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“Tu Luchá es Mi Luchá” (*Your Fight is My Fight*):

Transgender Visibility and Latinx Solidarity”

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University of California Los Angeles

Political Science Departmental Honors Thesis (Winter 2023)

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Abstract

This paper evaluates the impact that pan-ethnic identity has on Latinxs' attitudes toward transgender co-ethnics. Using an original survey experiment with Latinx adults (N = 720), I test whether information about *transgender Latinx immigrants* affects political participation and pan-ethnic unity. I also assess whether identifying as "Latinx" (versus Latina/o, Hispanic) increases support for collective action within the Latinx community on behalf of transgender co-ethnics. I find that information about transgender Latinx immigrants increases support for progressive policies toward Latinx immigrants and transgender individuals. This effect holds regardless of one's preference for pan-ethnic label (i.e., *Latinx, Latina/o, Hispanic*). I discuss the significance that these results have in understanding the Latinx community's political attitudes and unity considering their enormous internal diversity.

Introduction

In 2018, the death of Roxsana Hernández—a transgender Honduran immigrant—sparked a social movement against the detention of transgender immigrants. Reports indicated that Hernández died while in custody at a New Mexico detention facility operated by the United States Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE) (Cook 2018). Her death drew calls to action on the United States Congress to investigate ICE officials’ documentation of immigrants, leading to multiple studies to understand the immigration experiences of transgender Latina immigrants (Alvarez 2019). However, these studies do not analyze the political impact that the experiences of these women in ICE detention might have on mobilizing self-identified *Latinx* individuals to address the harms of ICE on this community. Investigating the role that self-identifying labels, such as *Latinx* can have in building support towards collective action is important. Given that *Latinx* is a unifying term that can be used to enshrine greater (trans)gender equality for co-ethnics (Vicuña and Pérez 2022), it is plausible that individuals who identify as *Latinx*—rather than as *Latina/o* or *Hispanic*—might be especially likely to engage in collective political action on behalf of transgender *Latinx* individuals. To examine the political influence of *Latinx*s’¹ pan-ethnic identity, I conducted a survey experiment to evaluate how exposure to the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants’ shapes the *Latinx* community’s political attitudes in favor of collective action against ICE detentions.

My survey experiment consists of one treatment condition and a control group with a moderator variable that represents the degree to which participants in the study used the term *Latinx* to self-identify. The main research question that my study aims to answer is: Does

¹ As a researcher, I choose to use the term *Latinx*, instead of “*Latina/o*” and “*Hispanic*,” to describe the community and promote an academic space that is inclusive of the gender diversity within the community (Vidal-Ortiz & Martinez 2018).

exposure to the experiences of transgender Latinas with the United States Immigration System influence collective action among the Latinx community? Answering this question within the context of immigration was important because immigration has traditionally been identified as the leading factor that drives political unity among the Latinx community due to the group's immigrant history (Garcia and Sanchez 2021). Through exposure to stories of the adversities that transgender individuals face, my study contributes to our growing understanding of Latinx political attitudes.

Studying the Latinx community's political attitudes under these conditions provide a deeper examination of how the unique identities of this community can be used to encourage their involvement in the political process. Key terms that I use throughout my study are *transgender Latina immigrants*, collective action, and *Latinx*. First, I use the term *transgender Latina immigrants* to refer to the transgender individuals who were born in Latin America, whose gender identity differs from the sex they were assigned at birth, and who immigrated to the United States. Second, collective action, as defined by social psychologists, is an umbrella term used to describe the political attitudes that individuals embody to improve their group's status (Zomeren 2013). Third, the term "*Latinx*" symbolizes a pan-ethnic group label that is used by individuals who don't feel represented with the dominant pan-ethnic group labels of "Latina/o" or "Hispanic" (Ramos 2020). The use of these terms positions my research to study the political attitudes of the Latinx community through scholarship in social psychology and Latinx politics.

The goal of my study is to analyze how awareness of the experiences faced by transgender Latina immigrants at the hands of ICE can help elevate Latinxs' political engagement and unity. Identifying the conditions that expand and create Latinx unity are crucial

because the community is projected to become the largest voting bloc in the United States; but it is under mobilized due to the community's internal diversity being absent from conversations discussing the domestic issues affecting the group. For this reason, it is necessary that as political scientists' we expand the interpretation of Latinx collective action and examine how the group's internal diversity can be used as a catalyst for mobilization.

The structure of my research thesis is as follows. In the literature review section, I discuss research on Latinx unity and the community's political attitudes by focusing on studies surrounding immigration and pan-ethnic identity. I follow by developing a theoretical framework with testable hypotheses that capture how Latinx unity is formed considering the community's internal diversity. Then, I introduce my research design and results. I conclude by explaining the role that my research study played in expanding political scientists' interpretation of the Latinx community's political attitudes and unity.

Literature Review

Collective action within internally ethnically diverse groups, like the Latinx community, is commonly measured using the emotions and values that individuals embody to challenge a common threat from outgroups. For example, Chin et.al (2022) examined this by observing whether using the common pan-ethnic label of “people of color” encompassed higher levels of collective action among Black, Asian, and Latinx respondents in favor of environmental justice policies. The results indicated a connection between the label and incentives for collective action, yet Chin et. al (2022) point out, that the difference in the levels of collective action displayed by each group was dependent on whether participants—especially Latinxs—felt they represented the prototypical *person of color*, which conditioned their response to environmental injustices faced by *people of color*. This shows that broadly shared group labels, such as *people of color*, can mobilize individuals. In terms of Latinxs—another broadly diverse group—this insight implies that *Latinxs* political unity might be further impacted by the group’s own internal diversity.

This internal diversity is connected to the different pan-ethnic labels used by the group and issues they prioritize. For instance, Mora et.al (2021) explain that pan-ethnic labels, such as *Latinx* and *Hispanic*, have symbolic political power because they shape the sociopolitical standing and moral validation that individuals’ attribute to specific situations. Social scientists have analyzed the political effects of this phenomenon through the correlation between ethnic group consciousness theory and Latinx mobilization. Group consciousness theory explains that an individual is most likely to feel a sense of belonging within a group if they share similar interests or institutional challenges (Taeku 2008). This is apparent in a study by Schildkraut et. al (2018) who compared state immigration policies and found that Latinx individuals were most

likely to move away from states that passed anti-immigration laws because they interpreted the passage of these as “anti-Latino” and “anti-immigrant.”

The ethnic value that participants in Schildkraut’s et. al (2018) study attributed to the passage of state immigration laws represents the historical influence that the establish pan-ethnic group labels, such as “Hispanic” or “Latino” have on creating co-ethnic group solidarity. Mora et. al (2021) indicates that the pan-ethnic labels of “Hispanic” and “Latino” were created by civil rights leaders in the 1970s with the intentions to increase the sociopolitical representation of Latinx groups in the United States. As a result, identifying as “Hispanic” or “Latino” has prompted individuals to yield high levels of collective action when confronting unwelcoming policy environments because they seek to “...restore the positive distinctiveness of their group’s worth” (Perez 2015). This suggests that the pan-ethnic group labels that Latinx individuals use to identify generates levels of collective action because members gain conscious of the impact that these policies will have on both their own and community’s success.

However, in the contemporary the pan-ethnic labels of “Hispanic” and “Latino” have contributed to the creation of a monolithic image of who is “Hispanic” or “Latino.” Julissa Arce (2022) writes that the American society has traditionally associated the “Latino” identity with immigration due to the community’s immigrant history, even though 35% of “Latinos” are United States Citizens. This demonstrates that identifying as “Latino” has created more than co-ethnic group solidarity—it has created an internalized image that informs people’s opinions, attitudes, and behaviors towards “Latino” issues (Vicuña and Perez 2021). Although, it is true that some self-identifying “Latinos” are immigrants, the use of these gendered pan-ethnic labels to categorize the policy agenda of the group disregards the opportunity to speak about the fluidity of the “Latino” identity. Rejecting the use of gendered pan-ethnic labels helps pave the

way for conversations about gender and the social value attributed to the policies affecting the community's socioeconomic well-being. For this reason, social scientists have introduced the self-label of *Latinx* as a complimentary label to “Hispanic” and “Latino” to generate gender inclusivity and expand the discussion on the Latinx experience to increase political engagement (Vidal-Ortiz & Martinez 2018).

Recognizing the growing influence that the identity label of *Latinx* has on the community's political attitudes is noteworthy because the “x” provides individuals with the opportunity to explore the internal conflict that comes with identifying under multiple identities beyond their ethnic group (Ramos 2020). Nonetheless, the term makes space to confront and acknowledge the intragroup politics² that arise due to the cross-pressure of having to choose between the interpersonal issues that require their political participation or uphold establish group norms (Vicuña and Perez 2021).

The importance to address these internal conflicts is apparent in a study by Moreau et. al (2019) who describes that the anti-Latinx messaging introduced by President Trump in 2016 heightened the meaning Latinx folks attributed to their identities. In their study, they found a “sexuality gap” which explained that non-LGBTQ+ Latinx were less likely to politically participate, whereas LGBTQ+ Latinx were more likely to politically participate through voting to protect the two communities that they belonged to. Contrary, to the White community, the Latinx community's intentions to collectively act is informed by the perceptions their community holds towards an issue, and therefore proves that conversations about diversity are necessary to fully understand their political participation. Most importantly, it conveys that Latinxs are determined to politically participate, yet to increase their engagement require exposure to the

² Intragroup Politics refers to the conflict that exists between members of the same group due to competing ideas.

multi-dimensionality of their community. This is an existing gap in the literature surrounding Latinx unity and collective action because scholarship has proven that the political participation of the Latinx community is driven by co-ethnic group solidarity and perceived group threats, but the literature doesn't explain what circumstances can encourage non-LGBTQ+ Latinx folks to politically participate; and learn how the political environment affects each group member differently.

In sum, the studies presented in this literature review depicted that intragroup dynamics have a direct impact on the Latinx community's political participation and collective action. At the same time, discussed how co-ethnic group identity carries political meaning, and therefore to reach unity one must begin to acknowledge that the domestic issues affecting Latinx folks are not one-dimensional. The limitations of the literature review invite us to cross-examine the correlation between group identity and political attitudes because Latinxs' pan-ethnic group identities has traditionally been used to categorize, yet has not been reviewed within the context of political activism.

Theory and Hypotheses

My theory expands on existing scholarship discussing the internal and external struggles that impact the creation of Latinx intragroup unity. Specifically, it provides an analysis beyond the intersection of race and politics by incorporating gender identity and evaluating the extent to which it can be a driver that triggers Latinxs' political engagement. A key component to this analysis is looking at the influence that self-identity labels have on Latinxs' political attitudes. My theory is that Latinx collective action and unity can arise when Latinx folks are exposed to the negative experiences facing members of their community with whom they share an ethnic, gender, and immigrant background. This is aligned with the findings of social psychologist Martijin Va Zomeren (2008) who found that individuals' political attitudes in favor of collective action are most prevalent when exposed to the injustices faced by individuals in their co-ethnic group.

To test my claims, I examine how the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants can influence Latinx collective action. Testing for Latinx collective action and unity through the framework of immigration and (trans)gender politics is important because immigration is one of the issues that has historically mobilized Latinxs' votes in election cycles. For example, during the 2010 midterm elections, Latinxs were 8% of the total electorate following their incentive to mobilize and vote against candidates that supported the passage of anti-immigration laws, such as Arizona's SB 1070 bill (Barreto and Segura 2014). However, missing from these political analyses is how Latinxs' awareness of their pan-ethnic identity and gender diversity, especially how the experiences of queer Latinx immigrants can motivate them to be politically engaged.

This is striking because as Latinxs become one of the crucial voting blocks in the United States that can ultimately decide elections, it is vital to understand the various factors that can

lead them to act on a political issue. Within this group, there is 11% that identify as queer, yet this population is often overlooked and oppressed, causing their experiences to not be well documented or known (Galván 2022). More troubling, queer and immigrant Latinxs face human rights violations at disproportionate rates while in ICE detention and these incidents are not publicized. According to Resendiz (2018) Latinx transgender immigrants are most likely to be criminalized by ICE and their experiences go unreported due to fears of retaliation.

In addition to this, the political landscape has also proven to influence the treatment that queer immigrants receive in the United States. For instance, following the election of President Trump in 2016, Latinx transgender immigrants living in the United States expressed witnessing a rise in workplace and healthcare discrimination due to their immigration status and gender identity (Abreu et. al, 2021). This implies not only the need for Latinxs to recognize the struggles that members of their community are experiencing but also how they can utilize their political influence as a group to influence the electoral process, to support policies that are going to improve the living conditions of the most marginalized members in their community. Therefore, this study examines the level to which the struggles of transgender immigrants can be used to advance Latinxs' political participation through collective action efforts.

My research study tests three hypotheses. The first hypothesis (**H1**) captures the central focus of the study and theorizes that: Exposure to the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants with ICE should increase collective action among the Latinx community. This means that at the end of my study I anticipate a positive correlation between exposure to the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants and measures of Latinx collective action.

The second hypothesis (**H2**) introduces the moderator variable of the study, which represents the degree to which Latinx participants use the term *Latinx* to self-identify. This

proposes that participants who self-identify as *Latinx* will be most likely to express intentions for collective action. Using the *Latinx* identity label as a moderator variable to test for collective action within the Latinx community is relevant because existing scholarship has shown that Latinx individuals who use *Latinx* contrast to *Latina/o* or *Hispanic* are more open towards LGBTQ+ individuals and politics (Perez and Vicuña 2021). The third hypothesis (**H3**) acknowledges when the moderator variable will have no effect by stating that Latinx participants who don't self-identify as *Latinx* will be less likely to embrace intentions for collective action. The hypotheses of my research test for the effects that the messaging expressed in the stories of transgender Latinas has on participants' intentions for collective action. A summary of the three main hypotheses is presented in the table below.

Hypothesis	Description
H1	Exposure to information narrating the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants will <i>increase</i> a sense of collective action among Latinx participants.
H2	Participants who use the pan-ethnic label of "Latinx" will be <i>more likely</i> to express levels of collective action after exposure to treatment.
H3	Participants who don't use the pan-ethnic label of "Latinx" will be <i>less likely</i> to express levels of collective action after exposure to treatment.

Research Design

My study is an experiment comprised of a treatment condition and a control group. Data collection was completed by Dynata, an online survey platform. Study participants were Latinx adults ($N = 844$), with an average age of ($M = 26, SD = 16.2$). My analyses focus on those participants who passed a manipulation check, leaving me with an effective sample of $N=720$ participants.

Prior to my manipulation (described below), participants were asked to fill out a brief survey on their demographics, such as age, state (or U.S territory) where they live, self-identity label used, level of completed education, where were they born, political ideology, where their parents were born, and the Latin American country to which they traced their ancestry (See Appendix 2). I conducted a chi-squared test to confirm that participants assignment to either the treatment condition or control group was not systematically related to the information they provided³.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to either the treatment condition or control group. Those who were assigned to the treatment group learned of experiences endured by transgender Latina immigrants through a news article explaining the challenges that they have faced while detained by ICE. Specifically, the article that participants received was titled, “Transgender Diversity is a Real Part of the Latinx Community—And is Taking the Brunt of Anti-Latinx Discrimination” (See Appendix 3). This title allowed for participants in the treatment condition to become familiar with the topic and its relevance to their co-ethnic community. On the other hand, those assigned to the control group were prompted to read a news article unrelated to

³ Results for the randomization and balance check procedure can be found under “Appendix 1 Randomization and Balance Checks.”

immigration and transgender Latina immigrants. Participants in the control group read an article animating the life cycle of the lotus flower and its cultural meaning in East Asian culture (See Appendix 3).

Following random assignment to one of these conditions, participants answered a manipulation check to verify their understanding of the information that they read and whether they were paying attention or not. Those who passed the manipulation check were directed to the post-treatment questionnaire (See Appendix 4). The post-treatment questionnaire was divided into three main categories. The first set of questions represented the moderator variable of the study which measured participants' levels of association along with their preferred pan-ethnic group label. Here, participants were given four statements relating to their pan-ethnic identity which was coded to appear based on the pan-ethnic label that they identified with at the beginning of the study. The level of agreement was based on a seven-point scale, where 1 denoted strong disagreement and 7 strong agreement. To contextualize, the statements appeared as follow:

- | |
|--|
| 1). Being [<i>Latinx /Latina/o /Hispanic</i>] means being sensitive to gender diversity, especially with respect to LGBTQ+ individuals. |
| 2). I am proud to identify as [<i>Latinx /Latina/o /Hispanic</i>]. |
| 3). Being [<i>Latinx /Latina/o /Hispanic</i>] is an important part of who I am as a person. |
| 4). Identifying as [<i>Latinx /Latina/o /Hispanic</i>] is important to how I view myself. |

The second part of the survey called for participants to use the information that they read to answer two statements. Specifically, this part of the questionnaire intended to garnish participants' support for transgender immigrant policies and test for the study's central

hypothesis (**H1**). Participants continued to use the same seven-point scale to express their level of agreement. The statements for this section read as follow:

- | |
|--|
| 1). Transgender immigrants should automatically be granted political asylum. |
| 2). Transgender immigrants who are currently living in the United States should be provided with work permits and healthcare services. |

The final part of the questionnaire asked participants to rate their likelihood of participating in canvassing efforts to protect their ethnic community. It's important to note that these final three statements were written with the intention to provide participants with different examples of how they can embrace collective action and unity. These statements were:

- | |
|--|
| 1). Participating in canvassing efforts are important ways on how I can become politically active to protect the Latinx community and everyone included in it. |
| 2). Participating in phone banking events organized by Latinx community organizations can help me influence the narrative surrounding Latinx issues during elections. |
| 3). Writing postcards to voters and asking them to support Latinx issues, such as transgender immigrant rights is an example of how I can advocate for the visibility of this community. |

In detail, dividing the post-treatment questionnaire into three main categories allowed for the study to cross-examine the relationship between participants' pan-ethnic identity and support for specific policy positions that can represent their incentive for collective action. Equally important, participants' preferred pan-ethnic identity served to moderate their levels of agreement for each question because each statement emphasized the relevancy of the issue within their co-ethnic community. The data findings are discussed in the following section.

Results

In solidarity for transgender immigrant rights

The methodological approach that I used to assess my data results was a regression analysis. This facilitated an easier approach to interpret the effect that the treatment had on the outcomes. The outcome variables are represented by the responses to the post-survey questions of the study which were scaled from a 0 to 1 interval (See Appendix 4). In this case, I used the regression results to test the validity of my three hypotheses: **H1** which pointed to the idea that the regression results would demonstrate a positive correlation between exposure to treatment and Latinxs' support for transgender immigrant policies. Likewise, **H2** tested for the moderator variable of the study and anticipated that participants who used the *Latinx* pan-ethnic label would express higher levels of support for collective action, while those who used a different pan-ethnic label would not (**H3**).

The regression analysis provides support for **Hypothesis 1**. Specifically, exposure to treatment increased support for transgender immigrant policies by nearly 26 percentage points ($p < 0.023$). This supports existing research that distinguish the *Latinx* community as a pro-immigrant voting bloc that will shift their attitudes in favor of policies affecting the well-being of their community members. These findings are displayed in table 1 below.

Support for Transgender Immigrant Policies	
Level of Support	
TransScale1	
Treatment	0.259** (0.114)
Constant	3.768*** (0.080)
Observations	814
R2	0.006
Adjusted R2	0.005
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 1: Regression Analysis Assessing Support for Transgender Immigrant Policies

More than a Label

On the other hand, the data results testing for both **H2** and **H3** displayed no statistical impact after exposure. I first discuss the meaning of the data results for **H2**. To reiterate, **H2** examined the moderator variable of the study and proposed that participants who preferred to use the pan-ethnic label *Latinx* would express higher levels of collective action after treatment. However, the data results signaled weak support for this hypothesis because though the number of *Latinx* identifying respondents (n = 7) was relatively low, participants who self-identified as *Hispanic* (n= 449) still expressed high levels of support for transgender immigrant rights as reported in the **Table 1**. For this reason, I decided to create a scale from 0 to 1 that represented participants’ association with their preferred pan-ethnic labels to measure treatment effects on pan-ethnic identity. This was created using participants’ answers to the identity questions asking them to evaluate their level of agreement on the role that their pan-ethnic identity played in their everyday life (See Appendix 4).

Treatment Effect on Pan-Ethnic ID	
Levels of Pan-Ethnic ID	
PANIDscale	
Treatment	0.020 (0.013)
Constant	0.724*** (0.009)
Observations	820
R2	0.003
Adjusted R2	0.002
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 2: Regression Analysis Assessing Treatment Effect on Pan-Ethnic Identity

Table 2 provides a summary of the single regression analysis conducted to investigate these treatment effects. Based on the table above it is evident that exposure to treatment had minimal impact on participants' attitudes towards their pan-ethnic identity. Specifically, exposure to treatment increased levels of pan-ethnic identity by 2 percentage points, a substantively small and statistically insignificant effect ($p < 0.122$).

In a similar manner, **H3** predicted that those who used another pan-ethnic label besides *Latinx* would be less likely to support collective action efforts. The overall treatment effect on collective action displayed a weak support, yet as stated throughout this section participants continued to support transgender immigrant policies regardless of their preferred pan-ethnic identity label. To study this, I created a third scale from 0 to 1 to observe participants' overall attitudes in favor of collective action following exposure to treatment (See Appendix 4). These results are summarized in **Table 3**.

Collective Action	
=====	
Level of Support	

CANVAScale1	

Treatment	0.045 (0.100)
Constant	4.367*** (0.070)

Observations	809
R2	0.0003
Adjusted R2	-0.001
=====	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3: Regression Analysis Assessing Levels of Collective Action

Table 3 shows that exposure to treatment increased support for transgender policies by nearly 5 percentage points, but this modest effect falls short of statistical significance ($p < 0.05$). These findings suggest that collective action among the Latinx community is not dependent on pan-ethnic group labels that create intergroup unity. I discuss the implications that these results have in understanding Latinx unity and collective action in the following section.

Conclusion

In the last decade, the Latinx community has become the political base that presidential and congressional candidates rely on to increase their vote share across the nation due to the community's rapid population growth. However, to transform the community's population size into votes, we must identify the political attitudes that generate group unity and collective action within this internally diverse group. This section provides a reflection on the data results and impact that it holds towards understanding Latinx unity and collective action.

In the literature review of this paper, I described how the internal diversity of Latinxs contributes to the creation of intragroup conflict due to the different pan-ethnic identity labels that members use, since these pan-ethnic identities are known to carry political significance. I elaborate on this through an examination on the role that the *Latinx* pan-ethnic identity label can play in developing co-ethnic group unity and collective action; because the “x” in this term is described as “...an invitation for every one of those people that cannot fit into one identity” and have multiple policy preferences (Ramos 2020). Using literature on this term to build my study was important because current research on collective action and group unity within internally diverse groups like Latinxs inform that group unity builds quickly following exposure to out-group discrimination (Chin et. al 2022). Likewise, existing scholarship on the *Latinx* term reminds us that individuals who use the term will be most likely to show support for members in their co-ethnic group who are also part of the LGBTQ+ community (Vicuña and Pérez 2022). At the same time, amid the intragroup conflict that arises, the group continues to be united through a shared immigrant experience that motivates them to endorse pro-immigration initiatives.

In return, my study contributes to these existing bodies of work and presents new research that can support political scientists to better understand how co-ethnic group unity and

political attitudes are formed within an internally diverse group like Latinxs. I further these findings, by introducing the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants who embody the group's shared immigrant experience and diverse identities. This group is important to investigate because since 2013 the number of transgender Latina immigrants living in the United States has increased, yet they are underrepresented because the United States Census Bureau does not account for the number of transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals living in the United States (The TransLatin@ Coalition 2014). Equally important, as of January 17, 2023, transgender immigrant rights activists are awaiting the United States Supreme Court's ruling on the case *Santos-Zacarias vs Garland (2023)*⁴ which will impact the legal process that asylum seekers—especially transgender immigrants must follow when applying for asylum in the United States if their asylum petition is rejected.

Theoretically, my study broadens the field of Latinx Politics by investigating co-ethnic group unity and collective action through the lens of transgender politics. I hypothesized that exposure to the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants would signal high levels of support for transgender immigrant policies and collective action, while also observing whether participants' pan-ethnic identity labels moderated their attitudes. I find that participants overwhelmingly supported immigrant rights policies, but the pan-ethnic identity label that participants used had limited influence on their attitudes towards collective action and transgender immigrant policies. The work presented omits the message that immigration remains one of the top issues affecting Latinxs' political attitudes. Most importantly, encourages Latinxs to include the voices of LGBTQ+ immigrants in conversations surrounding an immigration reform, as participants in the study became informed of the additional hurdles that individuals in

⁴ The case was filed by Estrella Santos-Zacarias who is a 33-year-old transgender immigrant from Guatemala that was deported in 2019 and has not been able to reapply for asylum (Dwyer 2023).

their community face throughout the immigration process due to their gender and sexual identity. The neutral support that participants expressed for collective action considering their pan-ethnic identity labels, shows that collective action is not readily influenced by pan-ethnic identity; rather the individual reward that they may receive for their political participation.

In the end, even though my study encountered limitations due to low support for collective action efforts and number of *Latinx* identifying participants, I am confident that the study can be replicated to continue testing for the influence that the group's pan-ethnic identity has on their political socialization. Additional studies that can be conducted are those that recruit only self-identifying *Latinx* individuals because my study surveyed participants who used any of the existing pan-ethnic identity labels. Following this approach will help contextualize the political attitudes held by *Latinx* identifying individuals in favor of collective action, since social scientists have emphasized that the term is mostly used by young and politically active Latinxs. This is critical because my study did not test for the influence that additional variables, such as age and geographic location had on the treatment outcome. Yet, it is worth noting that majority of participants in the study were young Latinx women who lived in partisan leaning states, such as California, Texas, and Florida. Considering these additional covariates prompts us to visualize the multi-dimensionality of the Latinx electorate who structure their political attitudes beyond their co-ethnic group and seek to elevate the well-being of their community members based on their experiences. Above all, I hope that researchers and politicians turn to my study to learn more about how the topic of immigration is evolving and requires a multi-layered analysis to address it because immigrants—especially Latinx immigrants are not a monolith they hold powerful stories that can shift the political attitudes of an electorate.

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Appendix

- 1) Appendix 1 Randomization and Balance Checks
- 2) Appendix 2 Question Wording for Experiment Pre-Survey
- 3) Appendix 3 Treatment Wording for Treatment Condition and Control Group
- 4) Appendix 4 Question Wording for Post-Survey

Appendix 1 Randomization and Balance Checks

To evaluate assignment to either the treatment condition and control group, I conducted randomization checks and chi-squared tests. First, a randomization (balance) check was performed to determine whether the covariates gathered during the pre-treatment survey were evenly distributed across the experiment. Nevertheless, none of the balance tables yielded significant results, suggesting that there was no imbalance among the covariates because both the treatment and control group had an average p-value of 0.790.

Lastly, chi-squared tests were conducted to check for any systematic variation in the individual variables across condition groups. Akin, to the randomization check there wasn't any statistically significant results by age ($p=0.499$), gender ($p=0.485$), parent's immigration status ($p=0.157$), nor political party identification ($p=0.912$). This shows that assignment to either group was not influenced by participants' demographics.

Appendix 2 Question Wording for Experiment Pre-Survey

Q1 What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

- Asian or Asian American (1)
- Black or African American (2)
- Hispanic or Latino (3)
- Middle Eastern or North African (4)
- Native American (5)
- White (6)
- Another racial or ethnic group (7)

Q2 In what year were you born?

▼ 2005 (1) ... 1918 (88)

Q3 How do you identify?

- Female (1)
- Male (2)
- Non-binary (3)
- Transgender (4)
- Other (5)
- Prefer not to say (6)

Q4 What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Less than high school (1)
- High school (2)
- Some college (3)
- Bachelor's degree or higher (4)

Q5 In which state do you currently reside?

▼ Alabama (1) ... I do not reside in the United States (53)

Q6 Generally speaking, do you usually consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or some other party?

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- Independent (3)
- Some other party (4)
- Don't know (5)

Q7 Hispanics and Latinos have their roots in many different countries. To what country do you or your family trace your ancestry? If your family has roots in several countries, please pick the one country that, in your own opinion, best reflects your ancestry.

- Argentina (1)
- Bolivia (2)
- Brazil (3)
- Chile (4)
- Colombia (5)
- Costa Rica (6)

- Cuba (7)
- The Dominican Republic (8)
- Ecuador (9)
- El Salvador (10)
- Guatemala (11)
- Honduras (12)
- Mexico (13)
- Nicaragua (14)
- Panama (15)
- Paraguay (16)
- Peru (17)
- Puerto Rico (18)
- Uruguay (19)
- Other (20) _____

Q8 Were you born in the United States?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Were you born in the United States? = No

Q9 In what country were you born?

- Mexico (1)

- Puerto Rico (2)
- Cuba (3)
- Dominican Republic (4)
- Spain (5)
- El Salvador (6)
- Some other country (7)

Q10 Where were your parents born? Were they born in the U.S., was one born in the U.S., or were both born in another country?

- Both parents born in the U.S. (1)
- One parent born in the U.S. (2)
- Neither parent born in the U.S. (3)
- Don't know (4)

Q11 What label do you prefer for yourself?

- Latino (1)
- Latina (2)
- Hispanic (3)
- White (4)
- Latinx (5)

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Treatments

Q13 In the next section, you will be reading some information from the Associated Press. Please read it closely. You will be asked some questions about it in the next part.

Appendix 3 Treatment Wording for Treatment Condition and Control Group

“Transgender Diversity is a Real Part of the Latinx Community—And is Taking the Brunt of Anti-Latinx Discrimination”

In 2019 Johana Medina, a transgender Latina immigrant from El Salvador became the second transgender Latina immigrant to die following her release from an immigration detention facility operated by the United States Immigration Customs and Enforcement (I.C.E). Johana spent two months in I.C.E. custody and during that time she was denied medical services to treat an underlying illness she had expressed concerns of upon her detention but were dismissed by I.C.E. agents. Johana’s death came a year after the passing of Roxsana Hernández who died in a New Mexico detention facility also operated by I.C.E. Roxsana’s death represented the first time that national news outlets reported on the experiences of transgender immigrants. Like most immigrants Roxsana and Johana were seeking asylum in the United States to escape the prosecution and inhospitable environment of their native home countries. As a result, activists have expressed that policymakers must understand that the immigrant experience is multi-layered and have turned to using the pan-ethnic group label of “Latinx” to identify this growing community, because the “x” in Latinx “...is an exclusive way to represent the 60 million of Latinos” living in the United States whose identities intersect beyond the walls of their ethnic group.



Figure 1: #EndTransDetention March in Washington D.C 2021

The advocacy surrounding transgender immigrant rights has continued to grow following the election of President Biden—who vowed to reverse the anti-immigrant and anti-LGBTQ+ initiatives supported by President Trump. This means that the faith of transgender immigrants is dependent on the power of the advocacy work led by transgender and immigrant rights groups. Figure 1 shows an image from the #EndTransDetention March that took place on June 2021 in Washington D.C to demand President Biden to end the detention of transgender immigrants—specifically those who have pre-existing medical conditions. The march featured the voices of 31 transgender Latinas who were formerly detained in an I.C.E detention center.

“The Wonders of Nature: How a Simple Flower can Embrace Wisdom and Beauty”

The Lotus Flower is considered one of the fastest growing plants because they can fully grow within the span of two weeks. These plants grow near the mud surrounding bodies of water and are native to warm and humid locations, such as East Asia. These plants can grow and reproduce at fast rates because a single plant can release millions of seed pods. However, the most captivating part in the life cycle of the lotus flower can be seen in the transformation of its leaves into beautiful flowers that help raise the plant from beneath the mud and onto surface.



Figure 1: The life cycle of Lotus Flowers

In East Asian culture, the Lotus Flower represents wisdom due to the plant’s ability to grow from mud. Specifically, the leaves of the flower represent the various character traits held by individuals, while the mud symbolizes the challenges that people must overcome. These character traits are expected to help guide the decisions of individuals whenever they encounter a problem. Figure 1 illustrates the life cycle of the Lotus Flower, which begins with the disposal of a lotus seed pod into the muddy water and ends with a beautiful flower.

End of Block: Treatments

Start of Block: Manipulation

Appendix 4 Question Wording for Post-Survey

Q16 Please answer the following statement based on the article that you just read.

Q17 The article I just read was about the experiences of transgender Latina immigrants.

- False (1)
- True (2)

Q18 The article I just read was about the life cycle of the lotus flower.

- False (1)
- True (2)

Q19 In the next part of this study, you will be asked to report your opinions on a few statements. Please use the response options provided to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Q20 Being $\{\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ means being sensitive to gender diversity, especially with respect to LGBTQ+ individuals.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q21 I am proud to identify as $\{\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)

- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q22 Being $\${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}$ is an important part of who I am as a person.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q23 Identifying as $\${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}$ is important to how I view myself.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q24 In this next section, you will be asked to evaluate policy issues. Using the response options provided, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

Q25 Transgender immigrants should automatically be granted political asylum.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q26 Transgender immigrants who are currently living in the United States should be provided with work permits and healthcare services.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q27 Participating in canvassing efforts are important ways on how I can become politically active to protect the Latinx community and everyone included in it.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)

- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q28 Participating in phone banking events organized by Latinx community organizations can help me influence the narrative surrounding Latinx issues during elections.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q29 Writing postcards to voters and asking them to support Latinx issues, such as transgender immigrant rights is an example of how I can advocate for the visibility of this community.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)

Strongly agree (7)

Q30 Do you know someone who is undocumented and/or transgender?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Prefer not to say (3)