From Consciousness to Action:

Experiments on Threat and Latino Group

Consciousness

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Research in political science has argued that individuals who are group consciousness are also politically involved because they seek to help improve the standing of their group. However much of the research involving group consciousness relies on self reported survey measures rather than behavioral outcomes. By conducting a survey experiment on 257 Latino respondents, I seek to bring clarity to our understanding of how threatening political rhetoric may influence political behavior. After priming respondents with a message about immigration, I ask respondents to allocate resources between two groups and then measure who is willing to posting on social media on behalf of their group. This experiment allows me to causally test how respondents of varying levels of group consciousness respond behaviorally to different political primes. My findings indicate that respondents who are group conscious are always more likely to be motivated to engage in political behavior on behalf of their group, but threatening political rhetoric may increase some forms of political participation even among those low in group consciousness.

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Introduction

America's last presidential election in 2016 was filled with anti-immigrant anti-Latino rhetoric. In June of 2015 upon initiating his presidential run, Donald Trump delivered an inflammatory speech in which he described Mexicans and immigrants from Latin America as drug dealers, rapists, and criminals [1] this speech launched a political cycle full of in-group out-group rhetoric. Such hostile rhetoric is not new to American politics which has a long history of villainizing minorities. Political pundits at times compared Trump's campaign to that of Pete Wilson's campaign for governor in the state of California and his support of proposition 187, which many often attribute to an increase in turnout and political population in the state (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura 2001; Ramirez 2013; Bowler, Nicholson and Segura 2006; Damore and Pantoja 2013). Similarly, pundits are once again discussing the prospect of a Latino voter backlash in response to the hostile political environment. Increased turnout by Latinos in the Texas primary[2] is just one piece of anecdotal evidence supporting the threat and mobilization hypothesis after the 2016 election.

However what remains unclear about the Latino backlash narrative is who among the Latino population is likely to respond to narratives of threat? Many studies suggest that political threat and mobilization are connected, but most of the work is observational, leaving the causal link of threat to action somewhat ambiguous. In this paper I seek to test the connection between group consciousness and political mobilization. I find that as group consciousness increases, so does the likelihood of engaging in group oriented political action. Furthermore, I examine if group consciousness works similarly in different situations, or if we should expect an increase in group mobilization during times of threat.

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[1] full transcript of the speech can be found at http://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/

[2] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-hispanics/latinas-lead-democratic-rise-in-texas-primary-election-idUSKCN1GJ2LR

My findings suggest that there is little difference in participation despite the situation the respondent finds themselves in. However respondents who are low in group consciousness may be more motivated to engage in some forms of political action when the group is facing a threatening political climate. People high in group consciousness will behave in a way that is more likely to favor the group than people with low levels or no group consciousness no matter the situation.

Theory and Literature

Much of the work on Latino group consciousness and the identity to politics link is based off of studies involving black political participation in the United States. The relationship between black identity and political attitudes was first examined in the late 1970's and early 80's (Verba and Nie 1972; Gurin and Epps 1975; Shingles 1981). Early works like Shingles (1981) argue that the combination of political efficacy and mistrust is due to group consciousness and the realization that the challenges blacks face in terms of social and economic inequality are systemic and not the fault of the individual. This realization is what is promoting a more efficacious politically active black population in the United States. In a similar vein Dawson (1994) coins the idea of linked fate and the interconnectedness of all blacks and what is best for the group, as a utility heuristic for what is best for the individual. Examining what is best for the group as a whole and working towards those goals as a group is thought to be good for the individuals that comprise the group. While these theories are well established in the black politics literature, initially they were not as broadly tested among other ethnic groups, and scholars have since wondered if these early studies are conflating black identity with group consciousness (Miller et al. 1981). Furthermore questions about whether or not the identity to politics link exists for other groups is still debated. Given that blacks have had a unique experience in the United States that

is historically different from any other racial or ethnic group living in the United States, many have argued that black identity is an exceptional case that other minority groups will not replicate (Citrin and Sears 2014). However studies of Latino group consciousness have found that there is merit to the idea of holding a strong Latino identity that can translate into increased political participation.

Group consciousness was first applied to Latinos by Padilla (1985) who called his theory "ethnic consciousness" when writing about Mexicans and Puerto Ricans developing a larger Latino ethnic identity and working together to combat social inequality in Chicago. Because Latino/ Hispanic does not constitute a race but instead is an amalgamation of many ethnic identities that is mostly an American construct, scholars have questioned whether people actually identify as Latino and if this identity can be politicized (Beltrán 2010; Mora 2014). Padilla's 1985 work still left questions unanswered about the durability and generalizability of a politicized Latino identity.

It wasn't until larger survey samples of Latinos were collected that measures of group consciousness were applied to Latinos in a broad sense. Given the ambiguity of whether or not Latinos view themselves as a group, a number of studies have examined what is predictive of individuals holding high levels of group consciousness, finding that higher levels of education and being U.S. born as contributing factors to group consciousness (Masuoka 2006). Furthermore, perceived discrimination in the U.S. is highly correlated with group consciousness (Masuoka 2006; Armenta and Hunt 2009).

Expanding on the link between Latino identity and politics Sanchez and Masuoka (2010) examine the conditions under which linked fate among Latino respondents is strongest. They find that those with higher levels of education, who are Spanish dominant, and have other Latino friends are more likely to have higher levels of linked fate. Their results suggest that there may be some sort of weakening of linked fate as Latinos become more

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and more assimilated. If this were the case then it is unlikely that we should see a large response from Latinos in the face of political threat since we should not expect them to feel as strongly connected to the Latino community.

The psychological underpinnings of Latino group consciousness is centered around the seminole paper by Miller et al. (1981). They argue that group identification does not necessarily mean that an individual is group conscious, and can be applied to other groups. Since most of the previous research focused on black political participation, they sought to derive a psychological theory of group consciousness that is generalizable across different groups. They theorize that beyond mere identification with a group, individuals should prefer members of their group more than the outgroup, and must also possess an awareness of their group's disadvantaged position in society (Miller et al. 1981). Furthermore group conscious members should recognize that the groups low status is attributable to the larger social system. Individuals who are "group conscious" will view their group as victims of injustice and engage in collective action to increase their group's standing in society (Miller et al. 1981). While this study applied group consciousness in a broader sense, their research focused on income differences and group identities that are not as ingrained as race and ethnicity.

Connecting group consciousness to Latino political participation, Stokes (2003) examines the correlates of political participation and finds that three of four separate measures she uses to capture group consciousness- identifying panethnically, expressing dissatisfaction with access to political and material resources, and crediting failure of success to the a larger systematic problem in the United States are correlated with increased political participation and political engagement. Other works have also found that group consciousness is correlated with policy views on issues that are directly related to Latinos while policy issues that are not directly related to the group are not evaluated through a group lens

(Sanchez 2006). In a similar vein, Masuoka and Junn (2013) find that Latinos with high levels of linked fate recognize many of the stereotypes towards immigrants and are more likely to oppose policies that deny social services to immigrants and making English the official language of the United States.

Examining how identity motivates political response Pérez (2015) causally examines how Latinos respond to positive and negative elite discourse. Looking at a sample of eligible but unregistered Latino respondents, he measures the strength of their Latino identity and exposes respondents to either a positive or negative ethnic prime. He finds that when elites discuss minorities in a critical light, strong Latino identifiers respond by displaying a more pro Latino attitude and higher reporting of planning on voting in the next election while low Latino identifiers are more likely to disengage and are less likely to display a pro Latino attitude (Pérez 2015). While Pérez (2015) makes great strides in the literature by causally connecting identity to politics via examining the intent to vote, he unfortunately is not able to show any behavioral actions engaged by participants. What is interesting about this research design is the emphasis on identity and the differences observed between high and low identifiers. Furthermore, we run the risk once again of conflating identity with group consciousness.

Literature on identity and it's importance for personal self esteem as well as group valuation is well theorized in social psychology. Numerous works have works have found that positive group attachment is key to combatting feelings of isolation and depression among individuals (Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009; Greene, Way and Pahl 2006; Pérez, Fortuna and Alegria 2008). Supporting this theory, Bedolla (2005) conducted a number of in-depth interviews in two communities in Los Angeles during the late 1990's and found that developing a positive attachment to one's group is an important factor in motivating people to engage in political action on behalf of their group. Those with a stigmatized

identity are more likely to withdraw from the political process (Bedolla 2005; Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey 1999).

Studies that focus on the strength of identity and discrimination have found that those who belong to a discriminated minority group and more strongly identify with their group had higher levels of self esteem than individuals who weakly identified with their group (Armenta and Hunt 2009). Further, individuals may even choose to try to distance themselves from an identity that they view unfavorably (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Given this line of research it seems like holding a weak or negative attachment to a Latino identity should decrease political participation on behalf of the group.

However it might be the case that identity functions differently in the face of threat. Some studies have found that intragroup differences are likely to decrease in importance and instead group members are likely to focus their attention on the outgroup despite the differences within the group. This occurs when feelings of animosity towards outgroups are more prevalent, and ingroup identity is heightened (Brewer 1999; Armenta and Hunt 2009; Huddy, Sears and Levy 2013). But it is important to remember that identity is just one part of political participation and it may not be enough to propel group members into action.

Building off of these previous studies, I first test the theory that threatening group rhetoric will lead to increased political participation among group members when compared to nonthreatening positive rhetoric, and no rhetoric at all. I then examine how political engagement differs by different levels of group consciousness. This is tested in two different ways, the first is in allocating funds to a Latino oriented or a general human rights oriented nonprofit organization, and the second way is in measuring who is willing to post on social media on behalf the nonprofit that supports Latino immigrants in the United States.

Hypotheses

The purpose of this study is to examine the behavioral response of Latino respondents when primed with a statement meant to illicit political discrimination targeted broadly towards Latinos. First I ask whether priming Latino identity and political threat directed towards Latinos will lead to higher levels of group support than respondents who find themselves in nonthreatening situations, or should we expect political participation to be the same irregardless of the political environment Latinos find themselves in?

To answer this question, respondents will be randomized into three separate conditions, in condition A they will read a positive message about DACA and immigrants are asked to say how much they agree or disagree with the statement. In condition B, respondents will read a negative message about DACA and immigrants, and in condition C respondents will not read any message about DACA or immigrants. Immigration is commonly used as a policy area that primes Latino identity given the narrative that surrounds immigration as predominately Latin American (Sanchez 2006; Pérez 2015)

Group support here is measured in two ways, the first is a divide the dollar game in which respondents are asked to divide $100 dollars between two groups, MALDEF which they are told helps Latino immigrants, or Human Rights Watch which helps defend human rights around the world. They were then told that if they posted on Facebook, they could help one of the groups receive a monetary donation. I hypothesize that respondents in the politically threatening condition would allocate more to MALDEF in the divide the dollar scenario than in the positive prime or the control. Furthermore, I expect the positive message will increase the salience of Latino identity so the allocated funds to MALDEF should be larger than the control. Similarly when looking at social media posting, because respondents feel that the group is threatened, they should be more likely to post on behalf of MALDEF in the threatening condition when compared to the positive prime and the

control.

Finally, I conclude by examining how group consciousness influences the allocation of resources and the respondent's willingness to post on behalf of MALDEF. I hypothesize that respondents who are high in group consciousness will allocate more monetary resources to MALDEF when compared to those with low group consciousness. Furthermore, when respondents feel like the group is under attack, I expect that those with high group consciousness likely to increase the funds to MALDEF when compared to the positive prime and the control. When looking at who is willing to post on behalf of the organizations, I expect that as group consciousness increases, the more likely respondents will be to post on behalf of MALDEF in the threatening and nonthreatening prime. However, I expect the probability of posting to be highest in the threatening condition.

DATA AND METHOD

To test my hypotheses I conducted an online survey experiment using Amazon's MTurk. Participants for the survey experiment were recruited off of Amazon MTurk between March 9th and March 22nd, and were paid thirty five cents to take a 10 minute survey. Since Latino respondents are my population of interest and MTurk respondents are predominately non-Hispanic whites, I used a screening question asking the respondent's race and ethnicity before taking the main questionnaire. While I had initially intended to recruit 900 people given the limited number of Latino MTurk workers and the short time frame I currently have recruited a sample of 267 respondents.

Given the nature of MTurk, the respondents are not representative of the Latino population as a whole. The survey was only conducted in English, and seventy five percent of the sample was born in the United States. Slightly more challenging are the breakdowns by gender and age. Sixty-two percent of the respondents are male, while thirty-eight percent

Table 1: Breakdowns by Condition

	Condition A	Condition B	Condition C
% Democrat	61	62	56
% Republican	17	24	25
% Independent	22	14	21
% Registered voter	69	78	82
% Female	38	41	36
Median Age	30	30	30
Median Education	B.A.	B.A.	B.A.
Median Income	40-49k	40-49k	40-49k
% First Generation	28	19	29
% Second Generation	40	44	37
% Third Generation	32	37	33
% U.S. Born	71	81	70
% South American	26	27	30
% Central American	5	11	9
% Cuban	6	5	9
% Dominican	5	4	5
% Mexican	33	31	27
% Puerto Rican	8	8	6
% Other Latino	17	12	15
N	88	90	89

are female. The pool of respondents is skewed towards a younger demographic as well. Sixty six percent of survey takers are between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four while twenty seven percent of participants are between the ages of thirty-five and forty-nine. A mere eight percent of respondents were fifty or older. I acknowledge the fact that the demographics of the sample are distinct from the Latino population as a whole, but examining how this population responds to political threat will provide us more insight as to how group consciousness may mobilize Latinos in the face of political threat. Table 1 provides a demographic breakdown by condition, indicating that the three groups are similar in size and demographics across the different conditions.

Taking the research by Sanchez (2006) which found that group consciousness has a stronger effect on issues like immigration and bilingual education into consideration, I chose

to use immigration and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) to prime Latino identity. This is similar to Pérez (2015)'s experiment which also uses immigration rhetoric. Given that the immigration debate has continued to revolve around Latin America, I expect that DACA will raise the salience of Latino identity in my experiment as well. Respondents in condition A were given a positive elite message about DACA and asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the statement. Those in condition B received a negative message intended to be threatening about DACA and Latinos in general, while respondents in Condition C received no messaging about DACA. The wording for the DACA question can be found in table 2.

Table 2: Condition Wording

	N	Statement
Condition A	88	Securing DACA protects communities and taxpayers, and prevents human suffering. Failure to bring these children and young adults out of the shadows in the past has put our nation at risk of higher crime and violence.
Condition B	90	Enforcing the law and eliminating DACA protects communities and taxpayers, and prevents human suffering. Failure to enforce the law in the past has put our nation at risk of higher crime and violence.
Condition C	89	[Not asked about DACA]

Note: Wording in condition A & B is prefaced with the following instructions "Immigration and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) has recently been in the political spotlight. Please read the following statement by a member of Congress and indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement"

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In between the treatment and the two outcomes of interest, I asked a question meant to capture group consciousness. Respondents were asked: "do you think it is important for Latinos in the United States to wok together politically in order to increase their status in society?" Responses range from (0) not important at all to (3) yes very important. An overwhelming number of respondents believed it was very important for Latinos to work together with 65% of respondents scoring a 3 on this question and an additional 25% saying it was somewhat important. Only 8% of respondents claimed that it was not really important and 2% said it was not at all important.

To measure how the type of political rhetoric Latinos are exposed to may influence their political behavior, I ask the respondents to participate in the following activities. The first prompt is a hypothetical divide the dollar game in which respondents are asked to allocate funds between two nonprofit organizations one that seeks to help Latinos in the United States, and another that engages in protecting human rights broadly. The question is worded: "The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) is a nonprofit that is working to protect Latino immigrant rights in the United States. Human Rights Watch is a nonprofit that works to protect the rights of individuals around the world. Imagine you have $100 to divide between these two groups, use the sliding scales below to allocate the money. (Total must sum to $100)".

I expect that Latino identifiers in the threatening condition will allocate more funds to MALDEF, the nonprofit that helps Latino immigrants than to the Human Rights Watch. However I expect to find that these results will be driven primarily by those who are high in group consciousness While Latinos in the positive condition might give more money to the Latino oriented nonprofit organization when compared to the control group, this may also be dependent on their level of group consciousness.

Then to examine an actual behavioral outcome, participants were told that a monetary

donation would be made to the organization that receives the highest number of votes by survey participants. They were told that they could vote by posting a message of support on behalf of the group on to Facebook, but to be sure to click on one of the three boxes to continue with the survey. While no donation was actually made, engaging in this sort of deception allowed me to examine if respondents are actually willing to engage in a form of low cost political behavior when they see a potential benefit for the group. At the end of the survey, all respondents were debriefed and made aware of the deception. The response format for the online posting can be found below. While I anticipate that the number of respondents who are willing to post on behalf of these organizations are low, I expect that Latino respondents in the threatening condition, and those with high levels of group consciousness are more likely to post in support of MALDEF because they connect this behavior as helping members of their group.

- I stand with MALDEF in protecting Latino immigrant rights #MALDEF

- I stand with Human Rights Watch in protecting human rights around the world #HRW

- I do not want to post anything at this time

Results

I start by conducting a regression using OLS to examine the differences in donation amounts between the three conditions. I find that there is no significant difference between the mean amount given to MALDEF in condition A when respondents are given the positive prime

($51.01) when compared to the mean given in condition B the threatening prime ($51.42). Looking at condition B and the control condition I find that while the mean value is higher in condition B ($51.42) than the control condition ($46.17) the difference again is not statistically significant. I also find that the donation amounts given to the Human Rights Watch does not change at a statistically significant amount across the three conditions. This can be seen in figure 1.

When comparing the mean allocation to MALDEF and HRW in a T test, I find that when respondents evaluated the positive or negative message about immigration, the average donation to MALDEF is higher than the amount allocated to MALDEF in the control condition. However when placed in the control condition where no message about immigration was evaluated, the average donation to HRW is higher than the average donation made to MALDEF albeit not at a statistically significant level.

Figure 1: Estimated Allocations by Condition

Allocation of $ by Conditions
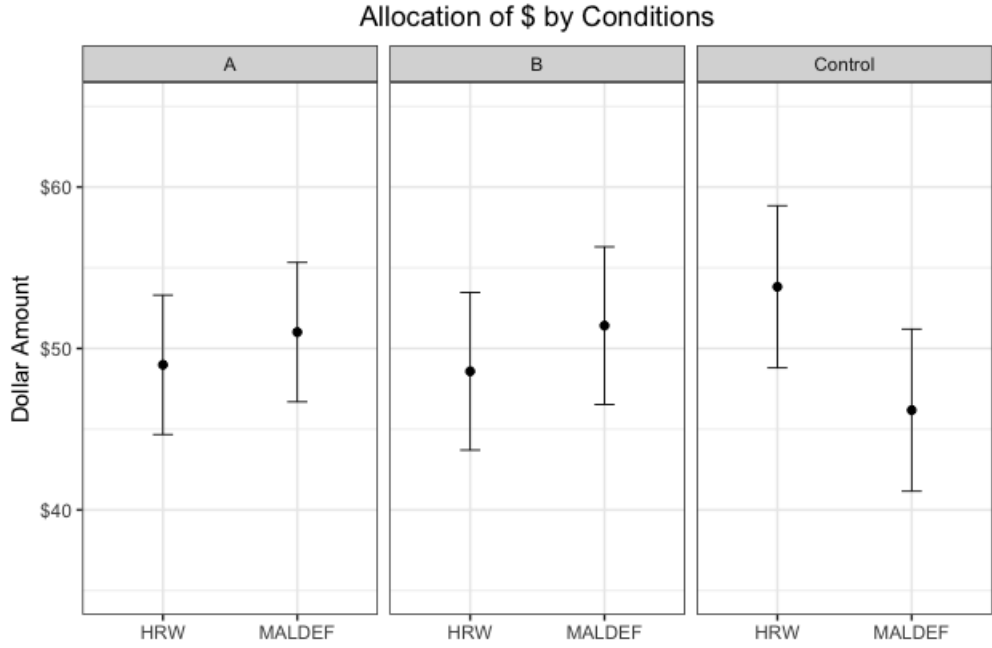
Next I examine if respondents who are high in group consciousness are likely to allocate more money to MALDEF the results in table 3 column 3 indicate that group conscious individuals allocate more funds to MALDEF. However, the amount attributed to group consciousness in the positive prime condition and the threatening condition is less than what we see attributed to group consciousness in the control condition. Furthermore, column 3 indicates that those in condition B allocate more funds to MALDEF when controlling for group consciousness than respondents in the control condition. Figure 2 displays the estimated amount donated to MALDEF going from no group consciousness to the highest level of group consciousness.

Figure 2: Estimated Allocation by Level of Group Consciousness
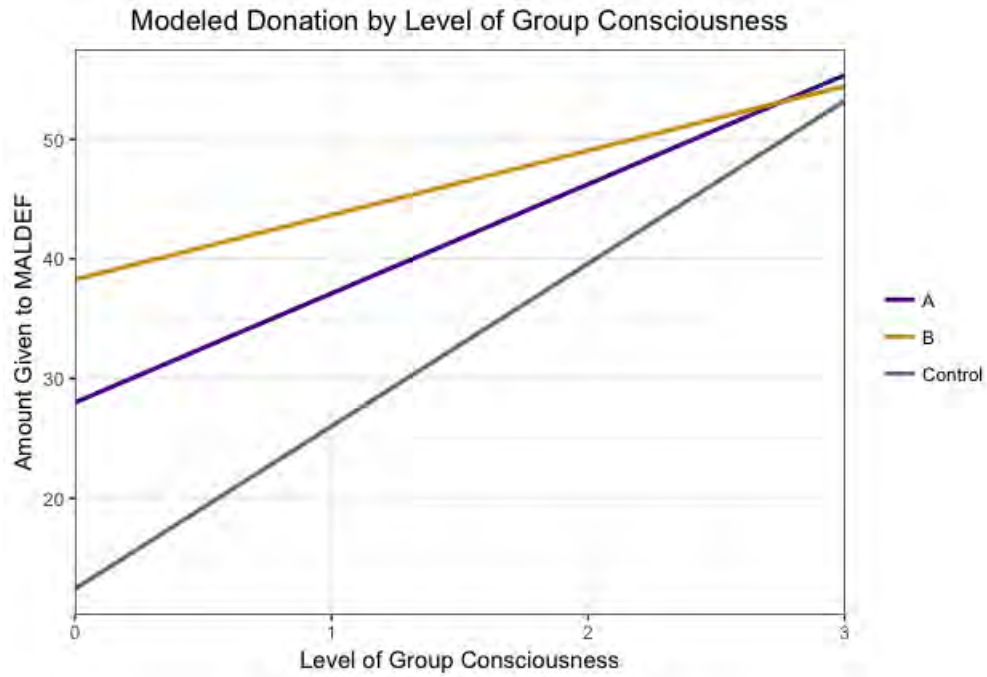
The model shows that as group consciousness increases, the allocation to MALDEF increases the most in the control condition. One possible explanation for this is that nothing is priming Latino identity and so we should expect a linear trend. However when

looking at the allocation to MALDEF in condition B, the threat condition, the starting point for respondents in this condition is much higher, suggesting that the threatening prime is causing respondents to donate more regardless of their level of group consciousness. While those with higher levels of group consciousness in condition B allocate more funds to MALDEF, the slope of the line is not as steep as what we see in condition A (the positive prime) or the control group, indicating that group consciousness has a smaller effect when respondents are primed with threat.

Table 3: OLS regression where dependent variable is amount allocated to organization

	MALDEF	HRW	MALDEF	HRW
Condition A	4.832	−4.832	15.578	−15.578
	(3.433)	(3.433)	(11.847)	(11.847)
Condition B	5.236	−5.236	25.861**	−25.861**
	(3.424)	(3.424)	(12.026)	(12.026)
Group Consciousness			13.596***	−13.596***
			(3.281)	(3.281)
Condition A * Group Consciousness			−4.473	4.473
			(4.549)	(4.549)
Condition B * Group Consciousness			−8.208*	8.208*
			(4.704)	(4.704)
Constant	46.180***	53.820***	12.419	87.581***
	(2.421)	(2.421)	(8.470)	(8.470)
Observations	266	266	266	266
R^2	0.011	0.011	0.107	0.107
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.003	0.090	0.090
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Posting on Social Media

After asking respondents to allocate funds between Human Rights Watch and MALDEF, participants were told that a donation would be made to the organization that received the most votes from survey participants and that they could vote by clicking a link to

Table 4: Percent of respondents who posted in each condition

	Condition A	Condition B	Control
MALDEF	24%	14%	19%
HRW	8%	19%	29%
No Post	68%	67%	52%
Sum	100%	100%	100%

be redirected to Facebook to post a message of support, or could choose to skip posting altogether. The expectation is that those in the threatening condition would be most likely to post in support of MALDEF, and that respondents who are high in group consciousness should also post in favor of MALDEF. Table 4 presents the percent of respondents who posted in support of an organization in each condition. The percentages indicate that respondents are less likely to post in support of MALDEF in conditions A and B when compared to the control group. Furthermore, respondents are least likely to post in support of MALDEF in the threatening condition (B).

A T-test comparison of the groups found that there is no statistically significant differences in posting in support of MALDEF across the three conditions. In condition A the positive prime, respondents are more likely to post for MALDEF than the Human Rights watch, but this effect is not found in the threatening condition nor among respondents in the control group. What I find instead is that respondents are much more likely to not post anything at all in conditions A and B when compared to the control condition.

Because the outcome of interest here are three unordered outcomes, I chose to model this as a multinomial logistic regression in which not posting serves as my reference category. 5 columns 1 and 2 display the results from a simple model in which the only variable I control for is the condition. Here we see that people in the control condition are more likely to post in support of the Human Rights Campaign when compared to the positive and threatening conditions. However there is no statistically significant difference among

Table 5: Multinomial logistic regression on whether respondents were willing to post for an organization on social media. The reference category here is not posting for any organization

	HRW	MALDEF	HRW	MALDEF
Condition A	−1.578***	−0.054	−3.127	0.931
	(0.469)	(0.381)	(2.099)	(1.954)
Condition B	−0.691*	−0.534	0.887	−0.449
	(0.368)	(0.417)	(1.231)	(2.348)
Group Consciousness			0.019	0.986*
			(0.335)	(0.567)
Condition A * Group Consciousness			0.597	−0.371
			(0.772)	(0.710)
Condition B * Group Consciousness			−0.679	−0.032
			(0.509)	(0.847)
Constant	−0.571**	−0.995***	−0.616	−3.574**
	(0.245)	(0.284)	(0.847)	(1.565)
Akaike Inf. Crit.	490.196	490.196	487.007	487.007
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

the three conditions when looking at who is likely to post in favor of MALDEF.

Columns 3 and 4 in table 5 include a control for group consciousness and an interaction term for group consciousness by condition. The results indicate that the interaction terms are not statistically significant, but as group consciousness increases so does the probability of posting in support of MALDEF. This result is found among all three conditions. Because multinomial logistic regressions are difficult to interpret, figure three models the predicted probability of posting a message of support in all three conditions at each level of group consciousness.

Figure 3 indicates that condition A, in which respondents read the the nonthreatening positive message about DACA is the only condition in which the predicted probability of posting a message of support for MALDEF is always higher than the predicted probability of posting in support of HRW. However, the trends indicate that as group consciousness

increases, so does the probability of posting in support of MALDEF. Interestingly, in condition B (the threatening condition), the predicted probability of posting in support of MALDEF is the lowest, and has the flattest slope when compared to condition A and the control. This result is contrary to what I had anticipated and is worth further exploration.
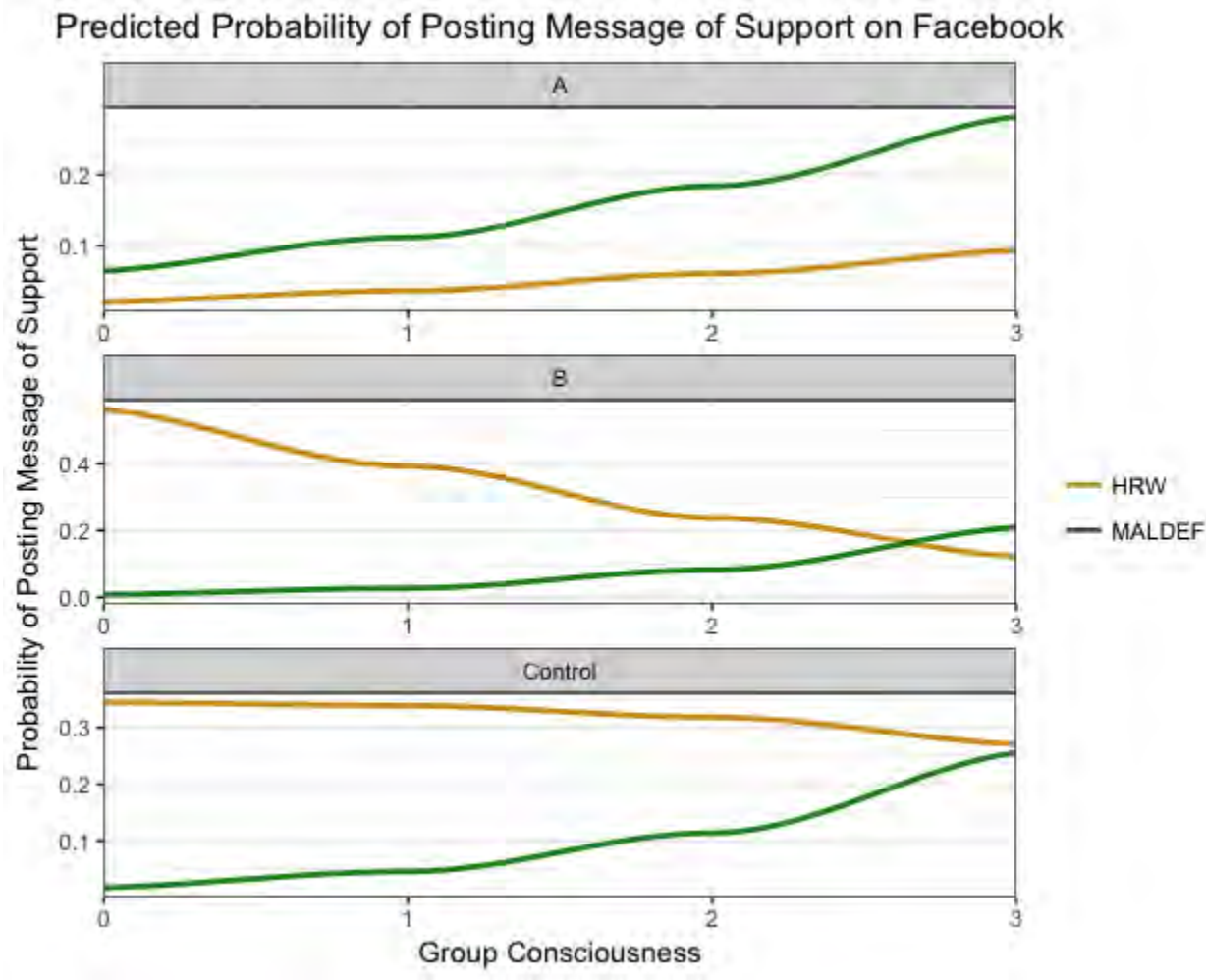

Figure 3: Predicted Probability of Posting based off of the regression model in table 5 which controls for group consciousness

Conclusion and Discussion

My findings suggest that there is more to the threat and political mobilization story than meets the eye. While initially it appears that the mean allocation to the Latino oriented group is not higher in the threatening condition when compared to the two other conditions, a closer examination shows us that threat on it's own does seem to increase support for the group. Additionally while group consciousness does increase one's level of support in the threatening condition, it appears that there is a sort of leveling off. Group consciousness has a greater effect on individual political behavior when the group is not threatened, possibly because the salience of threatening rhetoric is likely to produce less of an effect on someone who already perceives their group to have a lower standing in society and is willing to engage in political behavior that supports the group when there is no political threat to the group present.

What was less conclusive are the results regarding social media posting. Even among respondents who are high in group consciousness, the predicted probability of posting in support of the group is lower than the positive prime condition and the no prime condition. Perhaps this is because people are concerned about posting in support of MALDEF because they are made aware of the fact that people disagree with their position. But it is possible that there are other factors that have not yet been explored that may be contributing to the decrease in posting among the respondents in the threatening condition.

These results are a first cut at an experimental study of Latino group consciousness and political threat. What is most impressive is that even those low in group consciousness are more likely to allocate funds to the organization that supports the ingroup when the group is facing political rhetoric. It is possible that such behavior may be the start of the formation of group consciousness among these individuals rather than using group consciousness to explain why people are mobilized. These results provide an interesting

experimental look into the group consciousness and threat literature that is worth further exploring.

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