is dark-skinned," "He is a typical Mexican because of the color of his skin," etc.) A variable was used to identify those cases in which subjects made a direct reference to the person's phenotypes.

Analysis

As the tables show, there are some interesting patterns in the categories between the experimental conditions.

[Table 3.7, Table 3.8 and Table 3.9 here]

In order to inquire into these relationships, logistic regressions were run for each trait, having as explanatory variables dichotomous variables for the White and Mestizo conditions. The Indigenous condition was the excluded category. In some cases, where the difference between the White and Mestizo conditions were large, a model was also run using the Mestizo condition as the excluded category. Finally, these categories were examined to

⁴⁰ Of course, there were responses that did not fit these categories, such as: he likes to vacation, he is young, etc. These responses were not coded as part of stereotypic traits.

⁴¹ The final traits' descriptive statistics are in Appendix 2, Table A2.4, Table A2.5, and Table A2.6.

determine whether they described a latent concept by running three reliability tests.⁴² The first test included all the positive and neutral categories, the second test included the negative and neutral characteristics, and the third analysis included only the neutral categories. The inclusion of the neutral categories with the positive and negative ones helped reveal whether these categories were truly neutral or whether they related better to positive or negative traits. There were two scales produced out of this analysis. One scale maps on an overall dimension of advanced skills. The variables included in this scale are: being a student, being a good student, engaging in college studies, being intelligent, and having advanced skills. The Cronbach α for this scale is 0.67. The second scale maps on a dimension of bad character-having below average skills. The variables included are: being a bad person, relating negatively to others, low social class, low skills, traditional, and bad student. The Cronbach α for this scale is 0.44, showing a poorer fit of these variables on their dimension compared to the previous scale.

The results for the individual traits show a pattern indicating that the White and Mestizo persons are usually assigned better characteristics than the Indigenous individual.

[Table 3.10, Table 3.11, Table 3.12, Table 3.14 and Table 3.15]

Participants evaluated the White person as an individual with a better appearance who has advanced skills, is more pleasant, and holds a higher economic status than the Indigenous person. In turn, the Mestizo person was considered to be a better person, with more advanced skills, a more pleasant personality, and a higher socioeconomic status than the Indigenous person. There are positive traits ascribed to the Indigenous individual as well.

⁴² There are not enough cases to run confirmatory factor analysis so the models cannot be identified.

The Indigenous person is considered to be more responsible, and intelligent than the White person.⁴³

There is clear evidence that participants identified the Indigenous individual as poor, with low skills and an unpleasant personality, representing the “typical Mexican individual,” as well as more conservative or traditional in terms of beliefs and lifestyle. Overall, participants believe that the White individual belongs to the upper social class, has more advanced skills, and is a good student. These findings show some support for the stereotype hypothesis. Indigenous people are seen as unsophisticated (traditional), less skilled, and as members of a lower class. White individuals are seen as more skilled and as members of middle and upper social classes. It is also worth noting that participants in the Indigenous conditions mentioned at least one phenotypic characteristic of the individual significantly more often compared to the individuals in the White and Mestizo conditions. If phenotypic appearance did not matter in Mexican society, one would expect that subjects would not have mentioned individuals’ phenotypic appearance at all.

Discussion

The argument in this study is that stereotypes associated to different phenotypes are a product of the Mestizo ideology, and that they are socially transmitted. As Mexicans and Mexican-Americans share a common idea of their racial origins this study anticipates that Mexican-Americans will share the knowledge of stereotypes associated to different types of phenotypic characteristics. Sharing the knowledge of the content of stereotypes does not mean that people agree with that knowledge or that they act on it. As the Mexican subjects

⁴³ It is worth noting that only 14 people mentioned that the individual was unintelligent, the trait in which the White individual scored significantly higher than the Indigenous and Mestizo ones.

in this experiment show, people might know the content of the stereotypes but they do not have to act on it.

Finally, these findings speak directly to the type of discrimination that people in Mexico accept as common in their society. Some Mexicans argue that racism does not exist in their society because almost everyone is a member of the same racial group. However, most Mexicans accept that, if discrimination occurs, it is found along the lines of social class. Thus, one could argue that there is no racism in Mexico; there is classism. These findings suggest that Mexicans categorize people in different social classes according to their phenotypic appearance. If someone belongs to a lower class (i.e. an Indigenous person), he would also be an unskilled worker, unpleasant, and less sophisticated than a member of an upper social class who happens to look White. This evidence suggests that what Mexicans label as “classism” might be discrimination based on phenotypes.

At this point, an interesting contrast between these two parts of the experiment arises: in the previous part, subjects evaluated the Indigenous person more positively than the Mestizo one; in this part, however, there were more positive traits ascribed to the Mestizo individual than to the Indigenous one. This difference suggests that participants are knowledgeable of the stereotypes associated with Indigenous people in Mexico, but they do not act on the stereotypes. As previously mentioned, Mexico’s society does not have a rule restricting people from acting on phenotypic stereotypes; hence, it might be that the participants’ personal beliefs contradict the stereotypes, so they consciously act against them.

The next chapter explores the effect of phenotypic prejudice on Mexican and Mexican-American voters’ evaluation of electoral candidates. The research will examine whether voters think that candidates are more/less capable, intelligent, etc. based on candidates’ phenotypes, as the findings in this chapter suggest.

Chapter 3- Tables

Table 3.1
Average Evaluation of Target Individual on Different Traits across Conditions

Condition	Friendly	Likeable	Honest	Formally educated	Intelligent
White	0.33 (48)	0.47 (48)	0.50 (48)	0.38 (47)	0.51 (48)
Mestizo	0.30 (40)	0.42 (40)	0.37 (40)	0.34 (40)	0.41 (40)
Indigenous	0.38 (48)	0.48 (48)	0.49 (48)	0.37 (48)	0.43 (48)

Condition	Aggressive	Trustworthy	Entrepreneurial
White	0.52 (48)	0.44 (48)	0.31 (48)
Mestizo	0.53 (40)	0.36 (40)	0.25 (40)
Indigenous	0.50 (48)	0.43 (48)	0.34 (48)

Condition	Sophisticated	Evaluative Scale
White	0.32 (48)	0.42 (48)
Mestizo	0.23 (40)	0.35 (40)
Indigenous	0.31 (48)	0.41 (48)

Table 3.2
Explaining Participant's Evaluation of the Target Individual, Mestizo condition
omitted

Variables	Friendly		Likeable		Honest	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	0.034	0.036	0.048	0.039	0.133***	0.048
Indigenous condition	0.086**	0.036	0.058	0.039	0.119**	0.048
Constant	0.296***	0.026	0.421***	0.029	0.371***	0.036
R ²		0.044		0.018		0.063
N		135		135		135

Variables	Formally Educated		Intelligent		Aggressive	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	0.042	0.041	0.102***	0.041	-0.028	0.051
Indigenous condition	0.031	0.041	0.026	0.041	-0.008	0.051
Constant	0.337***	0.030	0.408***	0.030	0.525***	0.037
R ²		0.008		0.051		0.003
N		134		135		135

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.2 (cont.)
Explaining Participant's Evaluation of the Target Character, Mestizo condition omitted

Variables	Trustworthy		Entrepreneurial		Sophisticated	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	0.086*	0.048	0.067	0.044	0.086*	0.046
Indigenous condition	0.072	0.048	0.091**	0.044	0.076*	0.046
Constant	-0.358***	0.036	0.246***	0.033	0.233***	0.034
R ²		0.026		0.032		0.030
N		135		135		135

Variables	Evaluative Scale	
	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	0.071***	0.027
Indigenous condition	0.065**	0.027
Constant	0.347***	0.020
R ²		0.06
N		135

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.3
Explaining Participant's Evaluation on Intelligence of the Target Individual, White condition omitted

Variables	Intelligence	
	Coeff.	Std. Error
Mestizo condition	-0.102 ^{***}	0.410
Indigenous condition	- 0.760 ^{**}	0.039
Constant	0.510 ^{***}	0.027
R²		0.051
N		135

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.4
Average Evaluation of Target Character on Different Traits by Matching Subjects in each Condition

Condition	Friendly	Likeable	Honest	Educated	Intelligent
White-Match	0.34 (15)	0.43 (15)	0.49 (15)	0.39 (14)	0.51 (15)
White-No Match	0.32 (33)	0.48 (33)	0.51 (33)	0.37 (14)	0.51 (33)
Mestizo- Match	0.32 (11)	0.45 (11)	0.36 (11)	0.48 (11)	0.41 (11)
Mestizo-No Match	0.29 (29)	0.41 (29)	0.37 (29)	0.28 (29)	0.41 (29)
Indigenous-Match	0.35 (11)	0.52 (11)	0.56 (11)	0.35 (11)	0.44 (11)
Indigenous-No Match	0.39 (37)	0.47 (37)	0.47 (37)	0.37 (37)	0.43 (37)

Table 3.4 (cont.)
Average Evaluation of Target Character on Different Traits by Matching Subjects in each Condition

Conditions	Aggressive	Trustworthy	Entrepreneurial	Sophisticated
White-Match	0.54 (15)	0.42 (15)	0.34 (15)	0.26 (15)
White-No Match	0.47 (33)	0.45 (33)	0.30 (33)	0.35 (33)
Mestizo-Match	0.50 (11)	0.35 (11)	0.17 (11)	0.23 (11)
Mestizo-No Match	0.53 (29)	0.36 (29)	0.28 (29)	0.24 (29)
Indigenous-Match	0.45 (11)	0.45 (11)	0.36 (11)	0.41 (11)
Indigenous-No Match	0.54 (37)	0.42 (37)	0.33 (37)	0.28 (37)

Conditions	Evaluative Scale
White-Match	0.41 (15)
White-No Match	0.42 (33)
Mestizo-Match	0.36 (11)
Mestizo-No Match	0.34 (29)
Indigenous-Match	0.44 (11)
Indigenous-No Match	0.40 (37)

Table 3.5
Explaining Participant's Evaluation of the Target Individual and Matching Hypothesis, Mestizo condition omitted

Variables	Friendly		Likeable		Honest	
	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Coeff.	Std. Err.
White condition	0.036	0.043	0.077*	0.047	0.137**	0.058
Indigenous condition	0.105***	0.041	0.060	0.045	0.095*	0.056
White*Match	-0.010	0.079	-0.098	0.086	-0.011	0.107
Indigenous*Match	-0.074	0.082	0.000	0.090	0.102	0.112
Match	0.031	0.059	0.046	0.065	-0.010	0.080
Constant	0.287***	0.031	0.408***	0.034	0.374***	0.042
R ²		0.051		0.032		0.070
N		135		135		135

Variables	Education		Intelligent		Aggressive	
	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Coeff.	Std. Err.
White condition	0.092*	0.048	0.102**	0.049	-0.060	0.060
Indigenous condition	0.092**	0.046	0.024	0.048	0.002	0.059
White*Match	-0.184**	0.089	0.000	0.903	0.104	0.112
Indigenous*Match	-0.229***	0.092	0.006	0.095	-0.047	0.117
Match	0.203***	0.066	0.001	0.068	-0.034	0.084
Constant	0.282***	0.035	0.408***	0.000	0.534***	0.044
R ²		0.078		0.051		0.018
N		134		135		135

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.5 (cont.)
Explaining Participant's Evaluation of the Target Individual and Matching Hypothesis, Mestizo condition omitted

Variables	Trustworthy		Entrepreneurial		Sophisticated	
	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Coeff.	Std. Err.
White condition	0.092	0.058	0.022	0.053	0.113***	0.054
Indigenous condition	0.061	0.056	0.053	0.051	0.044	0.053
White*Match	-0.019	0.107	0.156	0.097	-0.085	0.101
Indigenous*Match	0.045	0.112	0.144	0.102	0.138	0.105
Match	-0.014	0.080	-0.109	0.073	-0.008	0.076
Constant	0.362***	0.042	0.276***	0.038	0.236***	0.040
R ²		0.029		0.054		0.066
N		135		135		135

Variables	Evaluation	
	Coeff.	Std. Err.
White condition	0.082***	0.032
Indigenous condition	0.062**	0.031
White*Match	-0.040	0.059
Mestizo*Match	0.017	0.062
Match	0.022	0.044
Constant	0.341***	0.023
R ²		0.070
N		135

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.6
Explaining Participant's Evaluation on Relevant Traits of the Target Individual and Matching Hypothesis, White condition omitted

Variables	Friendly		Intelligent		Sophisticated	
Mestizo condition	-0.036	0.043	-0.102**	0.049	-0.113**	0.054
Indigenous condition	0.069*	0.040	-0.078*	0.046	-0.069	0.051
Mestizo*Match	0.010	0.079	0.000	0.090	0.085	0.101
Indigenous*Match	-0.065	0.078	0.006	0.089	0.223	0.099
Match	0.021	0.052	0.001	0.060	-0.093**	0.066
Constant	0.323***	0.029	0.510***	0.033	0.348	0.037
R²		0.051		0.051		0.066
N		135		135		135

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.7
Percentage of Positive Traits Mentioned in Each Condition, Stereotype Experiment, Second Section

Trait	White	Mestizo	Indigenous	N
Good appearance**	55.60%	29.60%	14.80%	27
Good person**	29.20%	41.70%	29.20%	62
Good student**	69.20%	23.10%	7.70%	13
Good to others	45.20%	19.40%	35.50%	31
Happy/Outgoing	35.00%	25.00%	40.00%	20
Advanced skills***	52.40%	42.90%	4.80%	21
Intelligent	35.30%	35.30%	29.40%	17
Pleasant	32.30%	41.90%	25.80%	31
Responsible	22.20%	29.60%	48.10%	27

Table 3.8
Percentage of Negative Traits Mentioned in Each Condition, Stereotype Experiment, Second Section

Traits	White	Mestizo	Indigenous	N
Bad person	21.40%	35.70%	42.90%	14
Bad student	26.30%	42.10%	31.60%	19
Low skills ***	14.30%	14.30%	71.40%	14
Negative to others	45.00%	25.00%	30.00%	20
Submissive	35.30%	26.50%	38.20%	34
Unintelligent**	64.30%	14.30%	21.40%	14
Unpleasant*	25.00%	20.00%	55.00%	20

Table 3.9
Percentage of Neutral Traits Mentioned in Each Condition, Stereotype Experiment, Second Section

Traits	White	Mestizo	Indigenous	N
Race***	28.60%	14.30%	57.10%	28
Average Person	42.90%	28.60%	28.60%	21
Low social class***	8.70%	17.40%	73.90%	23
Middle class	47.10%	23.50%	29.40%	34
Likes/Does Sports	31.30%	43.80%	25.00%	16
Student	45.50%	36.40%	18.20%	33
Traditional	36.80%	15.80%	47.40%	19
Typical Mexican***	11.80%	17.60%	70.60%	17
Upper class***	71.40%	28.60%	0.00%	14

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.10
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Positive Traits, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Responsible		Good appearance		Good person		Good student		Good to others	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	-1.053*	0.548	1.545***	0.611	-0.123	0.421	2.321**	1.077	0.241	0.472
Mestizo	-0.578	0.513	0.856	0.655	1.007**	0.456	1.196	1.176	-0.693	0.562
Constant	-0.869***	0.330	-2.303***	0.524	-0.091	0.302	-3.76***	1.012	-1.099***	0.348
Cox & Snell- R²		0.030		0.056		0.056		0.059		0.024
Nagelkerke R²		0.047		0.088		0.075		0.125		0.036
N		133		133		133		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.10 (cont.)
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Positive Traits, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Happy		Advanced Skills		Intelligent		Pleasant	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	0.259	0.628	2.576 ^{***}	1.069	0.132	0.646	0.196	0.529
Mestizo	0.497	0.616	2.462 ^{**}	1.079	0.262	0.648	0.702	0.514
Constant	-2.002 ^{***}	0.476	-3.761 ^{***}	0.414	-2.054 ^{***}	0.475	-1.504 ^{***}	0.391
Cox & Snell- R²		0.005		0.043		0.001		0.016
Nagelkerke R²		0.009		0.092		0.002		0.023
N		133		133		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.11
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Positive Traits, Mestizo Condition Omitted

Variables	Good person		Good to others	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	-1.130 ^{***}	0.450	0.934 [*]	0.544
Indigenous	-1.007 [*]	0.456	0.693	0.562
Constant	0.916 ^{**}	0.342	-1.792 ^{***}	0.441
Cox & Snell- R ²		0.022		0.010
Nagelkerke R ²		0.029		0.017
N		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.12
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Negative Traits, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Bad person		Bad student		Low skills		Bad to others		Submissive	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	-0.840	0.741	-0.282	0.646	-1.889**	0.807	0.405	0.575	-0.201	0.470
Mestizo	-0.156	0.648	0.399	0.589	-1.772**	0.809	-0.156	0.648	-0.430	0.501
Constant	-1.846***	0.439	-1.846***	0.439	-1.224***	0.360	-1.846***	0.439	-0.869***	0.330
Cox & Snell- R²		0.011		0.010		0.001		0.007		0.006
Nagelkerke R²		0.023		0.017		0.002		0.013		0.008
N		133		133		133		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.12 (cont.)
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Negative Traits, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Unintelligent		Unpleasant	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	1.175*	0.704	-1.030*	0.587
Mestizo	-0.381	0.940	-1.153*	0.63
Constant	-2.615***	0.598	-1.099***	0.348
Cox & Snell- R²		0.041		0.001
Nagelkerke R²		0.084		0.002
N		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.13
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Negative Traits, Mestizo Condition Omitted

Variables	Unintelligent	
	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	1.555*	0.814
Indigenous	0.381	0.940
Constant	-2.996***	0.725
Cox & Snell- R ²		0.041
Nagelkerke R ²		0.084
N		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.14
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Neutral Traits, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Race		Low social class		Middle social class		Upper social class ⁴⁴		Average Person	
	Coeff.	Coeff.	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	-1.025**	0.499	-2.651***	0.786	0.562	0.473	1.712***	0.624	0.405	0.575
Mestizo	-1.692***	0.612	-1.789***	0.610	- 0.223	0.533	--	--	0.054	0.622
Constant	-0.560*	0.313	-0.463	0.310	- 1.224***	0.360	-3.02***	0.512	-1.846***	0.439
Cox & Snell- R²		0.072		0.145		0.021		0.062		0.005
Nagelkerke R²		0.112		0.241		0.031		0.126		0.008
N		133		133		133		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

⁴⁴ The model including two experimental categories as independent variables presents a problem of multicollinearity. This is because the majority of the cases where the dependent variable takes the value of one are in the White condition, there are a few in the Mestizo condition, and none in the Indigenous one. I redefined the model by including only the White condition as an explanatory variable, avoiding the problem of multicollinearity.

Table 3.14 (cont.)
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Attributed Neutral Traits, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Likes Sports		Traditional		Typical Mexican	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	0.174	0.706	-0.385	0.555	-2.133 ^{***}	0.798
Mestizo	0.693	0.668	-1.207 [*]	0.706	-1.584 ^{**}	0.688
Constant	-2.303 ^{***}	0.524	-1.358 ^{***}	0.706	-0.981 ^{***}	0.399
Cox & Snell- R²		0.009		0.025		0.086
Nagelkerke R²		0.018		0.044		0.161
N		133		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Table 3.15
Looking at Differences across Conditions on Trait Scales, Indigenous Condition Omitted

Variables	Advanced skills		Low skills	
	Coeff.	Coeff.	Coeff.	Std. Error
White	0.178 ^{***}	0.052	-0.105 ^{***}	0.036
Mestizo	0.109 ^{**}	0.054	-0.097 ^{***}	0.037
Constant	0.045	0.038	0.205 ^{***}	0.026
R²		0.083		0.074
N		133		133

***p-value ≤ 0.01 ; **0.01 < p-value ≤ 0.05; *0.05 < p-value ≤ 0.10

Chapter 4

Electoral Consequences of Phenotypic Prejudice

Measuring voter evaluations and decisions to vote for electoral candidates helps to provide a comparative analysis of the political consequences of phenotypic prejudice. In this test, the researcher is able to manipulate the phenotypic appearance of the electoral candidate while keeping all other information (personal and professional information, policy positions, party identification, etc.) the same. When contrasting voters' evaluations and decisions to vote for candidates who vary only in their phenotypes, one can argue that if there is any variance in the results, such variance is due to the candidates' phenotypic appearance. Voters evaluate candidates on different traits: competence, leadership, integrity, and empathy (Kinder 1986), among others. Those traits can also reflect stereotypes associated with different phenotypes (e.g. Indigenous people are lazy, so an Indigenous candidate is not competent; White people are intelligent, so a White candidate is competent).

Evaluation of Electoral Candidates and Phenotypes

It is well-documented that people rely on both their knowledge and feelings when evaluating candidates (Abelson et al. 1982; Brader 2006; Kinder 1978). Emotions affect both the amount of time people invest in evaluating electoral candidates and the assumptions they make about those candidates:

In terms of time, voters dedicate more time and energy when evaluating candidates they like than when evaluating candidates they dislike. In terms of perception, voters tend to assume that their preferred candidate's policy positions are close to theirs, minimizing any cognitive inconsistency that might cause them discomfort (Kinder 1978; Lodge et al. 1989). Voters do not spend much time contrasting the opponent's policy position.

Thus, people seek to balance the information they receive from the environment with their own ideas, disregarding information that does not match their preferences and concentrating on information that affirms their positions. Furthermore, Kinder found that "negative sentiment may often be produced by a single, overriding attribute, but a lone positive feature is usually not a sufficient cause for liking" (1978, 869). Consequently, a candidate's appearance (i.e. phenotypic characteristics) alone might influence certain people to dislike him/her. This finding is significant in conjunction with the main argument of this study, which is that Mexicans and Mexican-Americans possess stereotypes attached to Indigenous and White phenotypes that are triggered in their minds when evaluating an Indigenous, Mestizo, or White candidate.

This study employed an experimental tradition established by other researchers who use experiments to isolate factors influencing voters' evaluations of electoral candidates (Rahn et al. 1994; Ottati et al. 1992; Bailenson et al. 2006; Berinsky and Mendelberg 2005; Fox and Smith 1998; Hochschild et al. 2003; Hochschild et al. 2004; McGraw et al. 2003; Philpot and Walton Jr 2007; Sigelman et al. 1995; Terkildsen 1993). The experiment tests three hypotheses. The first is the *main hypothesis*, which predicts that all participants will tend to favor an electoral candidate with certain racial phenotypes (i.e. White) over an electoral candidate with other phenotypes (i.e. Indigenous). This hypothesis assumes that all participants will behave the same, regardless of their own racial phenotypes and their place

of residence. The second hypothesis is the *matching hypothesis*, which states that voters will tend to favor the electoral candidate who shares or matches their racial phenotypes over the candidate who does not, regardless of the voters' place of residence. Finally, the third hypothesis is the *context hypothesis*, which argues that as Mexicans follow the social norm of racial inequality, which allows them to openly express their prejudice, they will act as specified in the previous two hypotheses. In the case of Mexican-Americans, as they follow the social norm of racial equality, the candidate's phenotypes should not affect their behavior because they are socialized to control the expression of prejudice based on a person's racial appearance. These hypotheses are tested in two different areas:

- a) Intention to vote for the candidate, and
- b) Evaluation of the candidate on nine different traits.

Following social psychology, it is expected that if Mexicans and Mexican-Americans possess stereotypes related to racial phenotypes, they will use them when encountering and judging politicians for the first time. Thus, without considering the role of social norms, if White-looking Mexicans and Mexican-Americans believe negative stereotypes of their Indigenous counterparts, they will assume that an Indigenous candidate possesses all the negative traits associated with that phenotype. Furthermore, if they hold negative stereotypes of people with certain phenotypes (e.g. Indigenous), they will tend to unconsciously assign to the candidate with those phenotypes certain policy positions with which they disagree (Lodge et al. 1989). At the same time, White Mexicans and Mexican-Americans might believe that other Mexican or Mexican-Americans who do not appear phenotypically similar to themselves would not represent their interests and needs appropriately. The expression of such prejudice is mediated by social norms that regulate people's behavior. In this sense, if one applies the social norm of racial inequality to the Mexico case and the social norm of

racial equality to the U.S. case, one would expect that while Mexicans express prejudice against people with certain phenotypes, Mexican-Americans will not.

The design of this experiment guarantees that, regardless of subject's level of political sophistication, all subjects will engage in the same cognitive process when completing the task. Given that the electoral candidates in this study are unknown to the participants, they will engage in an online process when evaluating the candidates. Individuals in an online processing model "start evaluating candidates at the time of information acquisition." In contrast, individuals could also engage in a memory-based judgment, in which "the voter must retrieve specific items from memory in order to construct it"(Rahn et al. 1994, 193). The memory-based process demands more psychological effort from the individual than the online processing model does. This experiment's design levels the field for all participants, as it is easy for them to complete regardless of how political sophisticated they are.

Rahn and her colleagues (1994) distinguish between two types of information structures: person-centered and dimension-centered. The former consists only of information about a specific candidate, while the latter consists of information about more than one candidate on more than one issue (i.e. campaign debates). Rahn et al. used experiments to test this hypothesis. The researchers randomly assigned people with different levels of political sophistication to either the person-centered or the dimension-centered information structure. The findings suggest that information structure matters for the less sophisticated people, who, in less demanding information contexts (candidate-centered), are able to form a judgment following the online strategy; in the dimension-centered condition, by contrast, these people had to rely more on their memories. These findings are important for this research because participants in this experiment will evaluate candidates in a person-

centered condition; thus, they will be able to use an online strategy regardless of their political sophistication level.

Because participants evaluate three candidates who are fictitious and unknown to them, they are unable to assimilate new information about a candidate with information they already possess about him or her (Lodge et al. 1989). Therefore, people will more likely use markers such as racial appearance to form a judgment of the candidate. In this situation, the participants are more prone to positively evaluate a candidate who looks like them (Bailenson et al. 2006).

Previous research on skin color and non-Hispanic Whites' evaluations of African American candidates has generally concurred with the following predictions:

Some voters, due to the acceptance of racial stereotypes, unconsciously rate the African-American candidate using only the activated racial categorization (...) Other voters, for whom a strong individual belief (e.g. egalitarianism) conflicts with the racial stereotype, use cognitive effort to remind themselves about their beliefs and to suppress the spontaneously activated group stereotype when making political evaluation (Terkildsen 1993, 1035-6).

The first case in Terkildsen's study is an example of a person who has not internalized the social norm of racial equality (Mendelberg 2001), while the second case is an example of a person who controls her reaction because she has internalized such norms. The former can be an example of expected behavior for Mexicans in this study, while the latter should exemplify Mexican-Americans' political behavior.

Recent research affirms that European-looking Blacks appeal to a greater number of voters; these candidates win proportionally more electoral contests than their darker-skinned counterparts (Hochschild and Weaver 2007). Light skin has been historically related to high status among African-Americans. Therefore, people could perceive that a light-skinned African-American is more capable of governing than his or her dark-skinned counterpart.

Extending the previous arguments to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, one could argue that in general, light-skinned and White-looking members of these groups enjoy higher status than their dark-skinned and Indigenous-looking counterparts. However, because of the social norm of racial equality that exists in the U.S., Mexican-Americans should be less inclined to act on those stereotypes and behave in a prejudicial way than Mexicans.

Research Design and Methodology

In order to test the main, matching, and context hypotheses, an experiment was designed with three conditions and a control group. In each condition, participants received a sheet with information about three independent candidates running for governor in the state of Yucatan for the Mexican subjects and the democratic primaries in New Mexico for the Mexican-American subjects.⁴⁵

Data collection

Data were collected in Mexico during two trips to Mexico City in 2007; while the data in Chicago were collected during different trips throughout the summer of 2008. Each participant was approached and asked to participate in an academic survey examining the way voters evaluate independent candidates. Subjects received monetary compensation (\$50 Mexican pesos; and \$15 U.S. dollars, respectively) for their participation.

⁴⁵ In the case of Mexico, independent candidates were presented in order to control for any effect that party membership would have on people's evaluation of the electoral candidate. So far, there is no research on the relationship between a candidate's appearance and his or her party membership that could clarify whether people expect a candidate from one party to look different from a candidate from another party. In the case of the U.S., Democratic candidates were presented because people in Chicago identify predominantly with the Democratic party, which is also the party of the current governor from New Mexico (William B. Richardson III.)

The sample in Mexico City consists of 250 Mexicans. Participants were recruited at shopping malls, coffee shops, downtown plazas, and office buildings. The sample in Chicago consisted of 280 U.S.-born Mexican-Americans. Participants were found at churches and at a Latino fair, La Fiesta del Sol, in the neighborhood of Pilsen in Chicago.⁴⁶

The characteristics of the sample from Mexico City were as follows: men comprised a slight majority of subjects (55%); the average annual income was in the middle of the scale, 0.49 (\$72,000-\$96,000 Mexican pesos); the participants' average educational level was high school completion; the average age was 34 years old; and the mean score for phenotypic characteristics is 0.55 on a continuous scale, where 0 is White and 1 is Indigenous. The characteristics of the sample from Chicago were the following: there was a slight majority of women (57%); the average annual income was a little under the middle of the scale, 0.44 (\$25,000-\$45,000 U.S. dollars); the participants' average education included some college; the average age was 27 years old; and the mean score for phenotypic characteristics was 0.58.⁴⁷

In comparison to the Mexico City sample, the Chicago sample was significantly younger ($F_{1, 526}=58.77$, $p\text{-value}=0.00$); more educated ($F_{1, 513}=31.43$, $p\text{-value}=0.00$), had more female respondents ($F_{1, 528}=7.62$, $p\text{-value}=0.01$), and was slightly less Indigenous-looking ($F_{1, 529}=2.78$, $p\text{-value}=0.10$).⁴⁸

Instructions

After the participants read and signed a consent form, they were given a questionnaire and a sheet of paper that included the information about three male

⁴⁶ "La Fiesta del Sol" is a fair that has been taking place every year in the neighborhood of Pilsen for 36 years. It is a fundraising event organized by the "Pilsen Neighbors Community Council" to continue community projects and provide fellowships for students from Pilsen. This event attracts about 1 million people from different ethnic groups.

⁴⁷ A table summarizing the characteristics of both samples is in Appendix 3, Table A3.1.

⁴⁸ The ANOVA table is included in Appendix 3, Table A3.2

candidates⁴⁹ who were supposedly running for governor independently in the state of Yucatan for the Mexican experiment and for the Democratic primary election in New Mexico for Mexican-American experiment.

After finishing the questionnaire, subjects were debriefed and learned the true purpose of the research. They also learned that their pictures were needed in order to compare their appearances to the candidate's appearances. No significant problems were encountered when taking the participants' pictures.

Information exposure

The participants read the candidate information on a sheet of paper that included a picture of each candidate; the control condition omitted candidates' pictures. Participants read personal information about the candidates (birth place, college attended, professional career, names of wives and children), as well as their political positions on four less-controversial issues: health insurance, the environment, social spending, and state-federal relations. The candidates' positions varied slightly so that the first candidate could be placed on the center-left of the ideological spectrum, the second candidate at the center, and the third candidate at the center-right of the spectrum.

The pictures were manipulated using the same morphing software that had been employed for the stereotype experiment. The picture of the candidate ideologically positioned in the center depicts the target candidate whose appearance varies in each condition. All pictures morphed two pictures of "real" people. For example, for the White condition, two White individuals were morphed to create the target candidate. The same

⁴⁹In the future, I am interested in pursuing a study on the relationship between gender and phenotypic appearance. First, I want to explore the effects of phenotypes so all the candidates and people evaluated here will be male.

procedure was followed for the target candidate in the Indigenous condition. The Mestizo candidate was created by morphing the pictures of the White and Indigenous candidates. The candidates located to the left and right of the target candidate, whose pictures do not vary, were created using three pictures of White individuals. The purpose of using three pictures was to maintain some physical similarity between these images, as each of them shares one picture. There were two sets of experimental pictures. The control group handout did not have any pictures.⁵⁰

Evaluation of the candidate and willingness to vote for him

The first set of questions in the questionnaire dealt with participants' voting choice and their evaluation of the three candidates on nine different traits. The voting question read: "If you lived in Yucatan/New Mexico and these were all the candidates competing for the election, for whom would you vote?"⁵¹ Participants evaluated each candidate on nine different traits: intelligence; competence; industriousness; trustworthiness; empathy; likeability; honesty; capacity to keep campaign promises if elected; and good leadership.

Measures

Dependent variables:

Individual evaluative traits: All the traits were measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 0-1, where 0 means "Disagree Strongly" and 1 means "Agree Strongly."

Evaluative scale: Participants' evaluations of the traits of the target candidate were averaged to create an evaluative scale. For the Mexico sample, the scale had a mean of 0.580

⁵⁰ The set of pictures and the handouts are in Appendix 5.

⁵¹ The question in Spanish reads: "Si usted viviera en Yucatán y éstos fueran todos los candidatos para gobernador, ¿por cuál de los tres votaría usted?"

and a Cronbach α of 0.901, while for the U.S. sample, the scale had a mean of 0.673 and a Cronbach α of 0.860.⁵² These statistics showed that all the items effectively measured the evaluative scale as a unidimensional construct (Cronbach 1951).

Vote intention: This variable took the value of 1 when participants opted to vote for the target candidate and a value of 0 otherwise.

Independent variables:

Participants' phenotypes: A Mexican national and the researcher independently judged the participants' phenotypic appearances. Their eyes, nose, mouth, skin color, and hair were evaluated on a 5-point scale from 0-1, where 0 indicated White and 1 indicated Indigenous. The final phenotypic measure was calculated by averaging both judges' final scores.⁵³

Experimental condition: There were three experimental conditions: White candidate, Mestizo candidate, and Indigenous candidate, as well as the Control group. Three dummy variables were created for the experimental conditions. The control group was the excluded category in the main hypothesis model, while the Indigenous condition was the omitted category in the alternative hypothesis model.

Matching variable: One matching variable was created that took the value of 1 when the participant's phenotypes matched the condition. For this variable, a participant was considered to be White if his/her phenotypic appearance score was between 0 and 0.40. A Mestizo participant scored greater than 0.40 but less than 0.60. Finally, an Indigenous participant scored 0.60 or above on the phenotypic scale. For example, in the case of the

⁵² The traits statistics are in Appendix 3, Table A3.3.

⁵³ The graphs with the distribution of the phenotypic measure for respondents in Chicago and Mexico City are located in Appendix 3, Graph A3.1 and Graph A3.2.

Indigenous condition, the matching variable took the value of 1 when the participant's phenotypic appearance was equal or above 0.60.

Control variables: Age, education, gender, and income were included as control variables. Education was a 10-point scale coded from 0 (no education) to 1 (graduate degree); gender took the value of 0 (male) and 1 (female); and income was an 8-point scale coded from 0-1; and age is a continuous variable.

Results and discussion

This section reports the results for both the main and the matching hypotheses on participants' evaluation of the electoral candidate and their propensity to vote for him.⁵⁴ Missing data in the dependent variables is addressed in both studies, as are the testing models, results, and overall assessment.

Missing data

There were some missing cases in the data, both for the vote question and the evaluative scale in Mexico City and Chicago. An analysis was conducted to check whether these cases differed significantly from the other cases.

There were seven participants who did not answer the vote question in Mexico City and six in Chicago. One-way ANOVAS show that the missing respondents did not differ significantly from the respondents who answered the question in any of the control variables.⁵⁵

For the evaluative scale, there were nine missing cases in the Mexico sample and eight missing cases in the U.S. sample. In contrast to the missing cases in the vote variable,

⁵⁴ The table with the observed values for the dependent variables in both sites and all conditions is in Appendix 3, Table A3.4, Table A3.5 and Table A3.6.

⁵⁵ The tables are in Appendix 3, Tables A3.7 and A3.8.

the missing cases for the evaluative scale in Mexico City were significantly poorer ($F_{1,235}=11.03$, $p\text{-value}=0.00$) and less educated ($F_{1,528}=18.40$, $p\text{-value}=0.00$) than the people who evaluated the candidate in at least 5 traits and are included in the evaluative scale. In the case of the Chicago sample, the missing cases were significantly older than the non-missing cases ($F_{1,278}=6.27$, $p\text{-value}=0.01$).⁵⁶

Testing for differences between conditions

Two one-way ANOVA models were conducted to check for significant differences on socio-demographic variables between the conditions in both samples. The results showed some significant differences between the conditions in Mexico City and no significant differences in the case of Chicago.⁵⁷

In the case of the sample from Mexico City, there were significant differences between the four conditions on three variables: phenotypic characteristics ($F_{3,246}=2.51$, $p\text{-value}=0.06$), income ($F_{3,233}=2.79$, $p\text{-value}=0.04$), and gender ($F_{3,246}=2.36$, $p\text{-value}=0.07$).

The inclusion of the socio-demographic variables in all the models helped to correct for differences between the conditions.

Deciding for whom to vote, do phenotypes matter?

This section discusses the results of testing the three aforementioned hypotheses for the voting variables. Two different logistic regression models were run for the Mexico City and Chicago samples.

⁵⁶ The complete ANOVA tables are in Appendix 3, Tables A3.9 and A3.10.

⁵⁷ The complete ANOVA tables are in Appendix 3, Tables A3.11 and A3.12.

Main and Context Hypotheses

In general, the *main hypothesis* predicts that all participants, regardless of their phenotypes, will tend to vote for an electoral candidate with certain racial phenotypes over an electoral candidate with other phenotypes. Following the Mestizo ideology the expectation is that participants will prefer to vote for the White candidate over the Indigenous candidate.

The *context hypothesis* predicts that Mexicans will behave according to the main hypothesis, as they will not control the expression of prejudice. In the case of Mexican-Americans, the hypothesis predicts that the candidate's phenotypes should not affect subjects' behavior, as they are socialized to control their prejudice based on people's phenotypic appearances.

[Table 4.1 here]

In the case of Mexico City, the logistic regression supports the main hypothesis. The model shows a clear positive effect for the White candidate over the Control condition, regardless of participants' phenotypes (p -value=0.01). These results also confirm the context hypothesis; phenotypes appear to matter in Mexicans' voting preferences, according to the main hypothesis.

There are no significant differences between the Control and the Mestizo conditions or between the Control or Indigenous conditions.

Finally, participants' phenotypic appearance has a slightly significant and negative effect on the probability of voting for the target candidate (p -value=0.09).

In the case of the data from Chicago, the findings are completely opposite to the findings in Mexico City. There is an overall negative effect for the White candidate in

comparison to the Control condition (p -value=0.09). In general, the results support the main hypothesis (that phenotypes matter for Mexican-Americans' voting decision); but they in the opposite direction expected. There is no support the context hypothesis; candidates' phenotypes seem to matter in Mexican-American voters' decisions to vote, regardless of their own phenotypic appearance.

The predicted probabilities of voting for the candidates show the large and positive effect of White phenotypes in Mexico City; and the large and negative effect of the same phenotypes in Chicago.

[Table 4.2 here]

Matching and Context Hypotheses

The *alternative hypothesis* predicts that voters will tend to favor the electoral candidate who shares or matches their racial phenotypes over the candidate who does not.

The *context hypothesis* predicts that Mexicans will behave according to the matching hypothesis, while Mexican-Americans will not, as they follow the social norm of racial equality.

The models testing these hypotheses include all the variables from the main hypothesis models in addition to the matching variables.

[Table 4.3 here]

In the case of Mexico City, This model supports the findings of the main hypothesis model, but it does not show any support for the matching hypothesis. Therefore, participants do not tend to vote more for the candidate who shares their phenotypic features. Again, the positive effect for the White candidate remains once one controls for White participants in this condition (p -value=0.014). Consequently, non-White participants

draw a positive image for this candidate. This finding supports the context hypothesis, as the candidate's phenotypes matter in subjects' decision to vote.

In this model, subjects' phenotypic appearance loses the slight significance it had in the main model (p -value=0.09), because the new model specification controls for whether subjects' phenotypes match the condition to which they were randomly assigned.

In the case of Chicago, there are no significant predictors that explain the voting behavior of the participants. The White condition loses its statistical power, as the Control condition is not included; the White condition is also not significantly different from the Indigenous condition. There is no support for the matching hypothesis, but there is support for the context hypothesis as phenotypes do not matter for Mexican-Americans decision to vote.

Influence of Phenotypes on Subjects' Candidate Evaluation

The influence of stereotypes on subjects' candidate evaluation was analyzed by looking at their effect on each evaluative trait, and on an overall evaluative scale built from all the individual traits. The analysis of the evaluative scale analyzes if phenotypes matter for the overall evaluation of the candidate, while the analysis maps if some stereotypes influence people's evaluation of the candidate in some, but not in other traits.

Main and Context Hypotheses

As in the case of the voting variable the *main hypothesis* predicts that all participants, regardless of their phenotypes, will tend to evaluate more positively an electoral candidate with certain racial phenotypes over an electoral candidate with other phenotypes. The expectation is that participants will evaluate more positively the White candidate, followed by the Mestizo candidate, coming in last place the Indigenous candidate.

The *context hypothesis* predicts that Mexicans will behave according to the main hypothesis, as they will not control the expression of prejudice. In the case of Mexican-Americans, the hypothesis predicts that the candidate's phenotypes should not affect subjects' behavior, as they are socialized to control their prejudice based on people's phenotypic appearances.

First, the results from the overall evaluative scale show the irrelevance of phenotypic stereotypes on the overall candidate evaluation both in Mexico City and Chicago.

[Table 4.4 here]

The analysis on the individual traits shows significant differences on the candidate evaluation across conditions in Mexico City.

[Table 4.5 here]

The models for the individual traits show that subjects evaluate the target candidate more poorly on relevant traits in the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions than in the Control condition. For example, the Mestizo candidate is considered to be less likeable (p -value=0.06, one-tail test), and industrious (p -value=0.09, one-tail test) for voters than the candidate in the Control condition. The only trait that is statistically significantly different between the White and Control conditions is leadership, which runs in favor of the White candidate (p -value=0.070, one-tail test). The Indigenous candidate is evaluated as less trustworthy than the candidate in the Control condition (p -value=0.08, one-tail test). As the observed data show large differences between the White condition on one hand, and the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions on the other, the same models were run omitting the White condition. There were only two models with significant results.

[Table 4.6 here]

The Mestizo and Indigenous candidates are considered as weaker leaders as the White candidate (p-value=0.06, one-tail test; p-value=0.04; respectively). Finally, the Mestizo candidate is evaluated as less industrious as the White candidate. In the previous chapter, the White individual was the best evaluated. These findings show that this is also the case for the candidate experiment, as the White candidate is considered a better leader than the other candidates.

In the case of Chicago the results look similar to the results from the voting model, as subjects evaluate more poorly the White candidate.

[Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 here]

In these models there are not as many statistically significant findings as in the Mexico City models; however, subjects in the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions evaluate the candidates as more likeable than the subjects in the Control (p-value=0.07 in both cases), and White conditions (p-value=0.04 in both cases). Finally, the Indigenous candidate is considered as a more empathetic candidate than the White candidate (p-value=0.09, one-tail test).

Matching and Context Hypotheses

The *alternative hypothesis* predicts that subjects will tend to evaluate more favorably the electoral candidate who shares or matches their racial phenotypes over the candidate who does not.

The *context hypothesis* predicts that Mexicans will behave according to the matching hypothesis, while Mexican-Americans will not, as they follow the social norm of racial equality.

These models include all the variables from the main hypothesis models in addition to the matching variables.

Regarding the overall evaluation of the candidate, as in the main model, these models do not reveal any significant influence of phenotypes on subjects' behavior either in Mexico City or Chicago. Mexican-Americans' behavior shows support for the context hypothesis, as phenotypes do not matter.

[Table 4.9 here]

In the case of the individual traits, only the models with statistically significant variables are reported. There is support for the matching hypothesis in the case of the Mestizo subjects and candidate in Mexico City.

[Table 4.10 here]

As one can see, Mestizo participants evaluate the Mestizo candidate as more competent and intelligent than non-Mestizo subjects (p -value=0.05, one-tail test; p -value=0.08, respectively). In contrast, Indigenous subjects evaluate the Indigenous candidate significantly worse on the candidate's diligence and leadership (p -value=0.06, one tail test; p -value=0.02, respectively). Lastly, the non-matching subjects consider the Mestizo candidate as less diligent and intelligent than their counterparts in the White condition (p -value=0.08; p -value=0.09, respectively).

In the case of Chicago, the models show a similar pattern to the observed in Mexico City: participants matching the Mestizo condition evaluate more favorably the candidate, while evaluating less favorably the Indigenous candidate in at least one trait.

[Table 4.11 here]

Mestizo Mexican-American participants evaluate the Mestizo candidate as more likeable and honest than non-Mestizo participants (p -value=0.08; p -value=0.08, one-tail test, respectively). Indigenous subjects, similarly to Indigenous subjects in Mexico City, evaluate

more negatively the Indigenous candidate. In this case, they consider him less capable to keep his campaign promises than non-Indigenous participants (p -value=0.08).

Discussion

These results show the existence of a significant and opposite effect on participants' voting behavior in Mexico City and in Chicago. While in Mexico City, evidence existed to support a White effect (people prefer voting for the White candidate), it appears that Mexican-Americans tend to do the opposite; they do not vote for the White candidate.

These models also showed that phenotypes matter to both Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in regards to political behavior. Thus, there is no evidence to support the context hypothesis in the case of Mexican-American voters' behavior, but there is evidence to support the hypothesis in the case of Mexican voters when deciding for whom to vote. These experiments show the effect of different contexts on people's electoral behavior; while Mexicans favor the White candidate, Mexican-Americans oppose him. Mexican-Americans did not behave according to the racial norm of social equality, as phenotypes do matter in their voting decisions.

Phenotypes matter when participants evaluate candidates on individual traits, but they do not matter in the overall evaluation of the candidate as measured in the evaluative scale. The reason for these findings is that stereotypes associated to phenotypes affect a few traits, not all of them. The overall evaluation of the candidate is unaffected by phenotypic prejudice.

A puzzle arises from these findings. On the one hand, phenotypes did not matter when people evaluated candidates in either city on all the traits. On the other hand, phenotypes mattered at the electoral booth. If people voted for the candidate whom they

evaluated the highest in all traits, there should not be any significant predictors in the voting models, as none of the predictors explained participants' overall evaluation of the target candidate. But that is not the case; there are significant predictors in the voting models. This situation suggests that there are elements other than candidate evaluation that affect voters' final decision on whom to vote for. In regards to phenotypes affect subjects' evaluation of the target candidate and the probability of voting for him, the models also show that, so far, phenotypic prejudice does not influence voters' evaluation of a candidate. This evidence suggests that there are different elements that affect people's psychological processes when evaluating a candidate and deciding to vote for him. One could argue that in some contexts, phenotypic prejudice can explain the reason for discrepancies between the evaluations and the percentages of votes candidates receive. To look into this question, the following hypothesis is tested:

Evaluation and Propensity of Voting for a Candidate: Voters' overall evaluation of an electoral candidate should completely predict voters' probability of voting for the candidate.

The following model analyzes the overall effect that participants' evaluation of an electoral candidate has on their propensity to vote for him.

[Table 4.12 and Table 4.13 here]

This model shows that participants' evaluation of the target candidate has a significant and large effect on the probability that they will vote for the candidate. The model explains a larger variance of the voting variable than the two previous models.⁵⁸ The evaluation of the candidate has the expected sign (positive). Nevertheless, in comparison to

⁵⁸ The difference between the Cox & Snell- R² in this and the main hypothesis models for the Mexico sample is: 0.214-0.10=0.114. The difference between the Cox & Snell- R² in this and the main hypothesis models for the US sample is: 0.146-0.02=0.126.

the main hypothesis model, the main-White effect remains significant and retains the same sign in both sites. In the case of Mexico City, the absolute value of the main-White effect increases from 0.959 to 1.263 when compared to the main hypothesis model. In the case of Chicago, the same absolute value increases from 0.647 to 0.774 when compared to the same model. These results indicate that the effect of candidate evaluations is not mediating the effect of the treatment on vote choice.

In sum, while this model shows the significant influence of subjects' candidate evaluations on their probability of voting for him, it also shows the independent effect of the candidate's phenotypes on the same probability. Table 4.13 shows clearly the effect of different phenotypes on the probability of voting for a candidate, once controlling for candidate evaluation.

The next step is to determine whether this effect influences people's propensity of voting for the candidate depending on the experimental condition.

[Table 4.14 here]

At first glance, these models show the persistent, large, and significant effect of participants' candidate evaluations on their probability of voting for him. It also shows that the main-White effect loses significance for the Mexico City model yet remains significant for the Chicago model. The Indigenous condition becomes significant for the Mexico City model showing the negative influence of Indigenous phenotypes in subjects' probability of voting for the candidate when his evaluation is zero. Three of the multiplicative terms are statistically significant: the participants' evaluations in the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions for the Mexico City model and the participants' evaluations of the White candidate in the Chicago model.

The problem with this interpretation is that it is not accurate. The correct interpretation of a logit model with multiplicative terms involves computing predicted values or marginal effects with measures of uncertainty based on the cross-partial derivative of the model for each multiplicative term. The multiplicative terms might be significant at certain values of their own components, but not at others (Norton 2004; Kam and Franzese 2007).

Following Kam and Franzese's methods (2007), the predicted probability of voting for the candidate in each condition, depending on participants' evaluations of the electoral candidate, was calculated, as were the standard errors as a measure of uncertainty for the predicted value.⁵⁹ The results are displayed in the following two graphs.⁶⁰ Finally, the differences of the predicted probabilities of voting for the target candidate in both sites and in each condition are calculated.

[Graph 1 and 2 here]

[Table 4.15 and 4.16 here]

These graphs and tables reveal important differences within and between both sites among the four conditions.

Mexico City

In the case of Mexico City, the probability of voting for the White candidate was moderated by subjects' candidate evaluations, increasing at a steady pace when compared to the other conditions. The slope of the White candidate curve continued to increase until it reached 0.80 on the evaluative scale. The probability of voting for the White candidate is always greater than the probability of voting for the other candidates. The largest difference

⁵⁹ I used clarify in STATA to calculate both predicted and standard errors. Clarify relies on the Monte Carlo simulation for estimating different quantities after modeling the data. For more information: (King et al. 2000)

⁶⁰ The tables with the predicted values and their standard errors are in Appendix 3, Table A3.13 and Table A3.14.

between the White and the Control conditions' curves is at the value of 0.80 of the candidate evaluation. The differences between the probability of voting for the candidates in the Control and White conditions are statistically significant on higher scores of the evaluative scale: 0.60 (p-value=0.01); 0.70 (p-value=0.005); 0.80 (p-value=0.02); and 0.90 (p-value=0.06).

In the case of the White and Mestizo curves, the difference between them starts to increase from the beginning of the evaluative scale until it reaches its highest point, at the value of 0.90 on the scale. The difference is statistically significant on these evaluation scores: 0.50 (p-value=0.03); 0.60 (p-value=0.001); 0.70 (p-value=0.00); 0.80 (p-value=0.001); 0.90 (p-value=0.006); and 1.00 (p-value=0.020). Looking at the curves, we can see that after 0.80 on the evaluative scale, the slope of the White curve starts decreasing, while the slope of the Mestizo curve keeps increasing, slightly narrowing the advantage of the White candidate over the Mestizo one.

The most dramatic change in the behavior of the data is between the White and Indigenous curves. At the beginning of the evaluative scale, the Indigenous curve is at the bottom of all the curves, maintaining that position until it surpasses the Mestizo curve at 0.60 on the evaluative scale and the Control curve at 0.70. It is not surprising that the predicted scores of these values are statistically significant for the Indigenous candidate.⁶¹ The Indigenous slope starts increasing dramatically at 0.40 on the evaluative scale. The largest slope increase occurs from 0.60 to 0.70 as the slope increases by 1.088 units. The differences between the probability of voting for the Indigenous candidate and the probability of voting for the candidate in other conditions is significant in a negative direction when compared to the White candidate on evaluation scores of 0.50 (p-

⁶¹ The table with the predicted values and their standard errors is in Appendix 3, Table A3.13.

value=0.030); 0.60 (p-value=0.007); and 0.070 (p-value=0.098). The difference is significant and positive for the Indigenous candidate when compared to the Mestizo candidate on evaluation scores of 0.80 (p-value=0.040); 0.90 (p-value=0.021); and 1.00 (p-value=0.026).

The graph reveals the way phenotypic characteristics affect the relationship between participants' evaluations of the electoral candidate and their decision to vote for him. If we compare the White, Mestizo, and Indigenous conditions to the Control one, we find that phenotypic prejudice works either for the benefit or detriment of the candidate, depending on his appearance.

As previously mentioned, the phenotypes of the candidates matter as voters' candidate evaluations increase. For example, the probability of voting for the target candidate in the Control condition is always lower than the probability of voting for the White candidate when the candidate. Interestingly, this difference becomes smaller between the White and Indigenous candidate when the candidates are highly evaluated. The candidate who suffers most from his appearance is the Mestizo one. As mentioned, the probability of voting for the Mestizo candidate is always the lowest until reaching a score of 0.80 on the evaluative scale; at this point, the probability of voting for the Mestizo candidate is higher than for the candidate in the Control condition. This is an interesting finding because the theory in this dissertation predicts that if a person is viewed as Indigenous-looking, he will suffer more discrimination. These results show that for the sample in Mexico City, this is not the case; the probability of voting for the Mestizo candidate is lower than the probability of voting for the Indigenous candidate at high values on the evaluative scale. If phenotypes did not affect the relationship between candidate evaluation and voters' voting choices, all the curves would behave similarly to the Control condition curve, and that is not the case.

Chicago

As we would expect, the graph of the Chicago model shows the opposite effect for the White condition than the graph of Mexico City's model. There is also another interesting finding: the Mestizo and Indigenous curves display similar behavior to that of the Control condition curve.

In the case of the White candidate, the probability of voting for him is always the lowest of the four candidates, except at high evaluation scores (0.80 for the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions and 0.90 for the Control condition.) The only significant differences are between the White and Control conditions (scores: 0.50, 0.60, and 0.70) and the White and Indigenous conditions (scores: 0.60 and 0.70.) The highest difference between the White curve and the other three happens at 0.60 value of the evaluative scale, and all these differences are statistically significant. The predicted values for the White candidate become and remain significant after that same value (0.60).⁶² The highest increase of the slope for the White curve occurs from 0.50 to 0.60 of the scale.

The Control condition curve is almost always the one with the highest voting probability. The exceptions are at low evaluation scores (0 and 0.10), where the Indigenous curve is above the Control one; after 0.90, the White curve exceeds the Control curve. The Mestizo curve is under the Indigenous one from the beginning of the scale until the candidate gets a score of 0.90.

There is strong evidence that a negative effect of White phenotypes exists in the relationship between a candidate's evaluation and voters' decisions to vote for him, up to high evaluation scores. The evidence for the effect of Mestizo and Indigenous phenotypes on this relationship is less strong, as the curves behave similarly to the Control curve. The

⁶² The table with the predicted values and their standard errors is in Appendix 3, Table A3.14.

effect of Mestizo and Indigenous phenotypes is slightly negative in comparison to the Control curve. These results show no support for the context hypothesis, according to which Mexican-Americans would follow the social norm of racial equality and would make political decisions unaffected by the target candidate's phenotypes.

Conclusion

The results in this chapter show that phenotypic appearance matters to voters of Mexican origin both in Mexico City and in Chicago. Mexicans have a significant tendency to vote for the White-looking candidate, regardless of their own appearance. In the case of Mexican-Americans, phenotypes matter in their political judgments (contrary to what the context hypothesis predicts), but in the opposite direction: Mexican-Americans tend not to vote for the White-looking candidate.

Mexicans behave accordingly to the expectations raised by Mexico's racial ideology. As explained in the previous chapter, Mexicans think of themselves as racial egalitarians, since the majority of them belong to the same racial group. This chapter argues and indicates that phenotypes matter when Mexicans act politically, for they give preference to White-looking candidates.

Mexican-Americans also behave according to the main hypothesis, but in direct opposition to Mexicans; they tend not to vote for the White candidate. One possible reason for this phenomenon might be that Mexican-Americans think that the White-looking candidate is not Mexican enough. In studies of depression among Mexican-Americans, it has been documented that fair-skinned Mexican-Americans women are more likely to be depressed than their darker-skinned counterparts. The authors argue that the reason for this higher rate of depression is that they suffer the rejection by both non-Hispanic Whites and

darker-skinned Mexican-Americans. Mexican-Americans tend to reject fair-skinned Mexican-American females because they do not consider them “Mexican-enough” (Montalvo and Codina 2001). Extrapolating these findings, one could argue that the participants in the study do not think that the White-looking Mexican-American candidate is Mexican enough; therefore, he will not represent Mexican-American interests as well as the Mestizo and Indigenous candidates will. In a study of Chicago Latinos, Michelson (2001) shows that Mexican-Americans tend to trust the government less than Mexican immigrants do. Michelson argues that the reason for this behavior is that Mexican-Americans have experienced racial conflict and have been segregated into mainly Mexican-American neighborhoods with less economic and political opportunities. In the case of Mexican immigrants, they tend to come to the U.S. with hopes of improving themselves and with positive images of the U.S. as the land of opportunity. These findings support the idea that Mexican-Americans will not trust the White candidate, as he does not look Mexican enough for them.

Phenotypes influence Mexicans and Mexican-Americans candidate evaluations in specific traits, but they do not affect their overall candidate evaluation. As in the case of voting preference, Mexicans evaluate more positively the White candidate, specifically on his leadership skills. In the same way, Mexican-Americans find the White candidate less agreeable and empathetic than the other candidates. Interestingly there is similar support for the matching hypothesis in both sites: Mestizo subjects evaluate the Mestizo candidate better on three traits (competency in Mexico City, and honesty in both sites). There is also similar evidence contrary to the matching hypothesis: Indigenous subjects evaluate more poorly the Indigenous candidates in three traits (diligence and leadership in Mexico City; ability to keep campaign promises in Chicago).

Phenotypes and voters' candidate evaluations independently affect their probability of voting for that candidate. Both the positive and negative effects of White phenotypes in Mexico City and Chicago, respectively, remain the same once the results are controlled for participants' candidate evaluations. Looking at the way these two variables interact (candidate's phenotypes and candidate evaluation), similar and opposite results are found in both places. In the case of Mexico City, the positive White effect remains once results are control for voters' candidate evaluations, but only at the middle and higher end of the evaluative scale. By contrast, in the case of Chicago, the results show a negative effect for the White candidate, which remains only at the middle and higher end of the evaluative scale.

Table 4.1
Vote for Target Candidate

Variable	Mexico City		Chicago	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Phenotypes	-1.899*	1.117	-0.579	0.706
White condition	0.959**	0.390	-0.647*	0.380
Mestizo condition	-0.791	0.625	-0.203	0.360
Indigenous condition	-0.199	0.456	-0.127	0.365
Age	1.830***	0.693	-0.376	0.605
Gender	-0.282	0.348	-0.161	0.284
Income	0.840	0.752	-0.278	0.433
Education	-1.016	0.953	-0.145	0.919
Constant	-0.529	0.940	0.346	0.894
Cox & Snell- R²		0.10		0.02
Nagelkerke R²		0.15		0.02
N		229		261

***p-value<0.001; **0.001<p-value<0.05; *0.05<p-value<0.10

Table 4.2⁶³
Predicted Voting Preferences from the Main Hypothesis Model

Conditions	Mexico City	Chicago
Control	18%	41%
White	37%	27%
Mestizo	13%	36%
Indigenous	16%	38%

⁶³ The control variables are set to their average when calculating the predicted values. In the case of Mexico City these values are: income, 0.493; education, 0.626; age, 34; phenotypes, 0.554. In the case of Chicago these values are: income, 0.440; education, 0.745; age, 27; phenotypes, 0.580. For both samples, gender was set to 1 (woman).

Table 4.3
Matching Hypothesis and Vote for Target Candidate

Variable	Mexico City		Chicago	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	1.093**	0.439	-0.375	0.489
Mestizo condition	-1.191	0.868	-0.037	0.509
Match	0.631	0.773	0.135	0.579
White*Match	0.072	0.907	-0.338	1.086
Mestizo*Match	0.441	0.646	0.109	0.863
Phenotypes	-1.195	1.486	0.678	1.031
Age	1.783**	0.787	-0.518	0.742
Sex	-0.074	0.395	0.009	0.349
Income	0.934	0.852	-0.011	0.547
Education	-0.747	1.067	-0.561	1.098
Constant	-1.534	1.216	0.296	1.069
Cox & Snell- R²		0.09		0.01
Nagelkerke R²		0.14		0.02
N		172		211

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10

Table 4.4
Evaluation of Target Candidate

Variable	Mexico City		Chicago	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Phenotypes	0.024	0.071	-0.042	0.045
White condition	0.001	0.028	-0.001	0.024
Mestizo condition	-0.025	0.030	0.019	0.023
Indigenous condition	-0.025	0.030	0.015	0.024
Age	0.001#	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	-0.006	0.022	-0.003	0.018
Income	0.025	0.045	-0.058**	0.028
Education	-0.093#	0.060	-0.024	0.060
Constant	0.580	0.071	0.717	0.060
R²		0.044		0.028
N		228		262

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.5
Evaluation of Target Candidate on Each Trait among Mexicans, Control Condition Excluded

Variables	Likeable		Competent		Trustworthy		Honest		Empathy	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	-0.020	0.033	0.002	0.042	-0.024	0.039	-0.020	0.036	-0.018	0.044
Mestizo condition	-0.049 [#]	0.035	-0.014	0.045	-0.004	0.041	-0.016	0.038	-0.052	0.046
Indigenous condition	-0.016	0.036	-0.043	0.045	-0.060 [#]	0.042	-0.032	0.039	-0.011	0.046
Phenotypes	0.071	0.083	-0.031	0.105	0.079	0.098	0.037	0.091	0.051	0.109
Age	0.001	0.001	0.002 [#]	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003 ^{**}	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	-0.020	0.026	-0.005	0.033	-0.010	0.030	-0.031	0.028	-0.010	0.034
Income	0.081 [#]	0.054	-0.007	0.067	-0.035	0.062	0.001	0.058	0.006	0.070
Education	-0.207 ^{**}	0.072	-0.047	0.089	-0.030	0.082	-0.053	0.077	-0.102	0.091
Constant	0.645 ^{***}	0.085	0.587 ^{***}	0.107	0.547 ^{***}	0.099	0.479 ^{***}	0.092	0.568 ^{***}	0.110
R²		0.075		0.023		0.035		0.048		0.029
N		224		225		226		226		224

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.5 (cont.)
Evaluation of Target Candidate on Each Trait among Mexicans, Control Condition Excluded

Variables	Industrious		Intelligent		Keep Promises		Leadership	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	0.011	0.036	0.006	0.039	0.004	0.041	0.052 [#]	0.035
Mestizo condition	-0.052 [#]	0.038	-0.032 [*]	0.041	-0.008	0.044	-0.005	0.037
Indigenous condition	-0.020	0.038	-0.016	0.041	-0.030	0.044	-0.022	0.037
Phenotypes	0.079	0.092	0.017	0.098	0.013	0.104	-0.013	0.087
Age	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.002 [#]	0.001	0.002 [#]	0.001
Gender	0.036 [#]	0.028	-0.005	0.030	-0.006	0.032	-0.003	0.027
Income	0.113 ^{**}	0.058	0.084 [#]	0.062	0.030	0.066	-0.047	0.055
Education	-0.168 ^{**}	0.076	-0.145 [*]	0.082	-0.066	0.087	-0.018	0.073
Constant	0.664 ^{***}	0.092	0.618 ^{***}	0.098	0.511 ^{***}	0.105	0.573 ^{***}	0.087
R²		0.047		0.035		0.021		0.045
N		226		225		229		227

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.6
Evaluation of Target Candidate on Each Trait among Mexicans, White Condition Excluded

Variables	Industrious		Leadership	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Control condition	-0.011	0.036	-0.052 [#]	0.035
Mestizo condition	-0.062 [*]	0.037	-0.056 [#]	0.036
Indigenous condition	-0.030	0.037	-0.074 ^{**}	0.036
Phenotypes	0.079	0.092	-0.013	0.087
Age	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.001
Gender	0.036 [#]	0.028	-0.003	0.027
Income	0.113 ^{**}	0.058	-0.047	0.055
Education	-0.168 ^{**}	0.076	-0.018	0.073
Constant	0.674 ^{***}	0.091	0.625 ^{***}	0.088
R²		0.047		0.045
N		226		227

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.7
Evaluation of Target Candidate on Each Trait among Mexican-Americans, Control Condition Excluded

Variables	Likeable		Competent		Trustworthy		Honest		Industrious	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	-0.007	0.032	0.024	0.035	-0.002	0.036	0.009	0.033	-0.036	0.033
Mestizo condition	0.058*	0.032	0.036	0.035	0.036	0.035	0.019	0.032	0.004	0.033
Indigenous condition	0.059*	0.032	-0.007	0.036	0.010	0.036	0.019	0.033	-0.009	0.034
Phenotypes	-0.017	0.060	-0.045	0.066	-0.154**	0.067	-0.024	0.061	0.031	0.063
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.002*	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002 [#]	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	0.006	0.025	-0.008	0.027	-0.002	0.027	0.009	0.025	-0.005	0.026
Income	-0.055 [#]	0.037	-0.082**	0.041	-0.039	0.042	-0.063*	0.038	-0.072*	0.039
Education	0.050	0.080	-0.033	0.088	-0.218**	0.089	-0.190**	0.081	0.102	0.083
Constant	0.678***	0.077	0.720***	0.089	0.872***	0.089	0.739***	0.082	0.658***	0.084
R²		0.036		0.036		0.058		0.053		0.023
N		262		264		264		261		260

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.7 (cont.)
Evaluation of Target Candidate on Each Trait among Mexican-Americans, Control Condition Excluded

Variables	Intelligent		Keep Promises		Leader		Empathy	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	-0.039	0.033	0.018	0.036	0.034	0.036	-0.014	0.040
Mestizo condition	-0.030	0.033	0.008	0.035	0.029	0.035	0.022	0.039
Indigenous condition	-0.035	0.034	0.018	0.036	0.031	0.036	0.042	0.040
Phenotypes	-0.020	0.063	-0.052	0.067	-0.061	0.067	-0.040	0.075
Age	0.000	0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	0.001	0.026	0.021	0.027	-0.025	0.027	-0.031	0.030
Income	-0.029	0.039	-0.056 [#]	0.042	-0.101 ^{**}	0.041	-0.032	0.046
Education	0.015	0.084	0.066	0.089	0.039	0.089	-0.043	0.099
Constant	0.743 ^{***}	0.081	0.665 ^{***}	0.090	0.705 ^{***}	0.090	0.696 ^{***}	0.100
R²		0.009		0.021		0.030		0.019
N		264		263		261		262

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.8
Evaluation of Target Candidate on Each Trait among Mexican-Americans, White Condition Excluded

Variables	Likeable		Empathy	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Control condition	0.007	0.032	0.014	0.040
Mestizo condition	0.065**	0.032	0.036	0.040
Indigenous condition	0.066**	0.033	0.056 [#]	0.041
Phenotypes	-0.017	0.060	-0.040	0.075
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	0.006	0.025	-0.031	0.030
Income	-0.055 [#]	0.037	-0.032	0.046
Education	0.050	0.080	-0.043	0.099
Constant	0.670***	0.079	0.682***	0.098
R²		0.036		0.018
N		262		263

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.9
Matching Effects and Evaluation of Target Candidate, White Condition Omitted

Variable	Mexico City		Chicago	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Mestizo condition	-0.039	0.035	0.016	0.028
Indigenous condition	-0.001	0.040	0.030	0.035
Mestizo*Match	0.038	0.044	-0.006	0.061
Indigenous*Match	-0.048	0.051	-0.045	0.068
Match variable	-0.016	0.037	0.023	0.049
Phenotypes	0.007	0.095	0.004	0.065
Age	0.002 [#]	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	-0.019	0.027	-0.020	0.022
Income	0.032	0.055	-0.059 [*]	0.035
Education	-0.092 [#]	0.072	-0.043	0.070
Constant	0.588 ^{***}	0.089	0.700 ^{***}	0.077
R²		0.059		0.03
N		170		194

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.10
Matching Hypothesis and Candidate Evaluation on Individual Traits among Mexicans

Variable	Competent		Industrious		Intelligent		Leadership	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Mestizo condition	-0.048	0.050	-0.077*	0.044	-0.080*	0.047	-0.053	0.042
Indigenous condition	-0.050	0.057	0.023	0.049	0.000	0.052	0.001	0.047
Mestizo*Match	0.101 ^{##}	0.062	0.024	0.055	0.104*	0.058	0.019	0.052
Indigenous*Match	0.011	0.074	-0.099 [#]	0.063	-0.055	0.067	-0.147**	0.060
Match	-0.055	0.053	0.022	0.046	-0.032	0.050	-0.016	0.044
Phenotypes	-0.110	0.135	0.055	0.119	0.009	0.128	0.074	0.113
Age	0.002 [#]	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.002 [#]	0.001	0.001	0.001
Gender	-0.034	0.038	0.022	0.033	-0.004	0.035	-0.026	0.032
Income	0.000	0.078	0.108 [#]	0.068	0.127*	0.073	-0.038	0.065
Education	-0.035	0.104	-0.175**	0.090	-0.163*	0.096	-0.002	0.086
Constant	0.687***	0.129	0.678***	0.110	0.614***	0.119	0.591***	0.105
R²		0.059		0.061		0.081		0.086
N		168		169		167		168

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.11
Matching Hypothesis and Candidate Evaluation on Individual Traits among Mexican-Americans

Variable	Likeable		Honest		Keep Promises	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Mestizo condition	0.064*	0.037	-0.022	0.035	-0.015	0.042
Indigenous condition	0.051	0.046	0.043	0.044	0.060	0.052
Mestizo*Match	-0.024	0.080	0.108 [#]	0.077	-0.013	0.092
Indigenous*Match	0.037	0.090	-0.047	0.086	-0.181*	0.103
Match	-0.020	0.064	-0.031	0.061	0.091	0.074
Phenotypes	-0.031	0.086	0.030	0.083	0.043	0.099
Age	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.001	-0.001	0.001
Gender	-0.028	0.029	-0.017	0.028	0.013	0.034
Income	-0.052	0.046	-0.084*	0.044	-0.019	0.052
Education	0.047	0.092	-0.234***	0.088	-0.076	0.106
Constant	0.672***	0.101	0.783***	0.097	0.710***	0.116
R²		0.037		0.117		0.043
N		194		194		195

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;

##0.001<p-value<0.05;

#0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Table 4.12
Relationship between Evaluation and Vote for Target Candidate

Variable	Mexico		US	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	1.263**	0.483	-0.774*	0.414
Mestizo condition	-0.191	0.551	-0.357	0.388
Indigenous condition	-0.036	0.562	-0.210	0.392
Candidate evaluation	6.928***	1.377	6.858***	1.253
Age	1.268*	0.760	0.042	0.975
Gender	-0.095	0.363	-0.396	0.659
Income	1.124	0.809	0.058	0.473
Education	-0.799	1.083	0.042	0.975
Constant	-6.132***	1.156	-4.922***	1.186
Cox & Snell- R ²		0.214		0.146
Nagelkerke R ²		0.314		0.200
N		223		258

***p-value<0.001; **0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10

Table 4.13
Predicted Voting Preference by Evaluation and Phenotypes⁶⁴

Condition	Mexico City	Chicago
Control	36%	31%
White	65%	17%
Mestizo	23%	24%
Indigenous	35%	27%

⁶⁴ The control variables are set to their average when calculating the predicted values. In the case of Mexico City these values are: candidate evaluation, 0.577; income, 0.493; education, 0.626; age, 34. In the case of Chicago these values are: candidate evaluation, 0.673; income, 0.440; education, 0.745; age, 27. For both samples, gender was set to 1 (woman).

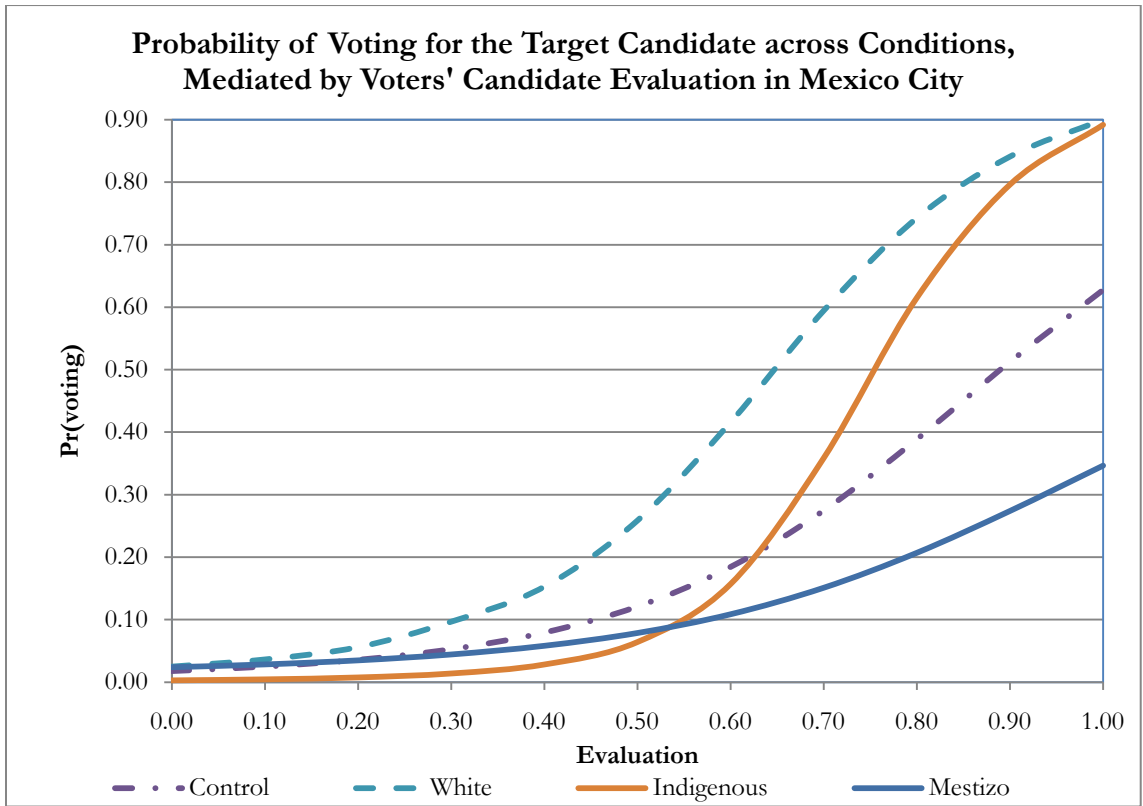
Table 4.14
Evaluating and Voting for Target Candidate with Multiplicative Terms

Variable	Mexico City		Chicago	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
White condition	-0.259	2.01	-5.943**	3.076
Mestizo condition	0.329	0.621	-0.704	2.341
Indigenous condition	-3.949 [#]	2.843	0.049	2.263
Candidate evaluation	5.229**	1.815	5.550**	2.202
Candidate eval*White	2.388	3.188	7.172*	4.227
Candidate eval*Mestizo	-1.703 [#]	1.179	0.558	3.316
Candidate eval*Indigenous	6.206 [#]	4.313	-0.323	3.242
Education	-0.588	1.125	0.291	0.999
Age	1.307*	0.784	-0.410	0.663
Income	0.901	0.846	0.107	0.477
Gender	-0.135	0.370	-0.107	0.294
Constant	-5.045***	1.345	-4.258***	1.674
Cox & Snell- R ²		0.229		0.160
Nagelkerke R ²		0.335		0.220
N		223		258

***p-value<0.001; **0.001<p-value<0.05; *0.05<p-value<0.10 (two-tail test)

###p-value<0.001;##0.001<p-value<0.05; #0.05<p-value<0.10 (one-tail test)

Graph 4.1



Graph 4.2

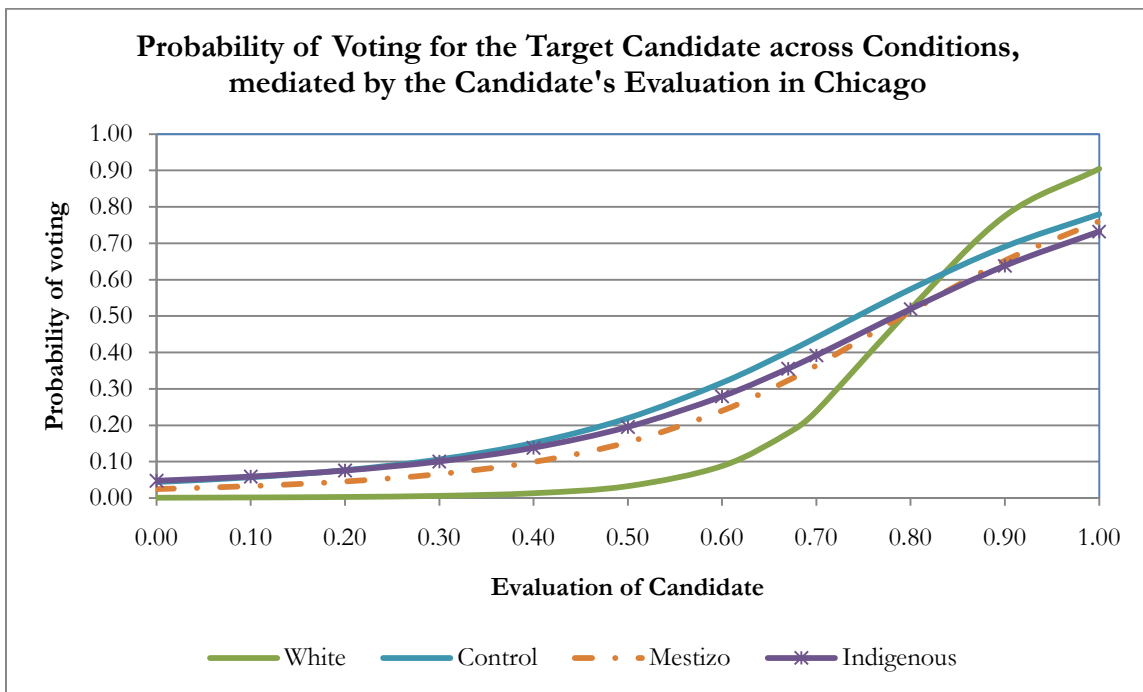


Table 4.15
Differences between Predicted Probabilities of Voting for the Target Candidate in
each Condition Mediated by Candidate Evaluation in Mexico City

Evaluation	Control-White	SE	Control-Mestizo	SE	Control-Indigenous	SE
0.00	-0.007	0.059	-0.006	0.018	0.014	0.029
0.10	-0.011	0.065	-0.004	0.018	0.020	0.033
0.20	-0.020	0.074	0.001	0.021	0.028	0.039
0.30	-0.038	0.083	0.008	0.027	0.038	0.046
0.40	-0.073	0.090	0.021	0.038	0.051	0.056
0.50	-0.138	0.090	0.042	0.055	0.056	0.069
0.60	-0.232**	0.090	0.076	0.079	0.027	0.088
0.70	-0.320**	0.113	0.123	0.112	-0.085	0.130
0.80	-0.354**	0.147	0.182	0.148	-0.227	0.189
0.90	-0.329*	0.171	0.238	0.180	-0.284	0.205
1.00	-0.273	0.184	0.281	0.203	-0.265	0.201

Evaluation	White-Mestizo	SE	White-Indigenous	SE	Mestizo-Indigenous	SE
0.00	0.001	0.061	0.022	0.053	0.021	0.035
0.10	0.008	0.065	0.031	0.059	0.024	0.036
0.20	0.021	0.071	0.048	0.067	0.027	0.038
0.30	0.046	0.078	0.076	0.077	0.030	0.042
0.40	0.094	0.084	0.124	0.085	0.030	0.050
0.50	0.180**	0.084	0.194**	0.089	0.014	0.063
0.60	0.307***	0.090	0.259**	0.096	-0.049	0.086
0.70	0.443***	0.123	0.236*	0.142	-0.208	0.135
0.80	0.536***	0.165	0.127	0.196	-0.408**	0.198
0.90	0.567**	0.203	0.045	0.196	-0.522**	0.225
1.00	0.553**	0.237	0.008	0.170	-0.545**	0.244

***p-value<0.001; **0.001<p-value<0.05; *0.05<p-value<0.10

Table 4.16
Differences between Predicted Probabilities of Voting for the Target Candidate in
each Condition Mediated by Candidate Evaluation in Chicago

Evaluation	Control-White	SE	Control-Mestizo	SE	Control-Indigenous	SE
0.00	0.040	0.074	0.013	0.097	-0.002	0.104
0.10	0.053	0.078	0.018	0.103	-0.001	0.108
0.20	0.071	0.083	0.024	0.109	0.001	0.114
0.30	0.097	0.087	0.032	0.115	0.004	0.119
0.40	0.135	0.090	0.044	0.118	0.010	0.121
0.50	0.183**	0.090	0.057	0.114	0.019	0.115
0.60	0.223**	0.088	0.070	0.098	0.031	0.097
0.70	0.195**	0.095	0.074	0.091	0.044	0.091
0.80	0.046	0.135	0.063	0.125	0.051	0.125
0.90	-0.089	0.157	0.045	0.163	0.052	0.165
1.00	-0.127	0.145	0.029	0.180	0.047	0.184

Evaluation	White-Mestizo	SE	White-Indigenous	SE	Mestizo-Indigenous	SE
0.00	-0.026	0.060	-0.049	0.091	-0.023	0.106
0.10	-0.034	0.063	-0.060	0.093	-0.026	0.109
0.20	-0.046	0.067	-0.076	0.096	-0.030	0.113
0.30	-0.063	0.073	-0.098	0.098	-0.035	0.117
0.40	-0.089	0.079	-0.129	0.100	-0.040	0.119
0.50	-0.123	0.084	-0.167*	0.099	-0.044	0.115
0.60	-0.150*	0.088	-0.193**	0.095	-0.043	0.100
0.70	-0.118	0.093	-0.150	0.096	-0.032	0.090
0.80	0.012	0.129	0.001	0.132	-0.012	0.122
0.90	0.122	0.160	0.130	0.163	0.008	0.164
1.00	0.143	0.158	0.163	0.163	0.020	0.186

***p-value<0.001; **0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The motivation behind this research was to explore and analyze the existence and expression of stereotypes associated with people's racial appearance, when such appearance is not supposed to be problematic. The study of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans is ideal for this enterprise. Both groups share a common understanding of their racial origins, which is derived from the Mestizo racial ideology, yet they live in different social contexts and respond to different parameters of social behavior.

The discussion of racial awareness in Mexico and the U.S. in Chapter 2 showed the discrepancy between the two polities in their understandings of the term "race." The majority of Mexicans believe that their society is free of racism, or at least the racism that affects American society. The 2005 two diplomatic incidents between the Mexican and U.S. governments surrounding President's Fox comments about Mexican immigrants doing the jobs "blacks do not want to" in the U.S., and the printing of postal stamps depicting Memín Pinguín (the Black comic strip character) underscored the different perception of racism between the two polities. A common response from Mexicans to the U.S. accusation that the postal stamps were racist was that Mexicans do not differentiate among each other in terms of their appearance; rather, if discrimination takes place, it does so along the lines of social class. The majority of Mexicans believe that their society is free of racism because they endorse the Mestizo ideology. This ideology groups the majority of the population under the

same racial group, regardless of their phenotypic appearance; thus, it is hard to argue the existence of racism among Mexicans if everyone is a member of the same racial group. Nevertheless, research on the construction and development of the Mestizo ideology shows that this ideology attaches more value to European or White heritage over Indigenous heritage (Gall 2004; Knight 1990; Urías Horcasitas 2007), thus opening the door for discrimination to occur. Based on this research, I argued that people of Mexican origin are cognizant of generally negative stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes and generally positive stereotypes associated with White or European phenotypes. Research on cognitive psychology shows that people automatically use stereotypes in their daily lives; thus, one could expect that Mexicans and Mexican-Americans would act on stereotypes associated with Indigenous and White phenotypes. At the same time, people's actions are constrained by the norms regulating social behavior. These norms might promote a more conscious and negative reaction to such stereotypes; those individuals who have internalized the norms may be more aware of the stereotypes and may act in a deliberate manner to refute them.

Prejudiced Behavior and Stereotype Content

The findings of the stereotype experiment conducted among Mexicans were discussed in Chapter 3. The purposes of this experiment were to look at whether subjects differentiated other individuals of their group according to their phenotypes;⁶⁵ to explore the content of stereotypes associated to different phenotypes; and to analyze the influence of phenotypic stereotypes on people's judgments of others.

⁶⁵ The data from this experiment have not yet been analyzed.

This dissertation theorized, based on the study of the Mestizo ideology, that people of Mexican origin would assign positive stereotypical traits to White individuals, and negative ones to Indigenous individuals. The stereotype content section of the experiment tested this hypothesis. In a free-response task subjects listed all the traits that other people would ascribe to an individual whose picture was included in the task. The results of this study show that, with some notable exceptions, people are cognizant of more negative traits attached to Indigenous-looking individuals than to Mestizo or White-looking persons.

In general, participants gave higher scores to the White person on the level of skills mastered and economic status when compared to the Indigenous person. The Mestizo individual also scored higher than the Indigenous person on the level of skills mastered, as well on the quality of his character. Participants characterized the Indigenous individual as poor, with low skills and an unpleasant personality, who represented the “typical Mexican individual” and who was more conservative or traditional in terms of beliefs and lifestyle. In contrast to the participants in the White and Mestizo conditions, participants in the Indigenous one tended to mention a racial characteristic of the person when describing other people’s reactions towards him. The sole mention of phenotypic characteristics shows their relevance among Mexicans’ evaluation of others.

These findings support the stereotype hypothesis as subjects listed significantly more negative traits when evaluating the Indigenous person than when evaluating the others. These results speak directly to the idea that discrimination in Mexico occurs along the lines of social class (include the people from racial democracy thesis) (Tello Díaz 2005). Participants’ responses demonstrate that when Mexicans think of a poor individual, they picture an Indigenous-looking individual; when they think of an upper-class person, they picture a White-looking individual. As Mexico’s racial discourse does not employ the formal

language often used to talk about different groups, social class might cover that gap by providing people with a language with which they can differentiate “us” from “them.”

The experiment section that measured the influence of phenotypic stereotypes on people’s judgments of others tested two hypotheses. The first, the *main hypothesis*, argued that subjects would more positively evaluate a person with a certain phenotype (i.e. White) than a person with another phenotypic appearance (i.e. Indigenous). The second, the *matching hypothesis*, stated that subjects would give more positive evaluations to individuals who phenotypically look like them than to those who do not. It was expected that Mexican subjects would behave according to either one of these hypotheses, as social norms in Mexico do not restrain people from openly expressing prejudiced based on phenotypes. Furthermore, based on the Mestizo ideology, the expectation was that the White individual would be the best evaluated followed by the Mestizo person in second place, and the Indigenous person in third place.

The findings from the evaluative task show some support for the main hypothesis. Both the White and Indigenous individuals were more positively evaluated than the Mestizo one. The only trait in which the participants evaluated more positively the White individual over both the Mestizo and Indigenous individuals is intelligence. This finding shows that there are some traits more related to the stereotypes associated to phenotypes than others. According to the Mestizo ideology, one would expect that participants would show a positive bias towards the White individual, which is precisely what happened. However, it would also indicate that the Indigenous individual would be the worst evaluated of all, yet this did not happen.

The analysis of the matching hypothesis shows interesting findings. Mestizo subjects evaluated more positively the Mestizo individual when compared to the matching subjects in

the Indigenous and White conditions. The White individual only received a higher rating by White subjects when compared to the Indigenous participants' rating of the Indigenous individual's level of education. Furthermore, there are significant results contrary to the matching hypothesis. The non-matching subjects gave a better overall evaluation to the White and Indigenous individuals than to the Mestizo. The same pattern held true for the evaluation of the target individual on other traits. Non-matching subjects evaluated more positively the White individual (six traits); and the Indigenous individual (two traits).

The results of this experiment confirm the hypothesis that claims the existence of more negative stereotypical traits attributed to Indigenous individuals in comparison to White and Mestizo individuals. They also show that, in general, there are more positive traits assigned to White-looking people in Mexico. In general, the Mestizo individual received the worst evaluations from the non-matching subjects, as the Mestizo subjects evaluated him positively in some traits. The positive stereotypes associated to White people translate into positive judgments of the White individual. The negative stereotypes associated to Indigenous phenotypes seem to affect the evaluation of the Mestizo person but not the evaluation of the Indigenous one. Before discussing the possible reasons for these findings in social settings, the findings of the candidate experiment will shed light into whether people act similarly in political settings.

Electoral Consequences of Phenotypic Prejudice

Chapter 4 presents the experiment designed to test the consequences of phenotypic prejudice on Mexicans' and Mexican-Americans' political behavior. The experiment measures the influence of an electoral candidate's phenotypic appearance on voters' willingness to vote for him and on their evaluation of his character. Four hypotheses were

tested. The first hypothesis, the *main hypothesis*, argued that all participants, regardless of their phenotypes, would tend to favor an electoral candidate with a certain racial phenotype (i.e. White) over an electoral candidate with another phenotype (i.e. Indigenous). The *matching hypothesis* predicted that participants would tend to vote for and give better evaluations to those candidates who looked most like them. The *context hypothesis* argued that Mexicans would behave according to the main or matching hypotheses, while Mexican-Americans' evaluations of and willingness to vote for the candidate would not be affected by the candidate's phenotypes. Finally, after running the analysis for the three aforementioned hypothesis a new hypothesis was formulated, the *evaluation and propensity of voting* hypothesis which argued that voters' decisions to vote for a candidate should be completely explained by their evaluations of the candidate.

In terms of subjects' decisions to vote for the candidate, there is support for the main hypothesis in each site. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans showed completely opposing behavior, regardless of their phenotypes. Mexicans preferred to vote for the White candidate, while Mexican-Americans tended to do the opposite; they did not vote for the White candidate. Mexicans' behavior shows support for the context hypothesis, as phenotypes mattered in their voting decisions, while Mexican-Americans' behavior did not support the context hypothesis, which predicted that phenotypes would not matter in their vote choice. There is no support for the matching hypothesis in either group, as subjects did not tend to vote significantly for the candidate who shared their phenotypes. In the case of Mexico City the non-White subjects are the ones who vote for the White candidate.

There is evidence to support the main and matching hypotheses in subjects' evaluations of the electoral candidate in both sites. In Mexico City, subjects evaluated the target candidate more poorly on relevant traits in the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions

than they did in the control condition. The White candidate was considered a better leader than the candidate in the other conditions. There were mixed results for the matching hypothesis: Mestizo subjects behaved according to the hypothesis evaluating the Mestizo candidate more positively in two traits; while Indigenous subjects did not, as they evaluated more negatively the Indigenous candidate in two traits.

The results from Chicago show that subjects were influenced by the candidate's phenotype only when evaluating his likeability and empathy. Subjects in the Mestizo and Indigenous conditions evaluated the candidate as more likeable than did the subjects in the control and White conditions. Subjects found the Indigenous candidate more empathetic than the White candidate. The analysis of the matching hypothesis shows similar results to the data from the Mexico City experiment: the Mestizo participants evaluated the Mestizo candidate as more honest than did the non-Mestizo participants, while the Indigenous subjects evaluated the Indigenous candidate as less honest than did the non-Indigenous participants. These findings show that, for a few traits, the candidate's phenotypic appearance affected subjects' evaluations. In those cases, there is no support for the context hypothesis. As in the results from Mexico City, there were no significant results for the main and matching hypothesis in the analysis of the overall evaluative scale.

The last analysis examined whether subjects' evaluations of the candidate mediated the effect of the experimental condition on their willingness to vote for him. In the model with the main effects for the evaluative scale and experimental conditions, voters' evaluations of the candidate do explain part of the variance found in the vote variable, but the White effect remains significant and retains the same sign for both the Mexico City (positive sign) and Chicago (negative sign) models. These results indicate that the effect of candidate evaluations does not mediate the effect of the treatment on vote choice.

The model that includes the multiplicative terms for the candidate evaluation in each condition shows that phenotypes affect the relationship between subjects' candidate evaluations and their decision to vote for him in both sites. In the case of Mexico City, phenotypes have a substantial effect on the relationship between subjects' evaluations and their votes, beginning at the middle of the evaluative scale. Phenotypes are irrelevant at low values of the evaluative scale (values smaller than 0.50). The positive effect of the White condition is clear, as the probability of voting for this candidate is always the highest. An interesting finding is that at higher values on the evaluative scale, the Indigenous candidate is the most preferred candidate after the White one, and the difference between the Indigenous and Mestizo candidates is significant at the highest levels of candidate evaluation. The candidate who suffers most from his appearance is the Mestizo one. This is an interesting finding because the theory in this dissertation predicts that if a person is viewed as Indigenous-looking, he will suffer more discrimination, yet that does not occur here.

In the case of Chicago, the White phenotype negatively affects the relationship between participants' candidate evaluations and the probability of voting for him. The Mestizo and Indigenous curves display similar behavior to that of the control condition curve. The only significant differences are between the White and control conditions and the White and Indigenous conditions on the middle of the evaluative scale. In this case, phenotypes affect negatively the probability of voting for the White candidate when voters' evaluation is neither too low nor too high.

Social and Political Consequences of Stereotypes

The results presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 show that Mexicans behave according to the main hypothesis when evaluating White-looking individuals in both social

and political contexts. Mexicans behave according to the expectations: They hold in higher esteem and tend to vote for the White individual or candidate. Mexican-Americans also behave politically according the main hypothesis, as they evaluate a candidate less favorably based on his phenotype, but not in the ways expected. Unlike Mexicans, Mexican-Americans hold in lower esteem and tend not to vote for the White candidate. These results show support for the context hypothesis in Mexico City but a lack of support for the hypothesis in Chicago. If Mexican-Americans were following the social norm of racial equality, they should not express any significant dislike for any candidate. As was shown, Mexican-Americans expressed a dislike for the White-looking candidate.

Looking at the stereotype experiment in Mexico City, Mexicans knew of more negative stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes than they did regarding White and Mestizo phenotypes. An interesting finding in both chapters is that Mexican subjects evaluated the Indigenous individual and candidate more positively than they did the Mestizo individual. The same pattern arises when analyzing the influence of phenotypes on the relationship between participants' candidate evaluations and the probability of voting for the candidate. At higher levels of evaluation, the Indigenous candidate was preferred to the Mestizo candidate. These findings are unexpected, as research on Mestizo ideology suggests that participants would prefer the White individual followed by the Mestizo and then the Indigenous individuals.

This work indicates the existence of a racial inequality norm in Mexico, a norm that allows people to openly favor European heritage over Indigenous heritage. In the candidate experiment, the voters' preference for the Indigenous candidate is seen only at high levels of the evaluative scale. The subjects who evaluate an Indigenous candidate highly act against stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes. An initial explanation for these findings

could be that these subjects, as well as the undergraduate students sampled, are internally motivated to act against negative stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes.

The findings in favor of the Indigenous individual and candidate can also be addressed by the particularities of the experimental site. Politically speaking, Mexico City is one of the most progressive places of the country. Since 1997, its citizens have been able to elect a governor⁶⁶ and the left-wing party, *Partido de la Revolución Democrática*, has won every gubernatorial election and most of the mayoral races. Voters in Mexico City have elected openly gay representatives who claim to represent gay interests, and it is the only federal entity in Mexico where same-sex civil unions are lawful (Salazar and Pavón 2001).

Indigenous people in Mexico City are not physically segregated as in other states (e.g., Chiapas and Oaxaca). This lack of segregation means that prejudice against Indigenous communities and people may be less prominent than in places where such segregation exists. Another factor that may affect people's reactions to Indigenous people is the Zapatista movement. This movement, which initiated in 1994, raised issues of discrimination and indifference by society and the government toward Indigenous people. The movement drew solidarity from various sectors of society that have expressed support through such means as demonstrating in the streets of Mexico City. All these factors set Mexico City apart from southern states, such as Chiapas, where Indigenous communities are more numerous and where the spatial segregation between them and non-Indigenous communities is stricter.

The sample in the stereotype experiment was composed of undergraduate students, who by nature are in a privileged social position. Furthermore, a large majority of the students were enrolled as social science majors and as such might have been more sensitive

⁶⁶ As Mexico City is not a state, the governor of the city was designated by the President prior to 1997. The electoral reform of 1996 changed this arrangement, allowing Mexico City citizens to elect both their governor and mayors.

to issues of race. This is particularly likely since racial issues have been raised recently by the Zapatista movement.⁶⁷ Their situation as young people, living at a time where racial issues are being raised, and living in Mexico City might motivate them to act against the negative stereotypes regarding Indigenous phenotypes. In the case of the candidate experiment, the findings suggest that the probability of voting for an Indigenous candidate at high evaluation scores is higher than the probability of voting for the Mestizo candidate. Finally, the Mestizo candidate is evaluated more negatively in some traits (intelligence, diligence, and likeability) when compared to the Control condition. These results show that subjects are not acting on negative stereotypes associated with Indigenous phenotypes, and that in some circumstances they tend to vote more often for the Indigenous candidate. These results provide evidence that the social norm of racial inequality affects the way people express favoritism for the White individual and candidate, but they also show that groups of people might follow their own social norm, one that favors Indigenous phenotypes over Mestizo phenotypes, or that they are internally motivated to act against stereotypes regarding Indigenous phenotypes.

This research shows that context affects whether people follow certain social norms. It is reasonable to expect, for example, that the norm of racial inequality might be prevalent in places where spatial segregation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups is prevalent. The fact that the Mestizo individual or candidate cannot be identified as either White or Indigenous means that Mexican subjects are not positively biased towards him, and they might not be internally or externally motivated by their environment to act contrary to stereotypes regarding Indigenous phenotypes. Another possible explanation is that the Mestizo candidate depicts a common-looking politician in Mexico City, while the Indigenous

⁶⁷ Student support for the Zapatista movement ranges from the students adopting the Indigenous peoples' demands as their own to organizing concerts to raise funds for Indigenous communities, both in private and public universities.

candidate is not the norm. Subjects might be rewarding the Indigenous candidate because they think he is an exception to the rule: stereotypically, Indigenous-looking people do not have quite all the qualifications the candidate in the experiment has (Kunda and Oleson 1995).

Mestizo subjects both in Mexico City and Chicago evaluated the Mestizo individual and candidate highly. These findings suggest that non-matching subjects were responsible for the Mestizo's low evaluative scores in both tasks. This might mean that Mestizo subjects identify with the Mestizo individual or candidate, while the White and Indigenous subjects do not. Contrary to the Mestizos' behavior, Indigenous subjects in Mexico City and Chicago tended to give poor evaluations to the Indigenous candidate. A possible reason for such behavior is that Indigenous-looking subjects tend to be, in general, more skeptical about politics as they tend to be positioned in the lowest strata of society. In future research I will look at whether or not Indigenous-looking individuals trust politicians, regardless of the politicians' appearance, as much as do other subjects.

In the case of the negative effect of White phenotypes in Chicago, it could be that the participants in the study do not think that the White Mexican-American candidate is Mexican enough; therefore, he will not represent Mexican-American interests as well as will the Mestizo and Indigenous candidates (Montalvo 2004; Montalvo and Codina 2001). Research conducted on Chicago Latinos shows that Mexican-Americans tend to trust the government less than do Mexican immigrants (Michelson 2001). Michelson argues that the reason is that Mexican-Americans have experienced racial conflict and have been segregated into mainly Mexican-American neighborhoods with few economic and political opportunities. Mexican immigrants tend to come to the U.S. with hopes of improving themselves and with positive images of the country as a land of opportunity. These findings

support the idea that Mexican-Americans will not trust the White candidate, as they have suffered from racial conflict and can question the ethnic attachment of a White-looking Mexican-Americans candidate.

The results of this experiment might be also influenced by the dynamics of Chicago, and particularly of the Pilsen neighborhood, where I conducted my research. Pilsen is a predominantly Mexican-American neighborhood.⁶⁸ Its community is well-organized, with a network of organizations that have succeeded in obtaining benefits from the government, such as building its main high school in 1973, named Benito Juarez after the first Indigenous Mexican president (Puente 1996; UICNI 2009). The community was part of the “Brown Movement” that fought for improving the conditions of people of Mexican descent in the U.S. during the late Sixties and early Seventies (Puente 1996; UICNI 2009). It also mobilized in protests when they had to relocate so the state could build the campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago. The spatial segregation between different groups in Chicago—non-Hispanic Whites, African Americans, Mexican-Americans, and others—makes more salient the differences and conflicts between groups as they compete for scarce resources (Lee 2009).

Under these circumstances, it is possible that Mexican-Americans believe that the White-looking candidate is not Mexican enough. They might even be suspicious of a Mexican-American who could *pass* as a non-Hispanic White (Kennedy 2001). They might believe that this person does not share the problems that the voters face, or that he will work solely for the benefit of non-Hispanic Whites. The history and living situation of Mexican-Americans in Chicago might produce a sense of group identification that triumphs over the social norm of racial equality. Mexican-Americans will therefore look for a candidate who

⁶⁸ In 1998 Latinos represented 93.5% of the Pilsen population, and most of the Latinos were of Mexican descent (UICNI 2009).

looks like them and who identifies with their needs, discriminating against a candidate who does not look like them. This idea suggests that the norm of racial equality might work in some contexts, but not in others. The norm might prevent members of a group to make judgments regarding other groups based on their race, but it might not affect the way people think about members of their own group.

Consequences and Future Research

This dissertation shows the effect of racial phenotypes on Mexicans' and Mexican-Americans' social and political behavior. In spite of the idea that racism does not exist among members of these groups, this research shows the existence of negative stereotypes associated with certain phenotypes (e.g., Indigenous) and the expression of prejudiced behavior related to people's phenotypes. The findings in Chicago and Mexico City are conflicting: Mexicans favor a White-looking candidate while Mexican-Americans oppose the same White candidate. As previously discussed, this contrast can likely be explained by the social contexts in which the people live. While internalized racial ideologies do affect people's behavior, one has to look at the interaction of those ideologies within a person's social context. While it would be beneficial for politicians to look White in Mexico City, a White appearance is negative in Chicago.

The next step of this research is to conduct the stereotype experiment in Chicago. This research shows the value of comparing the effect of different contexts on people's prejudiced behavior. An extension of this dissertation is to compare the political behavior of different Mexican-American and Mexican communities. I expect to find differences within the U.S. and Mexico. In the U.S., I will select communities that differ in their level of segregation. I will look at the degree of racial segregation of Mexican-Americans in

California, Texas, and New York and compare these communities to Chicago. Another variable of interest is the level of Mexican-American mobilization as a group. In the case of Chicago, Mexican-Americans mobilize on the basis of their group membership, but this might not be the case in other places. In the case of Mexico I will explore the same issues in communities that vary in their level of Indigenous and non-Indigenous segregation and that vary in their political preferences. Such a study will not only provide insight into the effect that racial systems have on people's behavior, but it will also show the way contextual differences within one polity can affect people's prejudiced political behavior. A larger number of participants will allow looking with more confidence at the way people's phenotypes affect their evaluation of politicians who do not look like them.

After looking at Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, another test for the influence of social context on people's prejudices and behaviors is to look at Mexican immigrants, who vary in the amount of time spent in this country. One would predict that the longer an immigrant spends in the U.S., the closer their behavior will resemble that of U.S.-born Mexican-Americans. Studying the interaction between gender and phenotypes would clarify whether phenotypes affect women and men differently. Finally, survey research would be ideal for testing both the content and political consequences of stereotypes associated with different phenotypes among a representative sample of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Table A1.1
Racial categories in the Nueva España⁶⁹

Español con India ---Mestizo
Mestizo con Española---Castizo
Castizo con Española---Español
Español con Negra---Mulato
Mulato con Española---Chino (curly hair)
Chino con India---Salta atrás (step backwards)
Salta atrás con Mulata---Lobo (wolf)
Lobo con China---Gibaro (peasant)
Gibaro con Mulata---Albarazado
Albarazado con Negra---Cambujo
Cambujo con India---Zambaigo
Zambaigo con Loba---Calpamulato
Calpamulato con Cambuza---Tente en el aire (hummingbird)
Tente en el Aire con Mulata---No te entiendo (I don't understand)
No te entiendo con India---Torna atrás (throwback)

⁶⁹From (Shorris 2004, 464)

Appendix 2

Table A2.1
Differences among Subjects in Experimental Conditions, Stereotype Experiment,
First Section

Variable/Place	N	Mean	Std. Error
Income			
White	48	0.823	0.036
Mestizo	40	0.875	0.027
Indigenous	48	0.900	0.024
Total	136	0.865	0.018
Age			
White	48	21.250	0.230
Mestizo	40	21.100	0.226
Indigenous	48	21.521	0.296
Total	136	21.301	0.148
Gender			
White	48	0.521	0.073
Mestizo	40	0.625	0.078
Indigenous	48	0.438	0.072
Total	136	0.522	0.043
Phenotypic Appearance			
White	48	0.440	0.043
Mestizo	40	0.388	0.046
Indigenous	48	0.383	0.038
Total	136	0.404	0.024

Table A2.1 (cont.)
Differences among Subjects in Experimental Conditions, Stereotype Experiment,
First Section

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Income					
Between Groups	0.148	2	0.074	1.786	0.172
Within Groups	5.509	133	0.041		
Total	5.657	135			
Age					
Between Groups	4.061	2	2.030	0.681	0.508
Within Groups	396.579	133	2.982		
Total	400.64	135			
Gender					
Between Groups	0.767	2	0.384	1.538	0.219
Within Groups	33.167	133	0.249		
Total	33.934	135			
Phenotypic appearance					
Between Groups	0.095	2	0.047	0.586	0.558
Within Groups	10.787	133	0.081		
Total	10.882	135			

Table A2.2
Statistics of the Individual Traits in the Stereotype Experiment, Mexico City, First Section

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Likeable	136	0.000	0.833	0.458	0.182
Honesty	136	0.000	1.000	0.460	0.231
Formal Education	135	0.000	0.667	0.363	0.191
Friendly	136	0.000	0.833	0.338	0.168
Intelligence	136	0.000	0.833	0.453	0.193
Trustworthiness	136	0.000	1.000	0.414	0.226
Entrepreneurial	136	0.000	0.833	0.301	0.208
Sophisticated	136	0.000	1.000	0.290	0.217
Not Aggressive	109	0.000	1.000	0.492	0.231
Evaluative Scale	136	0.060	0.760	0.396	0.126

Graph A2.1
Distribution of Participants' Phenotypic Appearance

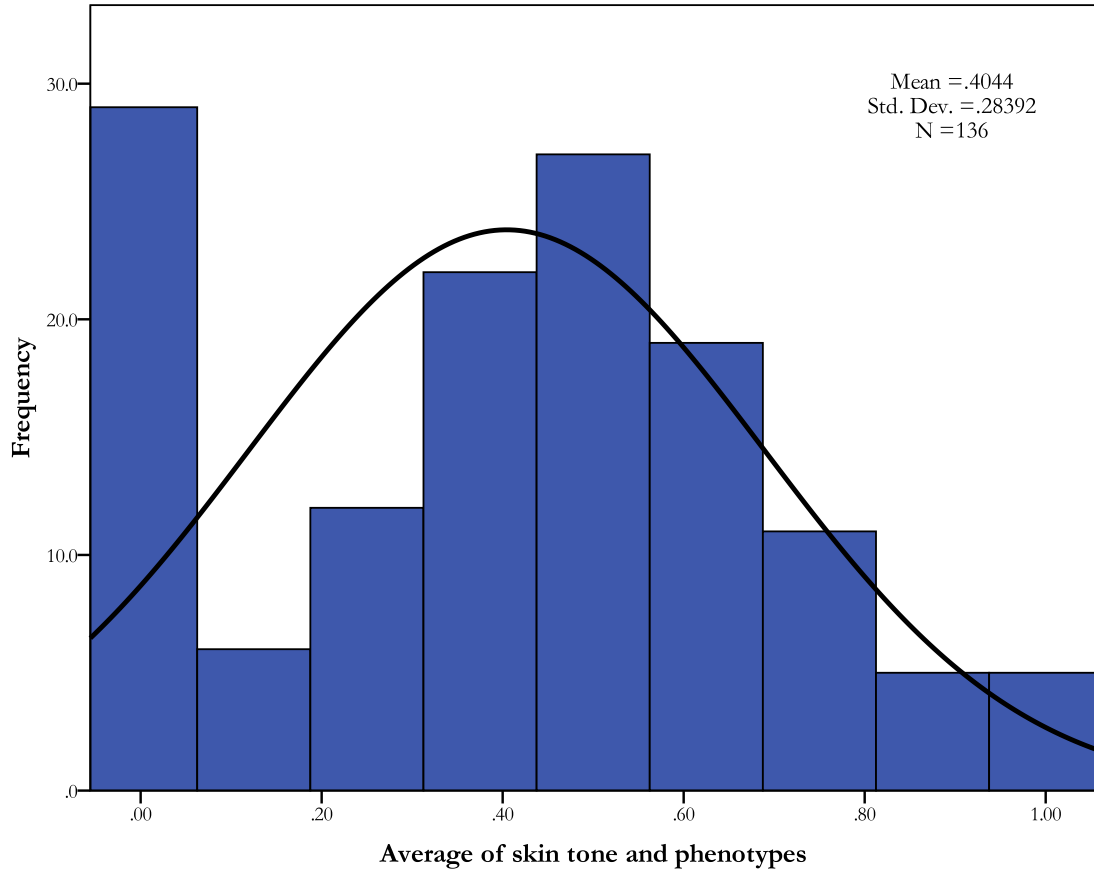


Table A2.3
Differences among Subjects in Experimental Conditions, Stereotype Experiment,
Second Section

Variable/Place	N	Mean	Std. Error
Income			
White	49	0.901	0.025
Mestizo	43	0.833	0.031
Indigenous	44	0.857	0.035
Total	136	0.865	0.018
Age			
White	49	21.327	0.248
Mestizo	43	21.279	0.271
Indigenous	44	21.295	0.255
Total	136	21.301	0.148
Gender			
White	49	0.429	0.071
Mestizo	43	0.605	0.075
Indigenous	44	0.545	0.076
Total	136	0.522	0.043
Phenotypic Appearance			
White	49	0.411	0.042
Mestizo	43	0.384	0.036
Indigenous	44	0.418	0.047
Total	136	0.404	0.024

Table A2.3 (cont.)
Differences among Subjects in Experimental Conditions, Stereotype Experiment,
Stereotype Content, Second Section

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Income					
Between Groups	0.110	2	0.055	1.319	0.271
Within Groups	5.547	133	0.042		
Total	5.657	135			
Age					
Between Groups	0.054	2	0.027	0.009	0.991
Within Groups	4000.586	133	3.012		
Total	400.64	135			
Gender					
Between Groups	0.746	2	0.373	1.494	0.228
Within Groups	33.188	133	0.250		
Total	33.934	135			
Phenotypic appearance					
Between Groups	0.028	2	0.014	0.172	0.842
Within Groups	10.854	133	0.082		
Total	10.882	135			

Table A2.4
Statistics of the Positive Traits in the Stereotype Experiment, Second Section

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Good Appearance	133	0.000	1.000	0.203	0.404
Good Person	133	0.000	1.000	0.541	0.500
Good Student	133	0.000	1.000	0.098	0.298
Good to Others	133	0.000	1.000	0.233	0.424
Happy	133	0.000	1.000	0.150	0.359
Advanced Skills	133	0.000	1.000	0.158	0.366
Intelligent	133	0.000	1.000	0.128	0.335
Pleasant	133	0.000	1.000	0.233	0.424
Responsible	133	0.000	1.000	0.203	0.404

Table A2.5
Statistics of the Negative Traits in the Stereotype Experiment, Second Section

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Bad Person	133	0.000	1.000	0.105	0.308
Bad Student	133	0.000	1.000	0.113	0.318
Low Skills	133	0.000	1.000	0.105	0.308
Negative to Others	133	0.000	1.000	0.150	0.359
Submissive	133	0.000	1.000	0.248	0.429
Unpleasant	133	0.000	1.000	0.150	0.359
Unintelligent	133	0.000	1.000	0.105	0.308

Table A2.6
Statistics of the Neutral Traits in the Stereotype Experiment, Second Section

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Average Person	133	0.000	1.000	0.158	0.366
Race	133	0.000	1.000	0.211	0.409
Low Social Class	133	0.000	1.000	0.173	0.380
Middle Social Class	133	0.000	1.000	0.256	0.438
Upper Social Class	133	0.000	1.000	0.105	0.308
Likes Sports	133	0.000	1.000	0.120	0.327
Student	133	0.000	1.000	0.248	0.434
Traditional	133	0.000	1.000	0.143	0.351
Typical Mexican	133	0.000	1.000	0.128	0.335

Appendix 3

Table A3.1

Characteristics of the Mexico City and Chicago samples

Variables	Mexico City Average (N)	Chicago Average (N)
Age	34 (250)	27 (281)
Phenotypic Appearance	0.55 (250)	0.58 (281)
Gender ⁷⁰	0.45 (250)	0.57 (281)
Income	0.49 (237)	0.44 (266)
Education	0.63 (241)	0.75 (274)

Table A3.2

Differences among the Mexico City and Chicago Samples

Education

Mexico City	241	0.620	0.017
Chicago	274	0.724	0.009
Total	515	0.675	0.010

Total	531	0.568	0.008
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Income

Mexico City	237	0.467	0.024
Chicago	266	0.444	0.020
Total	503	0.455	0.160

⁷⁰ This variable takes the value of 1 if the respondent is a woman and the value of 0 if the respondent is a man.

Table A3.2 (cont.)
Differences among the Mexico City and Chicago Samples

Variable/Place	N	Mean	Std. Error
Age			
Mexico City	248	0.310	0.016
Chicago	280	0.150	0.013
Total	528	0.220	0.011
Gender			
Mexico City	250	0.450	0.032
Chicago	280	0.570	0.030
Total	530	0.520	0.022

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.091	1	0.091	2.780	0.096
Within Groups	17.307	529	0.033		
Total	17.398	530			
Income					
Between Groups	0.069	1	0.069	0.559	0.455
Within Groups	62.134	501	0.124		
Total	62.203	502			

Table A3.2 (cont.)
Differences among the Mexico City and Chicago Samples

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Education					
Between Groups	1.388	1	1.388	31.427	0.000
Within Groups	22.655	513	0.044		
Total	24.043	514			
Age					
Between Groups	3.382	1	3.382	58.770	0.000
Within Groups	30.273	526	0.058		
Total	33.655	527			
Gender					
Between Groups	1.884	1	1.884	7.622	0.006
Within Groups	130.495	528	0.247		
Total	132.379	529			

Table A3.3
Statistics of the Candidates Traits in the Mexico City and Chicago Experiments

Chicago

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Competency	280	0.000	1.000	0.695	0.198
Ability to fulfill campaign promises	279	0.000	1.000	0.649	0.205
Industriousness	271	0.000	1.000	0.722	0.188
Honesty	272	0.170	1.000	0.615	0.185
Intelligence	280	0.170	1.000	0.713	0.190
Leadership	272	0.000	1.000	0.667	0.200
Likeability	273	0.170	1.000	0.690	0.181
Sympathy	273	0.000	1.000	0.657	0.222
Trustworthiness	280	0.000	1.000	0.646	0.204

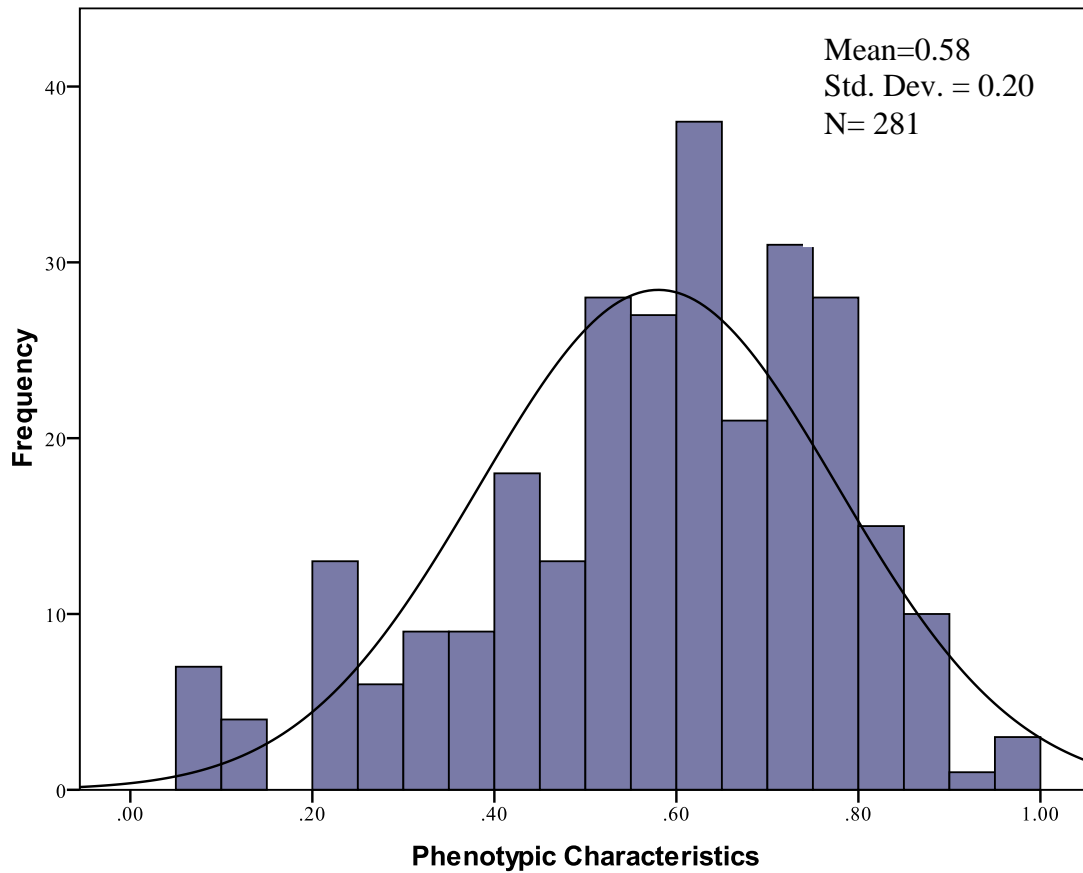
Mexico City

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Competency	237	0.000	1.000	0.585	0.226
Ability to fulfill campaign promises	241	0.000	1.000	0.545	0.223
Hard working	239	0.000	1.000	0.644	0.199
Honesty	239	0.000	1.000	0.523	0.199
Intelligence	237	0.000	1.000	0.624	0.211
Leadership	240	0.170	1.000	0.593	0.190
Likeability	237	0.170	1.000	0.581	0.187

Table A3.3 (cont.)
Statistics of the Candidates Traits in the Mexico City and Chicago Experiments
Mexico City

Traits	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Sympathy	237	0.000	1.000	0.552	0.233
Trustworthiness	240	0.000	1.000	0.555	0.209

Graph A3.1
Distribution of Participants' Phenotypic Appearance, Chicago



Graph A3.2
Distribution of Participants' Phenotypic Appearance, Mexico

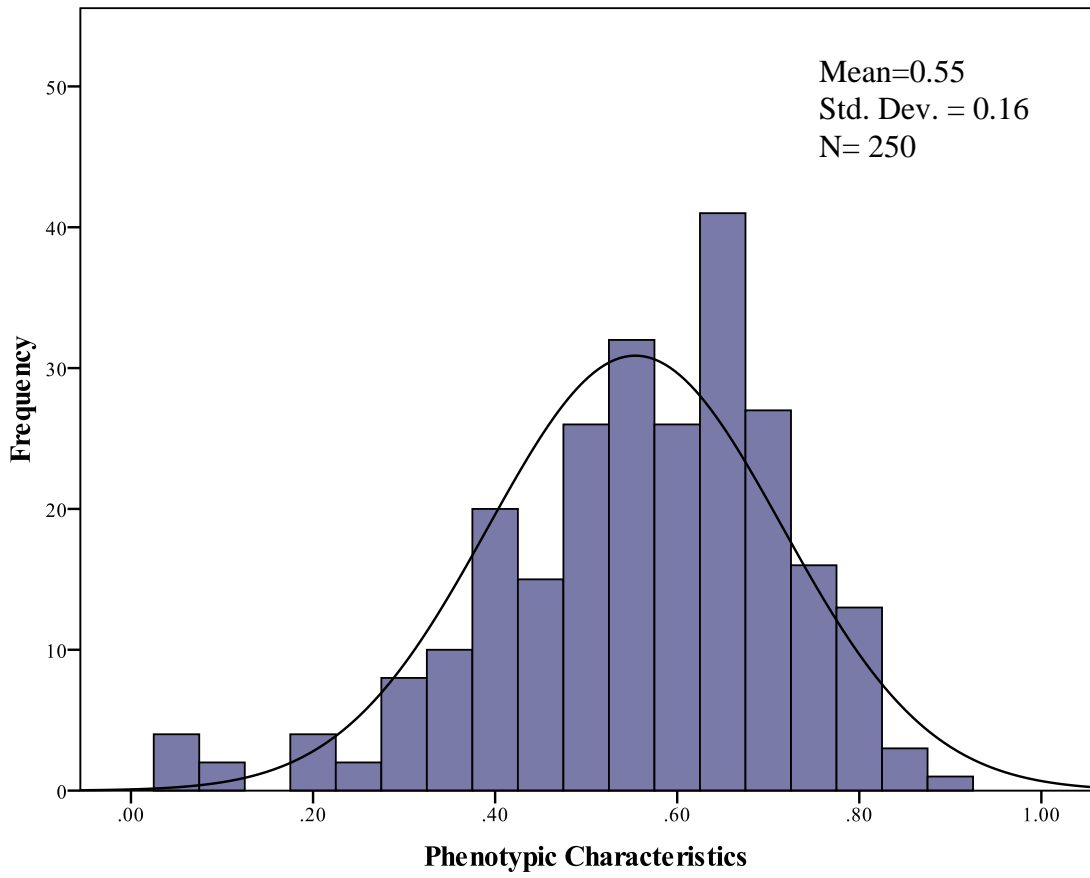


Table A3.4
Observed Values of Vote Intention and Evaluation of Target Candidate, per Condition, and per City (mean/N)

Condition	Vote		Evaluation	
	Mexico City	Chicago	Mexico City	Chicago
Control	21% (62)	41% (70)	0.60 (57)	0.67 (70)
White	38% (65)	28% (68)	0.58 (58)	0.66 (67)
Mestizo	19% (59)	37% (70)	0.57 (59)	0.68 (71)
Indigenous	21% (57)	36% (67)	0.55 (47)	0.68 (65)
Total	25% (243)	36% (275)	0.58 (221)	0.67 (273)

Table A3.5
Observed Values of Individual Evaluative Traits of Target Candidate, per Condition, Mexico City (mean/N)

Trait	Control	White	Mestizo	Indigenous
Intelligent	0.634 (62)	0.629 (63)	0.616 (59)	0.616 (53)
Keep Promises	0.553 (63)	0.551 (63)	0.548 (60)	0.525 (55)
Trustworthy	0.585 (63)	0.548 (63)	0.567 (60)	0.513 (54)
Competent	0.604 (61)	0.590 (64)	0.589 (60)	0.552 (52)
Likeable	0.608 (60)	0.576 (64)	0.558 (61)	0.580 (52)
Honest	0.538 (62)	0.511 (64)	0.534 (60)	0.507 (53)
Good Leader	0.598 (62)	0.627 (62)	0.583 (60)	0.558 (55)
Empathy	0.570 (62)	0.552 (62)	0.531 (60)	0.553 (53)
Industrious	0.663 (61)	0.662 (63)	0.609 (60)	0.639 (55)

Table A3.6
Observed Values of Individual Evaluative Traits of Target Candidate, per Condition,
Chicago (mean/N)

Trait	Control	White	Mestizo	Indigenous
Intelligent	0.740 (70)	0.697 (71)	0.710 (73)	0.705 (66)
Keep Promises	0.643 (70)	0.653 (70)	0.650 (73)	0.651 (66)
Trustworthy	0.628 (70)	0.634 (71)	0.673 (73)	0.646 (66)
Competent	0.678 (70)	0.706 (71)	0.721 (73)	0.674 (66)
Likeable	0.667 (70)	0.662 (67)	0.713 (71)	0.719 (65)
Honest	0.599 (69)	0.615 (67)	0.622 (71)	0.623 (65)
Good Leader	0.648 (70)	0.682 (67)	0.671 (70)	0.669 (65)
Empathy	0.643 (70)	0.629 (67)	0.669 (71)	0.687 (65)
Industrious	0.740 (70)	0.694 (67)	0.734 (71)	0.720 (63)

Table A3.7
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Evaluative Scale: Mexico City

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Error
Phenotypic Appearance			
Non-Missing	243	0.554	0.010
Missing	7	0.560	0.064
Total	250	0.554	0.010
Income			
Non-Missing	231	0.474	0.025
Missing	6	0.222	0.082
Total	237	0.468	0.024
Education			
Non-Missing	235	0.619	0.018
Missing	6	0.642	0.066
Total	241	0.620	0.017
Age			
Non-Missing	241	0.309	0.017
Missing	7	0.321	0.071
Total	248	0.309	0.016
Gender			
Non-Missing	243	0.457	0.032
Missing	7	0.286	0.184
Total	250	0.452	0.032

Table A3.7 (cont.)
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Evaluative Scale: Mexico City

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.000	1	0.000	0.010	0.920
Within Groups	6.466	248	0.026		
Total	6.466	249			
Income					
Between Groups	0.373	1	0.373	2.652	0.105
Within Groups	33.031	235	0.141		
Total	33.404	236			
Education					
Between Groups	0.003	1	0.003	0.041	0.840
Within Groups	17.245	239	0.072		
Total	17.248	240			
Age					
Between Groups	0.001	1	0.001	0.016	0.901
Within Groups	16.184	246	0.066		
Total	16.185	247			
Gender					
Between Groups	0.199	1	0.199	0.800	0.372
Within Groups	61.725	248	0.249		
Total	61.924	249			

Table A3.8
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Evaluative Scale: Chicago

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Error
Phenotypic Appearance			
Non-Missing	275	0.578	0.012
Missing	6	0.670	0.104
Total	281	0.580	0.012
Income			
Non-Missing	261	0.440	0.020
Missing	5	0.652	0.107
Total	266	0.444	0.020
Education			
Non-Missing	269	0.723	0.009
Missing	5	0.748	0.022
Total	274	0.724	0.009
Age			
Non-Missing	274	0.148	0.014
Missing	6	0.208	0.100
Total	280	0.149	0.013

Table A3.8 (cont.)
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Evaluative Scale: Chicago

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Error
Gender			
Non-Missing	274	0.573	0.030
Missing	6	0.500	0.224
Total	280	0.571	0.030

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.049	1	0.049	1.279	0.259
Within Groups	10.792	279	0.039		
Total	10.841	280			
Income					
Between Groups	0.220	1	0.220	2.037	0.155
Within Groups	28.510	264	0.108		
Total	28.730	265			
Education					
Between Groups	0.003	1	0.003	0.150	0.699
Within Groups	5.405	272	0.020		
Total	5.408	273			

Table A3.8 (cont.)
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Evaluative Scale: Chicago

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Age					
Between Groups	0.022	1	0.022	0.425	0.515
Within Groups	14.066	278	0.051		
Total	14.087	279			
Gender					
Between Groups	0.031	1	0.031	0.127	0.722
Within Groups	68.540	278	0.247		
Total	68.571	279			

Table A3.9
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Voting Question: Mexico City

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Error
Phenotypic Appearance			
Non-Missing	241	0.552	0.010
Missing	9	0.617	0.063
Total	250	0.554	0.010
Income			
Non-Missing	229	0.483	0.025
Missing	8	0.043	0.028
Total	237	0.468	0.024
Education			
Non-Missing	233	0.633	0.017
Missing	8	0.234	0.032
Total	241	0.620	0.017
Age			
Non-Missing	239	0.310	0.017
Missing	9	0.306	0.081
Total	248	0.309	0.016
Gender			
Non-Missing	241	0.444	0.032
Missing	9	0.667	0.167
Total	250	0.452	0.032

Table A3.9 (cont.)
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Voting Question: Mexico City

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.037	1	0.037	1.416	0.235
Within Groups	6.429	248	0.026		
Total	6.466	249			
Income					
Between Groups	1.497	1	1.497	11.026	0.001
Within Groups	31.907	235	0.136		
Total	33.404	236			
Education					
Between Groups	1.233	1	1.233	18.404	0.000
Within Groups	16.015	239	0.067		
Total	17.248	240			
Age					
Between Groups	0.000	1	0.000	0.002	0.963
Within Groups	16.185	246	0.066		
Total	16.185	247			
Gender					
Between Groups	0.430	1	0.430	1.735	0.189
Within Groups	61.494	248	0.248		
Total	61.924	249			

Table A3.10
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Voting Question:
Chicago

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Error
Phenotypic Appearance			
Non-Missing	273	0.581	0.012
Missing	8	0.559	0.051
Total	281	0.580	0.012
Income			
Non-Missing	263	0.441	0.020
Missing	3	0.683	0.259
Total	266	0.444	0.020
Education			
Non-Missing	271	0.724	0.009
Missing	3	0.697	0.073
Total	274	0.724	0.009

Table A3.10 (cont.)
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Voting Question:
Chicago

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Error
Age			
Non-Missing	273	0.144	0.013
Missing	7	0.357	0.120
Total	280	0.149	0.013
Gender			
Non-Missing	273	0.568	0.030
Missing	7	0.714	0.184
Total	280	0.571	0.030

Table A3.10 (cont.)
Differences among Missing and Non-Missing Data for the Voting Question:
Chicago

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.004	1	0.004	0.097	0.755
Within Groups	10.837	279	0.039		
Total	10.841	280			
Income					
Between Groups	0.173	1	0.173	1.604	0.206
Within Groups	28.557	264	0.108		
Total	28.730	265			
Education					
Between Groups	0.002	1	0.002	0.113	0.737
Within Groups	5.405	272	0.020		
Total	5.408	273			
Age					
Between Groups	0.311	1	0.311	6.270	0.013
Within Groups	13.777	278	0.050		
Total	14.087	279			
Gender					
Between Groups	0.147	1	0.147	0.595	0.441
Within Groups	68.425	278	0.246		
Total	68.571	279			

Table A3.11
Differences among the Conditions in the Mexico City Sample

Age			
Control Condition	65	0.254	0.029
White Condition	65	0.300	0.028
Mestizo Condition	62	0.347	0.036
Indigenous Condition	58	0.349	0.037
Total	250	0.311	0.016
Gender			
Control Condition	65	0.323	0.058
White Condition	65	0.446	0.062
Mestizo Condition	62	0.516	0.064
Indigenous Condition	58	0.534	0.066
Total	250	0.452	0.032
Total	237	0.493	0.022
Education			
Control Condition	61	0.589	0.032
White Condition	63	0.629	0.034
Mestizo Condition	60	0.608	0.037
Indigenous Condition	57	0.681	0.037
Total	241	0.626	0.017

Table A3.11 (cont.)
Differences among the Conditions in the Mexico City Sample

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.192	3	0.064	2.509	0.059
Within Groups	6.274	246	0.026		
Total	6.466	249			
Income					
Between Groups	0.934	3	0.311	2.789	0.041
Within Groups	26.004	233	0.112		
Total	26.937	236			
Education					
Between Groups	0.276	3	0.092	1.257	0.290
Within Groups	17.331	237	0.073		
Total	17.607	240			
Age					
Between Groups	0.384	3	0.128	1.983	0.117
Within Groups	15.873	246	0.065		
Total	16.257	249			
Gender					
Between Groups	1.732	3	0.577	2.360	0.072
Within Groups	60.192	246	0.245		
Total	61.924	249			

Table A3.12
Differences among the Conditions in the Chicago Sample

Gender			
Control Condition	70	0.543	0.060
White Condition	71	0.620	0.058
Mestizo Condition	73	0.493	0.059
Indigenous Condition	67	0.642	0.059
Total	281	0.573	0.030
Indigenous Condition	67	0.642	0.059
Total	281	0.580	0.012
Income			
Control Condition	68	0.448	0.043
White Condition	64	0.391	0.043
Mestizo Condition	69	0.451	0.034
Indigenous Condition	65	0.469	0.039
Total	266	0.440	0.020
Education			
Control Condition	69	0.772	0.017
White Condition	67	0.749	0.017
Mestizo Condition	71	0.737	0.019
Indigenous Condition	67	0.722	0.019
Total	274	0.745	0.009
Age			
Control Condition	70	0.125	0.025
White Condition	71	0.127	0.024
Mestizo Condition	73	0.175	0.030
Indigenous Condition	67	0.175	0.028
Total	281	0.150	0.013

Table A3.12 (cont.)
Differences among the Conditions in the Chicago Sample

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F-stat	p-value
Phenotypic Characteristics					
Between Groups	0.079	3	0.026	0.678	0.566
Within Groups	10.762	277	0.039		
Total	10.841	280			
Income					
Between Groups	0.223	3	0.074	0.706	0.549
Within Groups	27.640	262	0.105		
Total	27.863	265			
Education					
Between Groups	0.092	3	0.031	1.404	0.242
Within Groups	5.926	270	0.022		
Total	6.019	273			
Age					
Between Groups	0.170	3	0.057	1.115	0.343
Within Groups	14.040	277	0.051		
Total	14.210	280			
Gender					
Between Groups	1.001	3	0.334	1.364	0.254
Within Groups	67.753	277	0.245		
Total	68.754	280			

Table A3.13**Predicted probability of Voting for the Target Candidate in each Condition Mediated by Candidate Evaluation in Mexico City**

Evaluation	Control Condition		White Condition		Mestizo Condition		Indigenous Condition	
	Pr(voting)	SE	Pr(voting)	SE	Pr(voting)	SE	Pr(voting)	SE
0.00	0.018	0.120	0.025	0.053	0.024	0.033	0.003	0.014
0.10	0.025	0.110	0.036	0.058	0.028	0.033	0.005	0.016
0.20	0.036	0.034	0.056	0.066	0.035	0.033	0.008	0.020
0.30	0.053	0.039	0.097	0.074	0.044	0.034	0.014	0.026
0.40	0.079*	0.045	0.153*	0.081	0.058	0.037	0.029	0.035
0.50	0.121**	0.051	0.259***	0.080	0.079*	0.044	0.065	0.048
0.60	0.184**	0.061	0.416***	0.078	0.109*	0.059	0.157**	0.068
0.70	0.274***	0.080	0.594***	0.097	0.151*	0.087	0.359**	0.114
0.80	0.389***	0.109	0.743***	0.114	0.207*	0.126	0.615***	0.165
0.90	0.512***	0.139	0.841***	0.113	0.274	0.171	0.796***	0.160
1.00	0.627***	0.158	0.900***	0.103	0.347	0.214	0.892***	0.134

***p-value<0.001; **0.001<p-value<0.05; *0.05<p-value<0.10

Table A3.14

Predicted probability of Voting for the Target Candidate in each Condition Mediated by Candidate Evaluation in Chicago

Evaluation	Control		White		Mestizo		Indigenous	
	Pr(voting)	SE	Pr(voting)	SE	Pr(voting)	SE	Pr(voting)	SE
0.00	0.044	0.078	0.001	0.005	0.025	0.055	0.047	0.085
0.10	0.057	0.081	0.002	0.007	0.033	0.058	0.059	0.087
0.20	0.076	0.085	0.003	0.01	0.046	0.062	0.076	0.089
0.30	0.106	0.089	0.006	0.015	0.066	0.067	0.101	0.092
0.40	0.151	0.09	0.013	0.022	0.099	0.072	0.138	0.092
0.50	0.219*	0.087	0.033	0.033	0.154*	0.075	0.195*	0.088
0.60	0.317***	0.077	0.088	0.05	0.240**	0.073	0.279***	0.077
0.67	0.402***	0.073	0.179**	0.063	0.323***	0.072	0.356***	0.071
0.70	0.441***	0.075	0.239***	0.07	0.364***	0.074	0.392***	0.073
0.80	0.574***	0.093	0.521***	0.107	0.513***	0.097	0.519***	0.097
0.90	0.691***	0.114	0.776***	0.117	0.653***	0.124	0.638***	0.127
1.00	0.780***	0.124	0.905***	0.091	0.761**	0.135	0.732***	0.146

***p-value<0.001;

**0.001<p-value<0.05;

*0.05<p-value<0.10

Appendix 4

Description of the Phenotypic Scales Section, Stereotype Experiment

This section was designed to test the *scale hypothesis* following Thurstone's consensual locating scaling method (Thurstone 1927, 1928; Thurstone and Chave 1929; Scott 1968).

Thurstone developed a method to define attitude scales by having subjects order items that differ on one attribute (Scott 1968, 222). Thurstone applied his *Law of Comparative Judgment* (1927) to create scales based on *discriminal processes* by which individuals differentiate among similar items based on how much of the attribute of interest each item possess.

Edwards (1956) proposed the "method of successive intervals" having subjects arrange items on a scale with an odd-number of categories indicating the degree to which each object represents critical attributes. In that way, the process of finding the numerical expression of each category on the scale became simpler than the one proposed by Thurstone (1927, 1928) by assuming that items have a determinate scale position equal to the subjects and judges (Scott 1968, 229).

Thurstone proposes two tests to take items off the scale: test of ambiguity and test of irrelevance. The former is of utility for this research. According to the test of ambiguity if an item's dispersion of the judgments made by all the subjects is fairly large it shows that judges could not agree on the item's position on the scale, so the item should not be considered (1928:549).

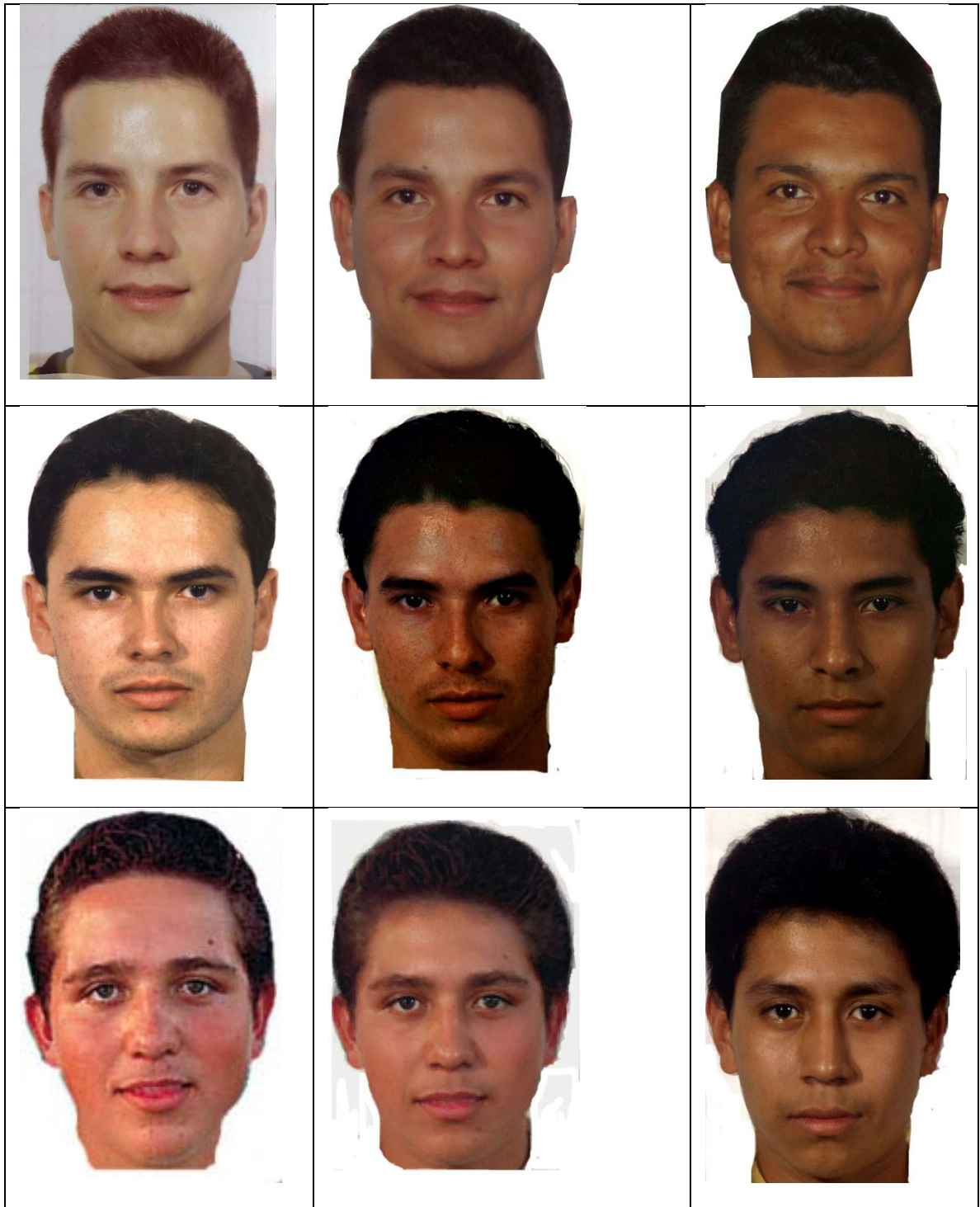
Description of the stimuli:

The dimension of interest of the scale was people's phenotypes ranging from White to Indigenous. The attributes of interest were people's facial features (eyes, nose, and mouth); skin color; and hair (color and texture). In order to capture both the scale's

dimension of interest and the attributes of interest, the stimuli consisted of twenty-seven pictures of either male or female individuals who differ on relevant phenotypes: facial features, skin color and hair. Female subjects received female pictures and male subjects received male pictures.⁷¹ In the instructions, subjects were asked to group the pictures in a minimum of three and a maximum of seven categories. They were told they could follow whatever criteria they wanted. They were also told that the categories did not need to have the same number of pictures. Finally, they were asked to pick a picture that would represent the best of each category putting that picture at the beginning of each category.

⁷¹ The pictures are located in Appendix 4, Illustration A4.2 and Illustration A4.3.

Illustrations A4.1
Pictures Used in Prime and Evaluation Section, Stereotype Experiment



Illustrations A4.2
Pictures Used in Stereotype Experiment, Scale Section, Female Sequence



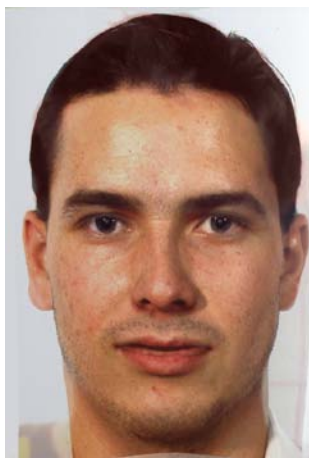
Illustrations A4.2 (cont.)
Pictures Used in Stereotype Experiment, Scale Section, Female Sequence



Illustrations A4.2 (cont.)
Pictures Used in Stereotype Experiment, Scale Section, Female Sequence



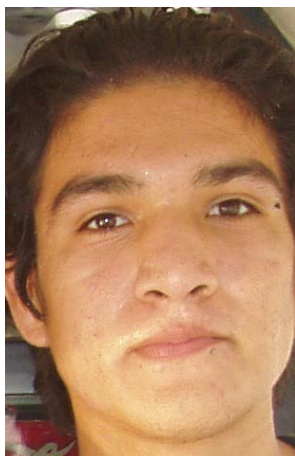
Illustrations A4.3
Pictures Used in Stereotype Experiment, Scale Section, Male Sequence



Illustrations A4.3 (cont.)
Pictures Used in Stereotype Experiment, Scale Section, Male Sequence



Illustrations A4.3 (cont.)
Pictures Used in Stereotype Experiment, Scale Section, Male Sequence



Stimulus in Spanish, Stereotype Experiment

1

Por favor abran el sobre # 1. Miren a las fotografías incluidas en el sobre y ordénelas en distintas categorías siguiendo las siguientes instrucciones:

- a. Como mínimo deben tener 3 categorías y como máximo 7 categorías.
- b. Ustedes deciden como las quieren organizar. Asegúrense de seguir el mismo criterio para organizar todas las fotos.
- c. No tienen que poner el mismo número de fotos en cada categoría.
- d. Escojan la fotografía que representa mejor a cada categoría y pónganla al principio de su categoría.
- e. Del sobre # 2 tomen un clip para agrupar las fotos de cada categoría y que no se separen. Utilicen un post-it para enumerar cada categoría.

Al final les deben de quedar el número de categorías en las que decidieron organizar las fotos (de 3 a 7 categorías), cada una agrupada con un clip y con un post-it que la enumere. Tienen 15 minutos para organizar las fotos.

2

En esta parte me interesa analizar como evaluamos las acciones de otros individuos. Los siguientes párrafos describen las acciones de la persona en la fotografía como un amigo de la preparatoria lo recuerda. Por favor, lean cuidadosamente la historia y traten de contestar lo mejor que puedan las preguntas que le siguen. No se preocupen ya que no hay respuestas correctas e incorrectas. Muchas gracias.

Historia:

El verano pasado fui a visitar a mis padres por unas cuantas semanas. Mi mamá me comentó que mi mejor amigo de la preparatoria, Pedro, se había mudado muy cerca de su casa unos meses atrás. La última vez que Pedro y yo nos reunimos fue hace 15 años, por lo cual le llamé por teléfono para vernos. Decidimos juntarnos en el centro comercial unos días más tarde. Pedro necesitaba comprar unos nuevos marcos para sus lentes y yo estaba buscando unos zapatos nuevos.

Pedro me contó en el centro comercial que había ahorrado algo de efectivo para comprar los nuevos marcos, ya que sus lentes se le habían roto hace un par de meses. Su situación financiera no era buena ya que había tenido más gastos al divorciarse de su esposa y perdió su trabajo en una compañía de Internet. Pedro me contó que había tenido la suerte de recibir un pago mensual de un seguro de desempleo que otorga seis mensualidades a personas que pierden su trabajo. Casi no logra obtener el seguro porque uno de los requisitos para obtenerlo es el haber tenido el mismo trabajo por lo menos un año y Pedro había cambiado de trabajo y le faltaban 15 días para cumplir un año en su último trabajo. Pedro platicó con otras personas que tenían el seguro y encontró una manera de recibirlo.

En el centro comercial fuimos a una tienda departamental. Yo fui a buscar los zapatos y Pedro fue a buscar los marcos. La tienda no tenía mucha variedad de zapatos así es que decidí no comprar ningunos. Esperé a que Pedro pagara por los marcos que había escogido y al momento de salir de la tienda la alarma de seguridad empezó a sonar. Pedro y yo nos miramos sorprendidos uno al otro, y el agente de seguridad se acercó para pedirnos que regresáramos a la tienda y le mostráramos las bolsas. Pedro estaba molesto y le dijo al oficial que nosotros no habíamos tomado nada sin pagar de la tienda. El oficial encontró un pañuelo barato para limpiar lentes atorado en los marcos nuevos de Pedro. Pedro le dijo al oficial que él no había tomado el pañuelo y que debió de haberse atorado de manera accidental. Yo también le dije al oficial que era obvio que no fue intencional ya que el pañuelo era muy barato y nadie trataría de robarlo dejándole la etiqueta con el precio.

Como se hacía tarde le propuse a Pedro ir a comer al área de restaurantes del centro comercial. Pedro me dijo que el preferiría comer tacos en el viejo restaurante cerca de nuestro colegio porque no le daban confianza los restaurantes nuevos que servían comida internacional. Cuando llegamos al viejo restaurante nos encontramos con que había sido remplazado por una tiendita. Yo le dije a Pedro que conocía de un lugar cercano que servía comida hecha en casa, así es que fuimos para allá. Pedro me invitó a su casa a tomar una cerveza fuera de su casa en el área común de los departamentos. Mientras nos sentábamos en una mesa afuera el vecino de Pedro pasó y Pedro le preguntó si podría tener de regreso el martillo que le había prestado el día anterior. Pedro me comentó que había tomado la decisión de no pagar la renta hasta que el casero le pintara las paredes del departamento. Se estaba haciendo tarde y yo tenía que reunirme con mis padres para cenar, así es que me despedí de Pedro.

Si bien no sabes mucho de Pedro, con lo que sabes acerca de él, por favor contesta las siguientes preguntas. Recuerda que no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas.

Pedro es un individuo simpático

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es una persona honesta

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

A Pedro le gusta comer en restaurantes

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro ha estudiado bastante

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es agresivo

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro tiene muchos amigos

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es una persona inteligente

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es una persona confiable

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es una persona emprendedora

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es aburrido

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

Pedro es sofisticado

Muy En Desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Algo En Desacuerdo	Ni De Acuerdo ni En Desacuerdo	Algo De Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------------

3

En esta parte estoy interesada en preguntarte sobre la forma en que otras personas piensan acerca de otros dependiendo de cómo se ven. No me interesa conocer tus creencias personales.

Por favor mira la foto de esta persona y escribe todo lo que se te ocurra que otros individuos en la sociedad mexicana pensarían de él:

¿Qué cualidades, defectos y características crees que la gente en general pensaría de este individuo sin haber hablado antes con él? Por favor escribe cualquier cosa que se te ocurra, no importa que estés de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esas opiniones.

Finalmente podrías responder algunas preguntas sobre ti:

¿Qué edad tienes?

¿Cuál es tu género?

Femenino_____ Masculino_____

¿De dónde eres? (pueblo, ciudad, estado, país) _____

¿Cuál es tu ciudadanía? _____

Si no eres de México, ¿cuánto tiempo has vivido en México? _____

¿Me podrías decir en dónde fuiste a la primaria, secundaria y preparatoria (ciudad, estado)?

Si no eres de la Ciudad de México ¿cuánto tiempo has vivido acá? _____

¿En qué año estás en la escuela? _____

Por favor pon una cruz al lado del partido político con el que te identificas.

___Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)

___Partido Verde Ecologista de México
(PVEM)

___Partido Revolucionario Institucional
(PRI)

___Partido Convergencia

___Partido de la Revolución Democrática
(PRD)

___Nueva Alianza

___Partido del Trabajo (PT)

___Alianza Socialdemócrata y Campesina

___ Independiente

Pensando en grupos raciales en México. ¿Tú qué te consideras? (pon una X por favor)

Blanco _____

Mestizo _____

Indígena _____

Otro _____ ¿Cuál? _____

Pensando acerca del ingreso de tu familia, ¿podrías decirnos aproximadamente el ingreso mensual de tu familia?

- a) De \$0 a \$1,000
- b) De \$1,001 a \$2,000
- c) De \$2,001 a \$4,000
- d) De \$4,001 a \$6,000
- e) De \$6,001 a \$8,000
- f) De \$8,001 a \$12,000
- g) De \$12,001 a \$16,000
- h) De \$16,001 a \$20,000
- i) Más de \$20,000

Stimulus in English, Stereotype Experiment

1

Please open envelope #1 and look at the pictures included. Now, regardless of the quality of the picture, please order all the pictures in different categories following these instructions:

- a. Order the pictures in 3 to 7 categories

- b. You can decide the criterion you'll follow to organize the pictures. Please follow the same criterion with all the pictures.

- c. Each category can have a different number of pictures.

- d. Choose the picture that represents the best each category and place it at the beginning of its category.

- e. Please take a clip from envelope # 2 to hold together the pictures from each category. Use a post-it to enumerate each category.

At the end you should have the pictures organized by the number of categories you chose, with a post-it with the number of each category (from 3 to 7 categories.) You have 15 minutes to do this.

2

In this part I am interested in studying how people evaluate other persons' actions. The following paragraphs describe the actions of the person in the picture, as his old high school friend remembers. Please read them carefully, and answer to the best of your knowledge the questions that follow it. There are not correct or incorrect answers. Thank you.

Story:

I visited my parents for a few weeks last summer. My mom told me that my best friend from High School, Matt, had moved back to town a couple of months before. The last time Matt and I met was 15 years ago. I called Matt to get together and we agreed in meeting at the mall. Matt needed new frames for his glasses and I was looking for new shoes.

At the mall Matt told me that he had saved some cash for the glasses' frames, because his old glasses broke a couple of months ago. His financial situation was not good after divorcing from his wife and loosing his job at an internet company. Matt told me that he was lucky he was getting a monthly payment through a job insurance company which gives a six-month compensation to people who lose their jobs. He almost didn't get the insurance because according to the policy one has to be working in the same job for at least a year in order to get it. Matt had switched jobs and he needed another 15 days to fulfill the year requirement. He talked to other folks who had the same insurance and he found a way to get the insurance.

Matt and I went into the department store. I went to look for shoes as he went to look for frames. The store did not have a lot of different boot models so I decided I would not buy any. I waited for Matt to pay for the frames he had chosen and as we were leaving the store the exit alarm went on. Matt and I looked surprised at each other, and a security guard approached us and asked us to come back into the store and show him our bags. Matt was upset about it, and he told the officer we had not taken anything unpaid from the store with us. The officer found a cheap cleaning cloth for glasses stuck to Matt's new frames. Matt explained he didn't take the cleaning cloth and that it must had been an accident. I told the officer that it must be a mistake because the cleaning cloth was very cheap and no one would try to steal it while leaving the price tag on. Matt was very upset, but after I convinced the officer that it was not intentional we were able to leave the store.

As it was getting late, I proposed to get some food at the mall's food corner. Matt said he would prefer to eat in the old taco place next to our high school because he did not trust the new restaurants that served international food. When we arrived to the taco place we found out that it had been replaced by a convenient store. I told Matt I knew of a place close by that served homemade food, so we went there. Matt invited me over to his place to have a

beer outside in the community yard. We sat at a table outside when Matt's neighbor walked by and Matt asked him if he could have back the hammer he had agreed to let the neighbor keep the day before. Matt told me that he decided to stop paying the rent until the landlord painted his apartment walls. It was getting late so I needed to go to meet my parents for dinner, so I said goodbye to Matt.

With what you know about Matt can you please tell me if you agree with the following statements (remember there are not correct or incorrect answers):

Matt is a funny individual

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt is an honest person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt likes eating out

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt has studied a lot

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt is aggressive

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt has a lot of friends

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt is an intelligent person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt is a trustworthy individual

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt is entrepreneurial

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt is boring

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt is sophisticated

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

3

In this part I just want to ask you to think about the way people, in general, think about other individuals depending on the way they look. I am not interested in your personal beliefs.

Please, look at the picture of this person and write down the way other Mexican-Americans would think about him:

What his qualities, flaws, and characteristics are before talking to him? Please list any number of characteristics you could think people would think about when looking at this person regardless of whether you agree or do not agree with their opinions.

Finally, some questions about you:

How old are you?

What is your gender?

Female_____ Male_____

Where are you originally from? (town, city, state, country) _____

What is your citizenship? _____

If you are not from Mexico, how long have you been living in Mexico? _____

Could you please tell me where you attended elementary, middle and high school (city and state)?

If you are not from Mexico City, how long have you been living here? _____

In what year of school are you? _____

Please put a cross next to the political party that you identify with

___ Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)

___ Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM)

___ Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)

___ Partido Convergencia

___ Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)

___ Nueva Alianza

___ Partido del Trabajo (PT)

___ Alianza Socialdemócrata y Campesina

___ Independent

Thinking about racial groups in Mexico. Which one do you identify with? (please write down an X next it)

White _____

Mestizo _____

Indigenous _____

Other _____ Which one? _____

Thinking about the income of your family, please give your family's approximate monthly income

- a) From \$0 to \$1,000
- b) From \$1,001 to \$2,000
- c) From \$2,001 to \$4,000
- d) From \$4,001 to \$6,000
- e) From \$6,001 to \$8,000
- f) From \$8,001 to \$12,000
- g) From \$12,001 to \$16,000
- h) From \$16,001 to \$20,000
- i) More than \$20,000

Appendix 5

Pictures of White candidates that do not vary:



First set of pictures of the Target Candidate



Second set of pictures of the Target Candidate



Stimuli and Questionnaire for the Candidate Experiment, Chicago
Electoral Candidates Competing for the Democratic Primary Election- Governor of New Mexico

John Correa	Al Davila	Matt Segura
<p>John Correa is originally from Santa Fe, New Mexico. He graduated from New Mexico State University, specializing in economics. After finishing his degree he worked in state government as a staff member in the Secretary of the Economy planning the state budget. Correa also worked as a staff aid for state representatives in economic matters before deciding to devote his life to politics. He is married to Lizzie Lopez and they have two children: Albert, 15 years old; and Mary, 10 years old.</p> <p>Policy proposals:</p> <p>Environment: Correa believes that industries that pollute the environment should pay an environmental tax in direct relation to the amount they pollute.</p> <p>Public Health: Another new proposal for New Mexico is to implement a universal health care for everyone in the state.</p> <p>Taxes: Correa hopes to renegotiate the state tax with the federal government so that the state can retain more taxes for social spending.</p>	<p>Al Davila is originally from Albuquerque, New Mexico. He is a lawyer who graduated from the University of New Mexico. After finishing his law degree he worked in the state congress as a staff member assisting state representatives on the process of law-making. Mr. Davila also worked as a state attorney for 5 years before deciding to devote his life to politics. He is married to Trisha Rojas and they have two children: Rose 10; and Susie 8.</p> <p>Policy proposals:</p> <p>Environment: Davila believes that the government should promote policies to protect the environment while giving more incentives to industries to bring business to the state.</p> <p>Public Health: In relation to health care Davila thinks that the government should guarantee free health care and more medical benefits for seniors.</p> <p>Taxes: Davila also agrees that the state should renegotiate the state tax with the federal government so that the state would retain a larger portion of the tax collected.</p>	<p>Matt Segura is from Las Cruces, New Mexico. He is an accountant who graduated from Eastern New Mexico University. Segura has worked as a private accountant and as a public accountant in the state government. He is married to Laura Vazquez and they have one child: Ray, 3.</p> <p>Policy proposals:</p> <p>Environment: Segura believes that the government should give more tax benefits to attract industries to the state, while asking them to protect the environment.</p> <p>Public Health: In relation to health care Segura thinks that the government should make health care more affordable and efficient for everyone.</p> <p>Taxes: Segura also agrees that the state should renegotiate the state tax with the federal government so that the state can give more benefits and attract new businesses.</p>

Now, with the information you have about the three candidates, please answer the following questions. Remember that there are not correct or incorrect answers. Thank you so much!

Using the following scale, please tell me how favorably is your opinion towards the candidates?

Candidates	Very Unfavorable	Unfavorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Neither Unfavorable nor Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Favorable	Very Favorable
------------	------------------	-------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	-----------	----------------

John Correa

Al Davila

Matt Segura

If you lived in New Mexico and these were the candidates for governor, who would you vote for?

John Correa _____ Al Davila _____ Matt Segura _____

Now, thinking about the candidates' traits please tell me if you agree with the following statements?

John Correa is an intelligent politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Al Davila is an intelligent politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt Segura is an intelligent politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

John Correa will be capable of keeping his campaign promises if elected

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Al Davila will be capable of keeping his campaign promises if elected

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Matt Segura will be capable of keeping his campaign promises if elected

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

John Correa is a trustworthy politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Al Davila is a trustworthy politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt Segura is a trustworthy politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

John Correa is a competent politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Al Davila is a competent politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt Segura is a competent politician

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

John Correa is a likeable person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Al Davila is a likeable person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt Segura is a likeable person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

John Correa is an honest person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Al Davila is an honest person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

Matt Segura is an honest person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------------------	----------	----------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------	-------	-------------------

John Correa is a good leader

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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Al Davila is a good leader

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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Matt Segura is a good leader

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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John Correa cares for people like me

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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Al Davila cares for people like me

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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Matt Segura cares for people like me

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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John Correa is a hard worker person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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Al Davila is a hard worker person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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Matt Segura is a hard worker person

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from “very liberal” to “very conservative”.

In this scale, where would you locate yourself?

Extremely Liberal	Liberal	Moderate- Liberal	Moderate	Moderate- Conservative	Conservative	Extremely Conservative
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Where would you locate John Correa?

Extremely Liberal	Liberal	Moderate- Liberal	Moderate	Moderate- Conservative	Conservative	Extremely Conservative
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Where would you locate Al Davila?

Extremely Liberal	Liberal	Moderate- Liberal	Moderate	Moderate- Conservative	Conservative	Extremely Conservative
----------------------	---------	----------------------	----------	---------------------------	--------------	---------------------------

Where would you locate Matt Segura?

Extremely Liberal	Liberal	Moderate- Liberal	Moderate	Moderate- Conservative	Conservative	Extremely Conservative
----------------------	---------	----------------------	----------	---------------------------	--------------	---------------------------

Talking about political parties, do you identify with any political party? Please put a cross next to the political party that you identify with

Democratic Party
 Republican Party
 Other, which one? _____
 Independent

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and politics most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- a) Never
- b) Hardly at all
- c) Only now and then
- d) Some of the time
- e) Most of the time

How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How many days in the past week did you watch national news?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How many days in the past week did you hear the national news in the radio?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Finally, some questions about you:

How old are you?

What is your gender?

Female_____ Male_____

Where are you originally from? (town, city, state, country)

What is your citizenship?

If you are not from the USA, how long have you been living in the USA?

If you are not from Chicago, how long have you been living here?

How many grades of school did you finish?

- a) None
- b) Some Grade school
- c) Grade School
- d) Some Middle School
- e) Middle School
- f) Some High School
- g) GED
- h) High School with Diploma
- i) Some college
- j) 4 year college degree
- k) Graduate School or professional degree

Thinking about the income of your family, please give your family's approximate yearly income

- a) From \$ 0 to 15,000
- b) From \$15,001 to \$25,000
- c) From \$25,001 to \$35,000
- d) From \$35,001 to \$45,000
- e) From \$45,001 to \$55,000
- f) From \$55,001 to \$65,000
- g) From \$65,001 or more

Are you currently?

- a) Married
- b) Divorced
- c) Widowed
- d) Separated
- e) In a civil union
- f) Never been married

Thinking about racial groups, can you put an X next to the group you consider yourself member of?

- a) White _____
- b) Mestizo _____
- c) Indigenous _____
- d) African American/Black _____
- e) Asian _____
- f) Other _____ Which one? _____

Please check all the statements that are appropriate:

- a) I speak fluently Spanish _____
- b) I speak Spanish, but I don't speak it fluently _____
- c) I speak Spanish with my family _____
- d) I speak Spanish with my friends _____
- e) I don't speak Spanish, and I plan to learn it soon _____
- f) I don't speak Spanish, and I don't have plans to learn it soon _____
- g) I eat Mexican food at home on a regular basis _____
- h) I have traveled to Mexico _____
- i) I have family in Mexico _____
- j) I have visited my family in Mexico _____

- k) I watch Spanish spoken TV channels such as _____
Univision, Telemundo
- l) My favorite TV show in Spanish is _____
- m) I listen to Spanish spoken radio stations _____
- n) I read books in Spanish _____
- o) I read magazines in Spanish _____
- p) I like soccer _____
- q) My favorite soccer team is _____
- r) I prefer to date other Mexican Americans _____
- s) I am married to a Mexican American person _____
- t) I am not married, but I will prefer to marry _____
other Mexican American person

Stimuli and Questionnaire for the Candidate Experiment, Mexico City
CANDIDATOS INDEPENDIENTES A LA GUBERNATURA DE YUCATÁN

José Ramírez	Pedro González	Javier Núñez
<p>José Ramírez es originario de Mérida. Estudió economía en la Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán.</p> <p>Después de graduarse trabajó en de la Secretaría de Economía de Yucatán planeando el presupuesto. Ramírez también trabajó como asesor económico de los diputados estatales.</p> <p>Ramírez está casado con María López y tienen dos hijos: Ramón, de 15; y Lucía, de 10 años de edad.</p> <p>Propuestas:</p> <p>Medio Ambiente: Ramírez buscará imponer un impuesto ecológico a las industrias que contaminan el ambiente cuyo monto esté relacionado con el nivel de contaminantes que produzcan.</p> <p>Salud Pública: Ramírez busca implementar un seguro de salud universal gratuito para todos los habitantes del estado.</p> <p>Impuestos: Ramírez propone renegociar con la federación la distribución del impuesto estatal para que el estado pueda retener más impuestos que gaste en programas sociales.</p>	<p>Pedro González es originario de Mérida. Abogado de profesión graduado de la Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán.</p> <p>Al terminar su licenciatura, González trabajó en el congreso yucateco asesorando a los diputados en la creación de leyes. González también trabajó como abogado estatal por 5 años antes de optar por la vida política.</p> <p>Está casado con Guadalupe Rojas y tienen 2 hijas: María de 10, y Rosa de 8 años de edad.</p> <p>Propuestas:</p> <p>Medio Ambiente: González cree que el gobierno debe promover políticas para proteger el medio ambiente y, al mismo tiempo, dar más incentivos a las industrias para que se establezcan dentro del estado.</p> <p>Salud Pública: González propone que el gobierno garantice seguro de salud y más beneficios médicos para personas de la tercera edad.</p> <p>Impuestos: González también cree que el estado debe renegociar la distribución del impuesto estatal con la federación para que el estado mantenga una mayor cantidad del impuesto estatal.</p>	<p>Javier Núñez es también de Mérida. Núñez se graduó como contador público de la Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán.</p> <p>Dentro de su experiencia laboral, Núñez ha trabajado tanto como contador en la iniciativa privada como en el gobierno local.</p> <p>Núñez está casado con Elena Vázquez con la que tiene un hijo: Raymundo de 3 años de edad.</p> <p>Propuestas:</p> <p>Medio Ambiente: Núñez cree que el gobierno debe reducir los impuestos para atraer a las grandes industrias al estado. Asimismo, el gobierno les debe pedir a esas industrias que traten de proteger el medio ambiente.</p> <p>Salud Pública: Núñez propone que el gobierno revise las condiciones del seguro de salud para hacerlo más barato y eficiente para que los habitantes del estado lo puedan comprar.</p> <p>Impuestos: Núñez cree que el gobierno estatal debe renegociar la distribución del impuesto estatal con la federación para que el estado tenga más ingresos para dar más beneficios e incentivos a la iniciativa privada para atraer a nuevas empresas.</p>

Ahora, con la información que usted tiene a cerca de los tres candidatos, por favor responda a las siguientes preguntas. Recuerde que no hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. ¡Muchas Gracias!

Utilizando la siguiente escala, por favor dígame que tan buena es la opinión que tiene de los candidatos

Candidatos	Muy Mala	Mala	Algo Mala	Ni Mala ni Buena	Algo Buena	Buena	Muy Buena
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José Ramírez

Pedro González

Javier Núñez

Si usted viviera en Yucatán y éstos fueran todos los candidatos para gobernador, ¿por cuál de los tres votaría usted?

José Ramírez_____ Pedro González_____ Javier Núñez_____

Ahora, pensando en las características de los candidatos, por favor dígame si está de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones:

José Ramírez es un candidato inteligente

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es un candidato inteligente

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez es un candidato inteligente

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez será capaz de mantener sus promesas de campaña si es electo gobernador

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González será capaz de mantener sus promesas de campaña si es electo gobernador

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez será capaz de mantener sus promesas de campaña si es electo gobernador

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez es un político confiable

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es un político confiable

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez un político confiable

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez es un político competente

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es un político competente

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez es un político competente

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez es una persona agradable

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es una persona agradable

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez es una persona agradable

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez es una persona honesta

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es una persona honesta

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez es una persona honesta

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez es un buen líder

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es un buen líder

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez es un buen líder

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez se preocupa por gente como yo

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González se preocupa por gente como yo

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez se preocupa por gente como yo

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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José Ramírez es una persona trabajadora

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Pedro González es una persona trabajadora

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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Javier Núñez es una persona trabajadora

Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	Algo en Desacuerdo	Ni en Desacuerdo ni de Acuerdo	Algo de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Muy de Acuerdo
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En estos días escuchamos a mucha gente hablar en política acerca de la izquierda y la derecha. En la siguiente escala se organizan las opiniones políticas de las personas de “muy de izquierda” a “muy de derecha”.

En esta escala ¿dónde se localizaría usted?

Muy de Izquierda	Izquierda	Centro- Izquierda	Centro	Centro- Derecha	Derecha	Muy de Derecha
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En esta escala ¿dónde localizaría a José Ramírez?

Muy de Izquierda	Izquierda	Centro- Izquierda	Centro	Centro- Derecha	Derecha	Muy de Derecha
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En esta escala ¿dónde localizaría a Pedro González?

Muy de Izquierda	Izquierda	Centro- Izquierda	Centro	Centro- Derecha	Derecha	Muy de Derecha
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En esta escala ¿dónde localizaría a Javier Núñez?

Muy de Izquierda	Izquierda	Centro- Izquierda	Centro	Centro- Derecha	Derecha	Muy de Derecha
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Y hablando de partidos políticos, ¿se identifica usted con algún partido político? Por favor ponga una cruz al lado del partido político con el que se identifica

___ Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)

___ Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM)

___ Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)

___ Partido Convergencia

___ Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)

___ Nueva Alianza

___ Partido del Trabajo (PT)

___ Alianza Socialdemócrata y Campesina

___ Ninguno/Independiente

Por favor dígame, si José Ramírez fuera el candidato de alguno de los siguientes partidos políticos ¿de cuál partido político usted cree que sería el candidato?

___ Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)

___ Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)

___ Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)

Por favor dígame, si Pedro González fuera el candidato de alguno de los siguientes partidos políticos ¿de cuál partido político usted cree que sería el candidato?

___ Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)

___ Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)

___ Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)

Por favor dígame, si Javier Núñez fuera el candidato de alguno de los siguientes partidos políticos ¿de cuál partido político usted cree que sería el candidato?

___ Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)

___ Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)

___ Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)

Algunas personas siguen de cerca lo que sucede en el gobierno y política casi todo el tiempo, sin importar si hay una elección o no. Otras personas no están interesadas en estos temas. ¿Diría usted que usted sigue de cerca lo que sucede en el gobierno y en la política casi todo el tiempo, algunas veces, no muy seguido o casi nunca?

- a) Casi Nunca
- b) No Muy Seguido
- c) Algunas Veces
- d) Casi todo el Tiempo

¿Cuántos días de la semana pasada leyó usted de política en el periódico?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

¿Cuántos días de la semana pasada vio un noticiero en la televisión?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

¿Cuántos días de la semana pasada escuchó un noticiero en la radio?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

¿Hasta qué año estudió usted? ó ¿cuál fue el último grado de escuela que completó?

- a) Ninguno
- b) Algo de Primaria
- c) Completó Primaria
- d) Algo de Secundaria/Técnica/Equivalente
- e) Completó Secundaria/Técnica/Equivalente
- f) Algo de Preparatoria/Equivalente
- g) Completó Preparatoria/Equivalente
- h) Algo de Universidad
- i) Completó la Universidad (graduado con diploma)
- j) Estudios de Posgrado

Pensando acerca del ingreso de tu familia, ¿podrías decirnos aproximadamente el ingreso mensual de tu familia?

- a) De \$0 a \$1,000
- b) De \$1,001 a \$2,000
- c) De \$2,001 a \$4,000
- d) De \$4,001 a \$6,000
- e) De \$6,001 a \$8,000
- f) De \$8,001 a \$12,000
- g) De \$12,001 a \$16,000
- h) De \$16,001 a \$20,000
- i) Más de \$20,000

¿Cuál es su estado civil?

- a. Casado/a
- b. Divorciado/a
- c. Viudo/a
- d. Separado/a
- e. Unión Civil
- f. Nunca se ha casado

¡Muchas Gracias por su participación!

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