

**ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY AND FEMALE CANDIDATES:  
THE EFFECT OF HISTORIC ELECTIONS ON OUTLOOKS FOR SIMILARLY  
HISTORIC ELECTIONS**

**By**

**CLAIRE ELIZABETH KNIPE**

---

**A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelors degree  
With Honors in**

**Political Science**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA**

**M A Y 2 0 1 9**

**Approved by:**

---

**Dr. Samara Klar**

**Department of Political Science**

**Abstract**

In this paper I will provide background and summary on previous research regarding female candidates, Latino candidates, and African American candidates, specifically the ways in which they are treated differently, are thought about differently, and govern differently; descriptive representation; the lack of research on how men are affected by political representation by women and how white people are affected by political representation by non-white elected officials; and the article that inspired this research question and experiment. I walk through my research questions and hypotheses. I, then, discuss my research design, including the process of choosing both the research questions and the treatment groups and the concerns we had about social desirability and controlling for outside factors. Finally, I discuss some of the problems and potential issues that might have skewed the results and conclusions potentially lowering the external validity.

**Background/Previous Research**

In this study I define historic elections as ones in which the candidate that wins has characteristics that have been underrepresented or unrepresented in elected offices and no one with this characteristic, or characteristics, has ever held that specific office. For the sake of this research, I focus on Barack Obama's election as the first African American President and Kyrsten Sinema's election and Martha McSally's appointment as the first female United States Senators to represent Arizona.

Since women started running for office and holding elected office, the topic of female candidates and elected officials has been a large focus of inquiry and research. Amongst the

research about women running for office and serving as elected officials, the most focused-upon topics have included how women are treated differently while running for office, differences in how they run their campaigns, and the differences in how they act once elected. For this particular study, I focus on how women as voters and citizens are affected by political representation by other women, social desirability bias when it comes to female candidates, and dislike or anger toward female politicians. Social desirability bias refers to the effect social norms have on participants in studies, making participants less honest when it comes to answering questions about issues that they feel their answers contradict social preferences, such as questions about women and racial minorities being effective leaders or their capabilities as leaders, or when they feel they will be punished for honesty in their answers (i.e., participants being asked questions about illegal activities, drug or alcohol use, and socially frowned upon activities like cheating). Social desirability bias plays a large factor in any research done about women and racial minorities, especially about their role in politics or positions of power. Women have been found to be more politically engaged and willing to participate in politics when they see more female elected officials; controlling for party affiliation does not appear to change this. This means that descriptive representation does have an effect on women. However, partisan division does have an effect on descriptive representation as female representation by a woman from the opposing political party does not increase or decrease political engagement (Reingold and Harrell, 2010). People who overestimate female representation in elected offices are less likely to support the increasing of descriptive representation for women, whereas people that underestimate or correctly estimate the female representation in elected offices are more likely to support the increase of descriptive representation for women. Women are also more likely than

men to support an increase in female representation in elected offices (Sanbonmatsu, 2003).

When people become aware of the underrepresentation of women in politics, they want to increase this representation; however, many overestimate the representation of women in politics and therefore are not supportive of increases in female representation because they do not view it as necessary. Recent research shows that strong support for female candidates is greatly affected by social desirability bias and that voters are still heavily biased against female candidates, especially a female presidential candidate (Streb, Burrell, Frederick and Genovese, 2008). Party affiliation also seems to remain more important to voters than the identity of the candidate as women are more likely to vote for a candidate of the same party -- man or woman -- than a woman from the other party (Dolan, 2014). A majority of the research done on female candidates and their effect on female voters and citizens has found that women are more likely to be engaged and want more representation when they are represented by other women, but are still more motivated by their beliefs and political ideologies than sex when voting.

Many of the same questions that have been asked of female candidates have also been asked about non-white candidates. For the sake of this paper, we focus on Latino and African American candidates because they are discrete and insular minorities and there is a basis for research on their effect as elected officials and candidates on voters, especially those who are also Latino or African American. Much of the research has been focused on African Americans, though in more recent years this has shifted toward Latinos given that they make up a growing percentage of the American population. They also represent a distinct population and research about one group often cannot be applied to another group. The increase in African American elected officials has been correlated with an increase in voter turnout among African Americans

(Whitby, 2007); an increase in Latino elected officials has similarly correlated with a change in political attitudes. This correlation is stronger if the elected official identifies with the same country of origin as the voter, as opposed to a panethnic identity, Latino (Sanchez and Morin, 2011). However, panethnic-based representation still decreased voter apathy and alienation while increasing voter efficacy among Latino voters (Morin and Sanchez, 2011). Greater descriptive representation for black voters on a legislative level correlated with higher voter turnout for non-engaged black voters because of the increased outreach and voter contact compared to black voters with less collective descriptive representation; however, this did not apply to black voters that were already politically engaged (Clark, 2014). Following the election of Barack Obama, African Americans (including Republicans, Independents, and Weak Democrats) as a whole had more faith and belief in the government while similar effects were seen in African American Strong Democrats and white Democrats who strongly identified with their party identification. This suggests that party identification affects descriptive representation and party identification may play just as large, and potentially a larger, role as does descriptive representation (Merolla, Sellers, Fowler, 2008). Thus, although there is evidence that increasing racial representation increases civic and political engagement, one must not ignore the large role party identification plays in these changes.

Descriptive representation refers to the representation by elected officials who share in the characteristics of those who are historically unrepresented or underrepresented. A majority of the research on descriptive representation has focused on how women and African Americans are affected by women and African American elected officials respectively, with a more recent inclusion of research focused on Latinos. Historically, descriptive representation has had positive

outcomes in increasing voter participation, belief in government, involvement in politics, and trust in the fairness of elected official decision making (Mansbridge, 1999). An increase in African American elected officials is correlated with an increase in voter turnout among African Americans (Whitby, 2007). Descriptive representation affects the views of constituents and how they view the outcome of policies as well as rendering constituents more likely to think a policy decision was fair and inclusive of all sides. White communities were generally not affected by higher percentages of black elected officials but in cases in which the outcomes were favorable for both black and white voters, greater representation by black elected officials actually boosted white voters' views of the fairness of the policy outcome (Hayes and Hibbing, 2017). Descriptive representation is affected by partisanship. For instance, liberal black voters that were descriptively represented were more likely to be politically engaged, while moderate or conservative black voters that were descriptively represented were less likely to be politically engaged (Griffin and Keane, 2006). Additionally, when controlling for population size of minority groups within a congressional district, voters that are a minority with descriptive representation are not any more likely to be politically active or engaged. This suggests that political engagement and voter turnout for people of color is more closely related to the presence of a large minority community rather than descriptive representation (Fraga, 2016). There has been very little research done on the effect of increasing representation for historically underrepresented and unrepresented populations on all of their constituents, including those that have historically been overrepresented. Overall, research on descriptive representation has shown that political representation has a strong effect on how voters view government and their elected officials.

Substantive representation refers to how elected officials vote or act in accordance with the views of their constituents and specific constituent groups. This is often considered in conjunction with descriptive representation to gain a better understanding of the relationship between being represented by someone who shares similar characteristics (e.g., gender or race) and how they vote with respect to these shared characteristics. Descriptive representation does appear to play a role in how African Americans feel they are being represented and supported by the government and the elected bodies of government; however, the perception about overall African American representation in Congress takes precedence over whether or not their specific Congressional representative is African American when assessing how African American voters feel regarding representing in government and elected office, which is a good indication of how they feel about their substantive representation (Brunell, et al, 2008). With regard to Latino voters, there is some evidence for descriptive representation but other factors play a larger role in how Latinos feel about their representation in government and their civic engagement, specifically how they feel their elected representative votes along their interests (Pantoja and Segura, 2003). Being politically represented by someone that shares certain characteristics with constituents does not always equate with voting or acting in line with the interests of this group, which is one of the main reasons given to explain the effects of descriptive representation. Including both forms of representation, descriptive and substantive, when considering the overall effects of representation for historically un- or underrepresented populations is essential.

One of the foundational studies in this field was conducted by Diane Gillespie and Cassie Sloane, and designed to study the differences in opinions toward female politicians between male and female students. They asked a variety of questions about supporting female candidates at

various levels of political office, the capabilities of women to serve in office, and the predictions for when the US would elect the first female president. Gillespie and Sloane surveyed a random selection of 705 seventh to twelfth graders in Omaha, Nebraska. They hypothesized that there would be a difference between the male and female students' answers but that there would be no racial difference between the students' answers.

They found that their hypothesis was correct when it came to the gender differences. Compared to male students, female students were more optimistic about female candidates, had more faith in the ability of female politicians to successfully fill their role as an elected official, and gave a shorter estimate for the probability of electing the first female president of the US. Gillespie and Sloane were surprised by the racial differences found in this study, particularly in their estimates for the election of the US's first female president and whether they believed a woman could be president. The most surprising finding was that 47% of black students said that they thought a woman would never be elected president in the US compared to 18% of white students. Gillespie and Sloane propose that this might be due to an overall more pessimistic view of government and representation for minorities within the American political system. They argue that this prediction is not an indication of doubts about women and their ability to run for office and fulfill their duties as an elected official, but rather a reflection of the gender discrimination that would make it very difficult for a woman to be elected president.

Overall, Gillespie and Sloane found that gender was the most important factor for differences between the views for qualifications of female candidates and optimism about female candidates. They also found there was some relation to socio-economic status and political affiliation, with general support and optimism for female candidates, which they expected in a

moderately conservative town with few female elected officials. The most surprising and unexpected finding was the pessimism of black students about the prospect of a female president in the US. This surprising finding is the basis of my research.

## **Hypothesis**

I hypothesize that the pessimism expressed by African American students in the study by Gillespie and Sloane was due in large part to the absence of an African American president, and elected representative in general, at the time this study was conducted, alongside Gillespie and Sloane's assertion regarding general pessimism toward government and elected office and representation of minorities within minority communities. Why would these students be likely to think a woman could be elected as president of the United States if there had never been an African American president? If this is true, then African American students, and potentially all participants in the study, would be more likely to be more optimistic and give shorter estimates for electing the first female president in the U.S. Research done on descriptive representation has generally found that when people are represented by someone that looks like them, they are more likely to be more civically engaged and have more positive views on government and representation of minorities and women in government. However, there is very little research on the effect of minority or female representation on all of their constituents, especially how it affects their views and predictions for other candidates.

I hypothesize that when respondents are primed to think about candidates who won an office that had previously never been held by someone of their demographics, they will be more likely to not only support but also give more optimistic answers to the prospect of electing

another person whose demographic has never held that same office. For example, I hypothesize that participants primed to think about Barack Obama, especially as the first African American president in the U.S., will be more supportive and optimistic in their time estimates and likelihood of a female president in the United States. This would be due to the reminder that the U.S. was able to elect its first African American president despite many people believing that it would not be possible and that this historic moment created the possibility for women and other minorities that was not previously considered a feasible opportunity. There has been very little research on the effect of descriptive representation on all constituents, but this would potentially answer some of the questions about how representation by a woman or minority affects all of the constituents of the elected official, especially as it pertains to other individuals who are not historically represented in the political arena.

### **Survey Questions**

This experiment consisted of three subsections of randomly selected individuals, each featuring a control group as well as two prime groups. Each prime group was given a priming question intending to lead into and supplant preconceptions for a set of survey questions while those from the control groups went straight away into the survey. Those assigned to the African Americans and Latinos politics sections received the same priming questions and therefore those priming groups have double the number of participants compared to the women in politics priming groups.

For the African Americans and Latinos in politics section of the experiment, respondents were randomly placed into one of six treatment groups and asked one of the questions below,

unless they were in the treatment group in which they went straight into answering the African American and Latino candidate questions listed below. Two groups were assigned to each of the initial treatment groups, and then the two groups assigned to the three prime groups were assigned to answer questions about either Latino candidates or African American questions listed below. Three groups were assigned to the Latino candidate questions and three were assigned to the African American candidate questions.

- Did you know that Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally are Arizona's current Senators?
- Did you know that Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally are Arizona's current and first female Senators?

After answering the initial questions and being exposed to the primes, all participants that were randomly assigned to the African American candidates section answered the following questions. Participants were also given a list question, in which all participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups and asked: "How many, not which ones, of the following make you mad?" One group had a list of three answers not easily affected by social desirability and the other group received the same list plus "an African American US Senator from Arizona." They were given the option to select either 0,1,2,3,or 4 in order to eliminate as much social desirability bias as possible while trying to determine the number of participants that would not support or vote for an African American candidate based on their race.

- Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for Mayor?
- Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for Governor?
- Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for US Senate?
- Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for President?
- When might Arizona elect the first African American Senator from this state?
- Do you think that Arizona is ready to elect an African American Senator?

After answering the initial questions and being exposed to the primes, all participants that were randomly assigned to the Latino candidates section answered the following questions. Participants were also given a list question, in which all participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups and asked: “How many, not which ones, of the following make you mad?” One group had a list of three answers not easily affected by social desirability and the other group received the same list plus “a Latino US Senator from Arizona.” They were given the option to select either 0,1,2,3,or 4 in order to eliminate as much social desirability bias as possible while trying to determine the number of participants that would not support or vote for a Latino candidate based on their race.

- Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for Mayor?
- Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for Governor?
- Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for US Senate?
- Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for President?
- When might Arizona elect the first Latino Senator from this state?
- Do you think Arizona is ready to elect a Latino Senator?

For the women in politics section of the experiment, respondents were randomly placed into one of three treatment groups and asked one of the questions below, unless they were in the control group in which they went straight into answering the female candidate questions listed below.

- Did you know that President Obama was the 44th President?
- Did you know that President Obama was the 44th President and the first African American President?

After answering the initial questions and being exposed to the treatment, all participants that were randomly assigned to the female candidates section answered the following questions.

Participants were also given a list question, in which all participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups and asked: “How many, not which ones, of the following make you mad?” One group had a list of three answers not easily affected by social desirability and the other group received the same list plus “a female president.” They were given the option to select either 0,1,2,3,or 4 in order to eliminate as much social desirability bias as possible while trying to determine the number of participants that would not support or vote for a female candidates based on her sex.

- Would you support a female candidate of the same political party as you running for Mayor?
- Would you support a female candidate of the same political party as you running for Governor?
- Would you support a female candidate of the same political party as you running for Congress?
- Would you support a woman of the same political party as you running for President?
- When might the US elect the first female President?
- Do you think the US is ready to elect its first female President?

For demographics, all participants of the experiment were asked about age, race, gender, party identification, political ideology, political interest, and Congressional District. Participants were asked to locate their address generally on a map that distinguished between Congressional Districts and chose which district they live in. This was done to eliminate confusion about

Congressional Districts among college students that might not be registered to vote, are registered to vote in their hometown, and/or live on the boundary of Congressional Districts as University of Arizona students.

### **Research Design**

The questions and design of the experiment were very carefully chosen to best control for outside variables and social desirability bias. In order to ascertain how students have been affected by the election of Barack Obama, the first African American US president, we used primes to identify differences in answers to the survey questions between the control group and the groups that were primed to think about Barack Obama and those who were also reminded of his election as the first African American president of the United States. This was replicated with the Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally groups. With a control, one group was asked about Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally as current Arizona Senators. The last group asked about Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally as the first female US Senators from Arizona. There were twice as many participants in each of these initial treatment groups as they were then separated into two groups that were asked about either African American or Latino candidates, with an emphasis on the prospects for an African American or Latino Senator from Arizona. This creates a total of nine treatment groups, with three smaller groups in each grouping of dependent variable or survey questions.

Each of the three dependent variable groups—female candidates, Latino candidates, and African African candidates—were broken into three treatments groups: one control, one that was asked about either Barack Obama, or Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally; and one that was

asked about either Barack Obama as the first African American president or Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally as the first female US Senators from Arizona. The control group received no initial priming question and immediately began answering their set of survey questions. The two priming questions were chosen specifically to eliminate other associations with Obama and Sinema/McSally, such as their party identification or ideology, votes or actions they've taken in office, and any other associations that people may have with their personality and/or political ideology/associations. This allows us to identify the actual effect of Obama and Sinema/McSally's elections as the first African American US President and first female Senators from Arizona, accordingly, apart from any effect that their politics or personality may have on the participants.

Because of the unique position of the University of Arizona on the border of two Congressional districts, one represented by a Latino man and the other by a white woman, respondents were asked to indicate which district they live in. This was achieved by using a map that identified which district they live in because many University of Arizona students are not from Tucson and may vote in a different state and/or may not know the exact boundaries of their congressional districts unless they are highly politically engaged or work for a candidate or elected official for one of the districts. This question allows us to determine whether or not descriptive representation plays a role in any of the responses (i.e., if being represented by a Latino man or a white woman on the Congressional level affects the responses to our survey). Unfortunately, there is no way to create a control group for this aspect of the study as the University only borders two congressional districts and neither are represented by a white man; thus, we can only compare the effects of being represented by a white woman or a Latino man

and see if this has any particular effect on women and Latino respondents. Much of the research done on descriptive research suggests that it will have an effect, particularly on those respondents that share in these characteristics (i.e., female respondents represented by Ann Kirkpatrick should have generally more positive answers and Latinos represented by Raul Grijalva should have generally more positive responses).

The survey questions that we chose for each group closely model those asked in the initial study done by Gillespie and Sloane in 1987, while adjusting for social desirability bias and the different types of candidates we asked about in the African American and Latino candidate groups. Gillespie and Sloane's study asked a number of questions along the lines of, "Do you think a woman is qualified to run for office or hold elected office?". I decided not to include these questions because of the high effect of social desirability on these questions that would make the answers to the questions less reliable. The rest of the survey questions are slightly updated from the initial study but preserve many of the same same premises and general questions in order to allow for comparison between the two studies and the individual questions.

The population that I chose is unique for a number of reasons. For instance, the initial study that sparked this experiment used 7th-12th grade students in Omaha, Nebraska. One of the major criticisms of that study was the small number of African American students and very few other races outside of white and black were included in the study and were all lumped together in one category for their research. We are using a large convenience sample from University of Arizona and University High School. For the high school sample, participants must be enrolled students at University High School, seventeen years of age or older, and in attendance on the day that the experiment is conducted in order to participate in the study. They also must have a

signed waiver of consent on file with both Tucson Unified School District and myself. For the college sample, participants must be enrolled students at the University of Arizona, part of the SGPP subject pool, and over the age of eighteen. This population will be a more diverse population than the population surveyed by Gillespie and Sloane and will hopefully provide greater insight into the effect of descriptive representation and the election of the first African American US president and the first female Senators from Arizona on a more racially representative sample of the United States.

In order to best address social desirability bias we included a list question at the end of each survey section. For a list question, participants are randomly sorted into two groups. They are then presented with a short list of items and asked how many, not which ones, make them angry or upset. One group has a list of three items that are not very affected by social desirability bias and the other group has the exact same list of three plus an additional item that is heavily affected by social desirability bias (e.g., a female president of the United States). The female candidate groups' fourth item was "a female US President," the Latino candidate groups' fourth item was "a Latino Senator from Arizona," and the African American candidate groups' fourth item was "an African American Senator from Arizona." By comparing the average responses for each group, we are able to assess how many of the participants would be angry or upset about the possibility of a female President, an African American or Latino Senator from Arizona, and how these answers are affected by the different primes. The full survey questions are attached in Appendix A.

### **Limitations and Threats to External Validity**

Due to the population, nature of the study, and social desirability bias there are some limitations to the study and potential threats to external validity. First of all, the population for the study is limited to high school seniors and University of Arizona undergraduate students in the SGPP research pool. This was done in order to best duplicate the original study by Gillespie and Sloane and because of the ease of access to these two groups for research. However, this does mean that the study is not entirely generalizable for the entire US population and is limited to an understanding of how younger voters are affected by the elections of Barack Obama and Kyrsten Sinema/Martha McSally. The University of Arizona also has a proportionally higher rate of non-traditional undergraduate students, which increases the diversity of the population with regard to age, political ideology, and party identification. The SGPP research pool that we used for the University of Arizona study population consists of undergraduate students, over the age of eighteen, who are enrolled in at least one class within the School of Government and Public Policy. Many of these students major or minor in one of the majors offered in the School of Government and Public Policy. Additionally, most of these students have the ability to gain extra credit in their SGPP classes by participating in studies such as this, should they decide to pursue it. This means that these students may have higher levels of political knowledge/interest compared to the general public.

External factors also likely that likely influence our results, and which we are unable to control for, are the associations that come with the discussing a female President (e.g., the 2016 election, the historical significance of Hillary Clinton winning the nomination for the Democratic Party for the presidency, and coming so close to being the first female US President but

ultimately being unsuccessful). There is no way to control for this association and the strong feelings that many people have about Hillary Clinton, her campaigns for presidency, and her controversial loss to President Donald Trump. These associations have a very large potential for affecting the survey responses of participants. If respondents think about Hillary Clinton and her loss (at such a close margin) when they are asked about the prospect of electing a female President in the United States, they may be more likely to be more pessimistic or give longer estimates on the time frame for electing the first female US President. Another outside factor that cannot be controlled for is the current group of candidates, especially the large number of female candidates, running for the Democratic nomination for the Presidential election in 2020. More women are running for this office than ever before and respondents' associations with the first female President and these specific candidates may affect the way that participants respond to the survey because they may be more optimistic or pessimistic based on their personal feelings about the particular women running for President in 2020 and how successful they predict those campaigns will be. Within our study, there is no way for us to separate our questions about the potentiality of a female President and the current and past women that have run for the Presidency, especially those who ran very recently and those running right now. This is not as large of a concern for the Latino and African American Senators section of the study because of the lack of prominence of African American or Latino candidates for Senate in Arizona currently and within the past few electoral cycles. There is also much less coverage of the Arizona Senate races when compared to the 2016 and 2020 Presidential races, which is likely to further reduce any potential associations for these respondents.

Many factors could affect the results of the study; however, because of the random assignment to treatment groups and our comparisons to Gillespie and Sloane's research, the results generated from this study will have high internal validity and offer significant indications about how historic elections and their implications influence how voters think about candidates and their prospects in other potentially elections. The data for this experiment is still in the field and therefore any analysis and conclusions based off the data have not been found yet.

### Works Cited

- Brunell, Thomas L., et al. "Descriptive Representation, District Demography, and Attitudes toward Congress among African Americans." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2008, pp. 223–244. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/40263456](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40263456).
- Clark, Christopher J. "Collective Descriptive Representation and Black Voter Mobilization in 2008." *Political Behavior*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2014, pp. 315–333., [www.jstor.org/stable/43653192](http://www.jstor.org/stable/43653192).
- Dolan, Kathleen. "Gender Stereotypes, Candidate Evaluations, and Voting for Women Candidates: What Really Matters?" *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2014, pp. 96–107. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/23612038](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23612038).
- Fraga, Bernard L. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 60, no. 1, 2016, pp. 97–122., [www.jstor.org/stable/24583053](http://www.jstor.org/stable/24583053).
- Gillespie, Diane, and Cassia Spohn. "Adolescents' Attitudes toward Women in Politics: The Effect of Gender and Race." *Gender and Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1987, pp. 208–218. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/189948](http://www.jstor.org/stable/189948).
- Griffin, John D., and Michael Keane. "Descriptive Representation and the Composition of African American Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2006, pp. 998–1012. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/4122929](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4122929).
- Hayes, M. & Hibbing, M.V. *Polit Behav* (2017) 39: 31.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-016-9345-9>

- Mansbridge, Jane. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 61, no. 3, 1999, pp. 628–657. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/2647821](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2647821).
- Merolla, Jennifer L., et al. "Descriptive Representation, Political Efficacy, and African Americans in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Political Psychology*, vol. 34, no. 6, 2013, pp. 863–875. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/43783765](http://www.jstor.org/stable/43783765).
- Pantoja, Adrian D., and Gary M. Segura. "Does Ethnicity Matter? Descriptive Representation in Legislatures and Political Alienation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 84, no. 2, 2003, pp. 441–460. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/42955880](http://www.jstor.org/stable/42955880).
- Reingold, Beth, and Jessica Harrell. "The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement: Does Party Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 2, 2010, pp. 280–294. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/20721490](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20721490).
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. "Gender-Related Political Knowledge and the Descriptive Representation of Women." *Political Behavior*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2003, pp. 367–388. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/3657309](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3657309).
- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Jason L. Morin. "The Effect of Descriptive Representation on Latinos' Views of Government and of Themselves." *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 92, no. 2, 2011, pp. 483–508. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/42956497](http://www.jstor.org/stable/42956497).
- Streb, Matthew J., et al. "Social Desirability Effects and Support for a Female American President." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 1, 2008, pp. 76–89. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/25167611](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25167611).

Whitby, Kenny J. "The Effect of Black Descriptive Representation on Black Electoral Turnout in the 2004 Elections." *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 88, no. 4, 2007, pp. 1010–1023. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/42956208](http://www.jstor.org/stable/42956208).

## Appendix A- Survey Questions

### Treatment:

Did you know that Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally are Arizona's current Senators?

Yes No

Did you know that Kyrsten Sinema and Martha McSally are Arizona's current and first female Senators?

Yes No

### African Americans in Politics:

Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for mayor?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for governor?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for US Senate?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support an African American candidate of the same political party as you running for President?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

When might Arizona elect the first African American senator from this state?

Within the next 5 years, 5-10 years, 10-20 years, 20+ years, Never

Do you think that Arizona is ready to elect an African American senator?

Definitely, Probably, Not Sure, Probably Not, Definitely Not

How many of the following (not which ones) make you mad?

- Traffic
- Littering
- Higher taxes
- \*an African American Senator from Arizona\*

0, 1, 2, 3, \*4\*

**Latinos in Politics:**

Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for mayor?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for governor?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for US Senate?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support a Latino candidate of the same political party as you running for President?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

When might Arizona elect the first Latino Senator from this state?

Within the next 5 years, 5-10 years, 10-20 years, 20+ years, Never

Do you think Arizona is ready to elect a Latino Senator?

Definitely, Probably, Not Sure, Probably Not, Definitely Not

How many of the following (not which ones) make you mad?

- Traffic
- Littering
- Higher taxes
- \*a Latino Senator from Arizona\*

0, 1, 2, 3, \*4\*

**Treatment:**

Did you know that President Obama was the 44th president?

Yes No

Did you know that President Obama was the 44th president and the first African American president?

Yes No

Control

**Women in Politics:**

Would you support a female candidate of the same political party as you running for mayor?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support a female candidate of the same political party as you running for governor?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support a female candidate of the same political party as you running for Congress?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

Would you support a woman of the same political party as you running for President?

Definitely Support, Probably Support, Not Sure, Probably Not Support, Definitely Not Support

When might the US elect the first female president?

Within the next 5 years, 5-10 years, 10-20 years, 20+ years, Never

Do you think the US is ready to elect its first female president?

Definitely, Probably, Not Sure, Probably Not, Definitely Not

How many of the following (not which ones) make you mad?

- Traffic

- Littering
- Higher taxes
- \*A female president\*

0, 1, 2, 3, \*4\*

**Demographics:**

How old are you?

16-17, 18-21, 22-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, older than 40

Which racial groups do you primarily identify with?

African American/Black, Asian/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, Hispanic, Native American,

White, Other:\_\_\_

Which gender do you identify as?

Man    Woman        Other

Which party identification best aligns with your personal party identification?

Strong Democrat, Weak Democrat, Independent but prefer Democrats, Independent with no preference, Independent but prefer Republicans, Weak Republican, Strong Republican

Which political ideology best aligns with your personal political ideology?

Very liberal, liberal, moderate, conservative, very conservative

How do you politically interested are you?

Definitely interested, mostly interested, neither interested nor disinterested, mostly uninterested, definitely uninterested

Congressional Map Question

Click which district you live in... either CD2 and CD3 (represented by Ann Kirkpatrick or Raul Grijalva, respectively)