"Tu me gustas, but do you like me?": Quantifying Affective and Political Response to

Political Code-Switching

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Abstract

Code-switching between Spanish and English is gaining traction at a national level. This presidential election cycle alone, multiple candidates have spoken Spanish on the campaign trail, including at televised national debates. These efforts have been met with mixed reactions from Latinos (Medina, 2019), and yet few academic studies have investigated code-switching in American politics. We address psychological, linguistic, and political questions about this phenomenon. 158 native Spanish-English bilingual Americans were recruited from MTurk. These participants watched a bilingual politician give a stump speech in English, in English and Spanish with English nonverbal cues (partial switch), or in English and Spanish with Spanish nonverbal cues (full switch). A full switch significantly increased the likability of and political support for the politician compared to no switch (no language change). Code-switching was not found to significantly change the politician's perceived authenticity or condescension. Switching codes only partially was not significantly different from the other conditions (other than on perceived political support of fellow Spanish-English bilinguals), possibly due to power limitations. This study supports the political effects of psychological identity, the linguistic dichotomy between full code-switches and no code-switches, and political efforts to appeal to voter bases by using specialized linguistic codes.

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The grilled cheese sandwich is an American favorite, and easily personalized. Its creator can toast the bread, stretch the cheese, grease the pan, and introduce as many new ingredients as he or she wants. For the creation to qualify as a grilled cheese sandwich, though, two ingredients are minimally necessary: bread and cheese. The assembly of the bread and cheese must meet the minimal definition of a sandwich, too: some amount of cheese must be surrounded by bread on at least two sides. If bread covers only one side or if cheese is swapped out for lettuce, the resulting product cannot felicitously be called a grilled cheese.

Codes

In the same way, every successful interpersonal interaction consists of 2 or more people (the bread) who communicate by a shared code (some amount of cheese) (Jakobson, 1995). Some linguists suggest that the shared code is strictly the language that two interlocutors share (Gumperz, 1982). English, Spanish, and Mandarin are common examples of such codes. Other researchers think of code as an umbrella term encompassing more diverse forms of language behavior (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Boztepe, 2003). This conception of a code encompasses African American Vernacular English, the caregiver register, the New Jersey dialect, and any other linguistically distinct subset that a language allows.

By either of these definitions, many codes exist. All may be intrinsically effective tools for communication. A code's actual effectiveness depends on the circumstances of the speech event where it is used, though (Jakobson, 1995). If the people participating in a speech event share the same code, then hearers (H) can interpret and understand the utterances of a speaker (S). If the participants do not share the same code, or if their knowledge of the code does not

overlap sufficiently, then H is left unable to understand S. This gap in shared understanding threatens conversations, formal or otherwise. Slang used by one group of people may be entirely unknown to another – as we often experience when talking to younger generations – and many jobs require field-specific terminology. Such terminology is part of a code that is shared by a subset of speakers of one or more languages. For example, German engineers and American engineers may use some of the same vocabulary to describe the stress that a material needs to overcome. Not every Americans and not every German is familiar with this technical vocabulary; still, a subset of the speakers of English and of the speakers of German are able to communicate using that shared code.

Code-Switching

Not every code is equally suited to a given speech act; interlocutors may not share a particular code, or the code in question may not contain the concepts and vocabulary that S needs. We therefore switch between languages, or between language behaviors, in a process termed "code-switching." Code-switching is currently commonly defined as alternation between linguistic varieties within one conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Examples of code-switching exist within and between languages. Within one language, consider dialects and vernaculars. Many politicians adjust their speech to naturally reflect the speech of those around them or to appeal to local voters (Hammons, 2008). Hillary Clinton is particularly famous for this behavior; she repeatedly adopts her husband's Arkansan accent and vocabulary when campaigning in the South despite having been born in Chicago, educated in New England, elected in New York, and located in Washington D.C. (Jenkins, 2005). Use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is another salient and well-researched example of interlinguistic code-switching. Take Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez. She is accused of using Black

English "as an act" to gain political support even though she was born and raised in a region of the Bronx where Black English long ago lost an association with skin color (McWharter, 2019). She is not engaging in "verbal blackface," though; in those moments she is merely code-switching to mirror her environment. For an example of code-switching across languages, consider the political campaigning of politicians in countries with multiple official languages. Jennifer Wei outlines how Taiwanese ex-president Chen Shui-bian switched between Mandarin and Taiwanese depending on his audience and on the nature of his speech (2003). Chen Shui-bian capitalized on the connotations of each language to reflect and enhance his goals of enhancing interpersonal relationships, increasing psychological rewards (by portraying himself as a victim), escalating conflict between himself and his opposition, and more.

Effects of Code-Switching

One function of code-switching is to include or exclude members of particular social groups. This occurs because participants in a conversation are aware of the codes at their disposal, the codes they are likely to share with others, and the connotations that a given code can carry (Myers-Scotton, 2011). Codes are affiliated with groups, and each group possesses some practice or culture that distinguishes it from others, so adopting a particular code can be seen as a marker of group identity (Ochs, 1993). Likewise, someone can signal individual identity by electing to use a code that most of their group does not (Krauss & Chiu, 1998). Code-switching can also be used to include or exclude someone from a conversation (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Inclusion occurs when the current participants in a conversation realize that a bystander cannot understand their code and intentionally switch to another code that participants and bystander mutually understand. Exclusion occurs when some of the current participants in a

conversation realize that they share understanding of a code that one of their interlocutors does not, and intentionally switch into that code to convert that interlocutor into a bystander.

This suggests we choose our code in order to reframe ourselves or the situations in which we engage (Linton, 1936). Other uses of code-switching include signaling the tone of a discussion, signaling the subject of a discussion, and signaling the social status of one speaker relative to another (Wei, 2003; Hill, 1998).

Some of these meanings are imparted by the codes being used and by the order of the code-switch. For example, in the U.S.A., English is perceived as having a more positive valence than Spanish (Luna & Peracchio, 2005). Switching from English into Spanish could thus signal a more negative or pejorative tone. At the same time, more situational aspects of a code-switch contribute to its meaning as well (Hill, 1998). Such aspects include the identity of the code-switcher, the identity of his or her audience, and the way in which he or she performed the switch. A good example is the way in which, at the turn of the century, only Latinos were licensed to speak Spanish correctly in many Hispanic neighborhoods of New York City. Non-Latinos who spoke Spanish with good grammar and pronunciation – authentically or correctly – were ridiculed by both Latinos and other outsiders. This dynamic prompted non-Latinos to seek speak Spanish only with other outsiders and to mocking the language; they appropriated phrases and mannerisms with the intention of misusing them. Latinos also sought to minimize social repercussions, but they were expected to speak Spanish correctly to peers (on grounds such as ethnic or community identity) and to speak English correctly to outsiders. This case study demonstrates that situational elements such as the location or race of an interlocutor seem to affect our psychological responses to their code-switching.

Other situational elements include the manner in which language is spoken. Every language is associated with a particular speed of speech and manner of gesture (Kluger, 2011; Church, 2010). These are examples of contextualization clues, which have been conceptually shown to enrich the communicative potential of a code (Goffman, 1981; Gumperz, 2000). In other words, our perceptions of a speaker may be affected by whether they speak our language too quickly or by whether they wave their hands between sentences. This point will be addressed by the present study.

The Present Study

Young Latinos are one of the fastest-growing demographics in the United States (Lopez, 2018). The present study seeks to better understand the psychological and political effects of using Spanish in the political sphere, a domain in which the phenomenon has largely been overlooked. The study accomplishes this goal by assessing the affective responses, here measured via impression ratings, and hypothetical political decisions of bilinguals in response to a politician who code-switches. These impression ratings -- likability, authenticity, and condescension – should in turn affect political decision-making (Brady & Sniderman, 1985; Enli, 2015).

Hypotheses

The present study hypothesizes that contextual signals supplement the linguistic aspects of "code." It introduces a "partial code-switch" condition wherein the code-switcher to whom participants are exposed does not adopt the contextual cues of the language he is switching into. This amounts to changing from English to Spanish while retaining English contextual behaviors, and stands in contrast to a "full code-switch" wherein the code-switcher changes from English to

Spanish while transitioning to Spanish contextual behaviors. We hypothesize that bilinguals will experience different psychological reactions to these two conditions.

We thus expect to find that bilinguals will rate the confederate most likable when he fully switches codes, moderately likable when he does not switch at all, and least likable when he performs a partial code-switch; most authentic when he performs either a full code-switch or no code-switch at all, and least authentic when he performs a partial code-switch; and most condescending when authenticity is low and likability is low (partial code-switch), moderately condescending when authenticity is high but likability is moderate (no code-switch), and least condescending when authenticity and likability are both high (full code-switch). For an overview of these hypotheses, see Table 1.

Table 1

Study Hypotheses

	Likability	**Authenticity**	**Condescension**
No code-switch	Moderate	High	Moderate
Partial code-switch	Low	Low	High
Full code-switch	High	High	Low

Note. Summary of bilingual voters' hypothesized impressions resulting from affective response to a code-switching politician.

Hypotheses regarding electoral support stem from the positive valences assigned to likability and authenticity and the negative valence assigned to condescension. The full code-switch condition is most positively associated, the no-switch condition is moderately positively associated, and the partial code-switch condition is least positively associated. Accordingly, we expect that electoral support for the politician will be highest when he makes a full code-switch, second highest when the confederate does not code-switch, and lowest when the confederate

performs a partial code-switch. The same pattern should hold for participants' perceptions of their fellow bilinguals' support of the candidate.

Method

Materials

Political Speech Video

Data from popular political polling site iSideWith indicate that the American electorate generally agrees on whether to label GMO foods, whether to promote equal pay between genders, and whether to restrict foreign lobbyists' ability

Figure 1. Scene from confederate politician's speech

to participate in domestic politics (https://www.isidewith.com). (See Appendix A for more information.) These topics were therefore taken to have a neutral political valence. A white, native Spanish-English bilingual male confederate was filmed supporting popular opinion on these three topics in the style of a political stump speech.[1] However, this video was filmed under one of three code-switching conditions: "no code-switch," "partial code-switch," or "full code-switch." These condition names reflect the degree of English-to-Spanish code-switching occurring within the video. In the "no code-switch" condition, the stump speech was delivered entirely in English. In the "partial code-switch" condition, the speech was begun English. The confederate then switched to speaking Spanish, albeit preserving English contextual cues. In the

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[1] Whites comprise 89% of the U.S.'s elected officials, and white men make up 62%, so the confederate's racial background matches that of most American politicians (Reflective Democracy Campaign, 2019).

"full code-switch" condition, the speech was begun English and completed using Spanish speech and contextual cues. Each of these videos lasted for approximately 2 minutes and 30 seconds.

Participants

Participants were 158 multilingual participants recruited through MTurk who were above 18 years of age, and self-rated as fluent in both Spanish and English. 98 were male and 60 were female, with age ranging from 20 to 66 (mean = 33 years). While 29 participants spoke more than two languages, 129 participants spoken only English and Spanish, and 112 participants overall identified with English as their primary language. Finally, half of the participants were at least second-generation immigrants to the United States of America ($n = 81$). Only 24 participants had immigrated to the United States themselves.

Procedure

The study was hosted on Qualtrics. Participants were randomly assigned by Qualtrics software to one of the three code-switching conditions (no code-switch condition $n = 55$; partial code-switch condition $n = 50$; full code-switch condition $n = 53$). Participants watched the assigned video and were then asked to make a series of ratings. The first set of ratings assessed the participant's affective responses to the politician's speech. An abridged Reysen Likability Scale, selected for questions of highest loading, measured perceived likability (Reysen, 2005). Authenticity was assessed on a similarly abridged Wood Authenticity Scale (Wood, 2008). Condescension was measured using a composite measure of three 7-point Likert scales: "not at all patronizing" to "very patronizing," "not at all condescending" to "very condescending," and "not at all humble" to "very humble." These likability, authenticity, and condescension groupings were counterbalanced in their presentation.

Participants then completed a second set of ratings which measured hypothetical political support for the candidate. Support was defined as volunteering time, donating money, endorsing a candidate to strangers or to family and friends, or casting a vote to support this politician. The third set of ratings assessed the participant's perception of peers' support in the same way. Participants indicated the extent to which they felt that other bilingual voters exposed to the same footage of this politician would volunteer their time, donate their money, endorse him to strangers or to family and friends, or cast their votes to support him.

Finally, participants completed a set of miscellaneous ratings intended to control for strong political opinions and linguistic inclinations. This set of questions collected minimal demographic information, the language with which the participant most strongly identified, the strength of their opinion on the three topics mentioned during the stump speech, and a composite measure of political ideology (see Appendix A for details).

Results

Data Preparation

All data items were converted into numeric form. Each intended mini-scale was then checked for internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha. Six of the seven composites reached acceptable reliability: likability ($\alpha = .83$), condescension ($\alpha = .64$), own political support ($\alpha = .95$), perceived peer political support ($\alpha = .96$), agreement with the political stances expressed in the stimulus video ("stance agreement" for short, $\alpha = .67$), and political ideology ($\alpha = .95$). The ratings for authenticity did not hang together sufficiently for a composite variable ($\alpha = .47$). Subsequent analysis was thus was performed using the six reliable composites and the response

to the most classically representative authenticity item: "This person always stands by what he believes in."

Analyses

Next, five one-way ANOVAs calculated the significance of study condition on our five dependent variables. No statistically significant differences between group means were found for authenticity ($F(1, 156) = 2.652$, $p = 0.105$) or condescension ($F(1, 156) = 0.602$, $p = 0.439$). We did find statistically significant differences between group means for likability ($F(1, 156) = 8.686$, $p = 0.004$), one's own political support ($F(1, 156) = 4.107$, $p = 0.044$), and perceived political support of peers ($F(1, 156) = 13.16$, $p < 0.000$). Post-hoc comparisons were run on likability, own political support, and the perceived political support of peers using Welch two-sample t-tests.

For likability, the mean score for the full code-switch condition ($M = 5.84$, $SD = 0.83$) was significantly different than that of the no code-switch condition ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.36$); $t = -2.884$, $p = 0.005$. The partial code-switch condition ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.04$) did not significantly differ from either of these conditions.

For one's own political support, again the mean score for the full code-switch condition ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 1.23$) significantly differed from that of the no code-switch condition ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.67$); $t = -2.04$, $p = 0.043$. The partial code-switch condition ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.51$) did not significantly differ from either of these conditions.

For perceived political support of fellow Spanish-English bilinguals, the mean of the full code-switch condition ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 1.30$) was significantly different than that of the no code-switch condition ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.47$); $t = -3.50$, $p < 0.000$. The mean of the no code-switch condition was also significantly different from that of the partial code-switch condition ($M = $

4.91, SD = 1.23); t = -2.42, p = 0.017. The means of the partial code-switch and full code-switch

ratings did not significantly differ.
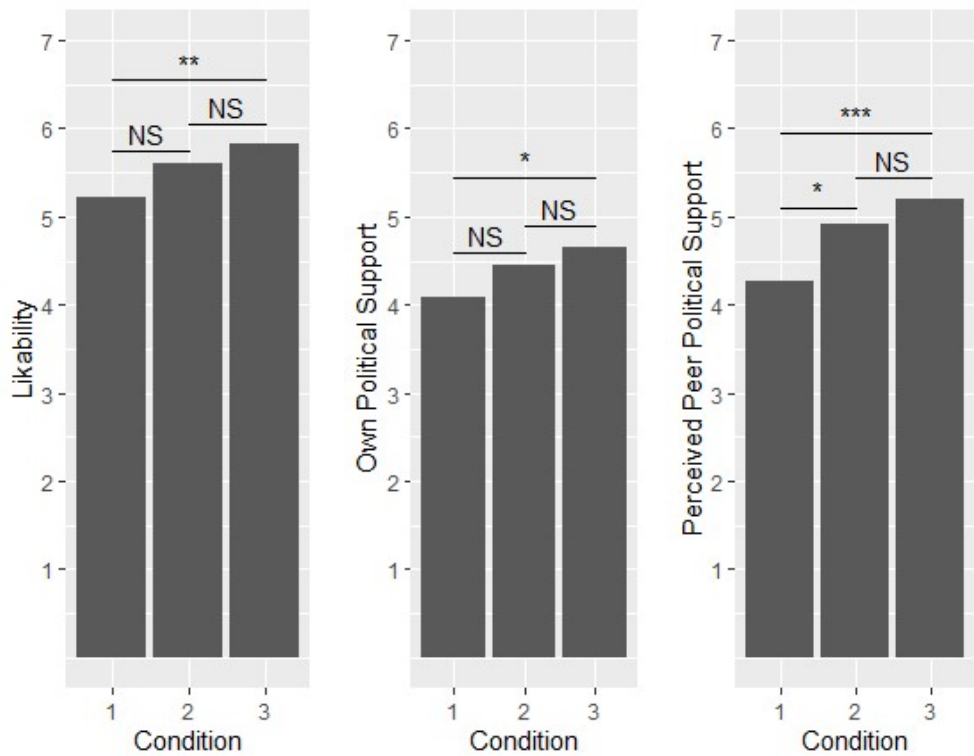
Note. Overview of significance testing between conditions for three dependent variables: likability, own political support, and perceived peer political support.
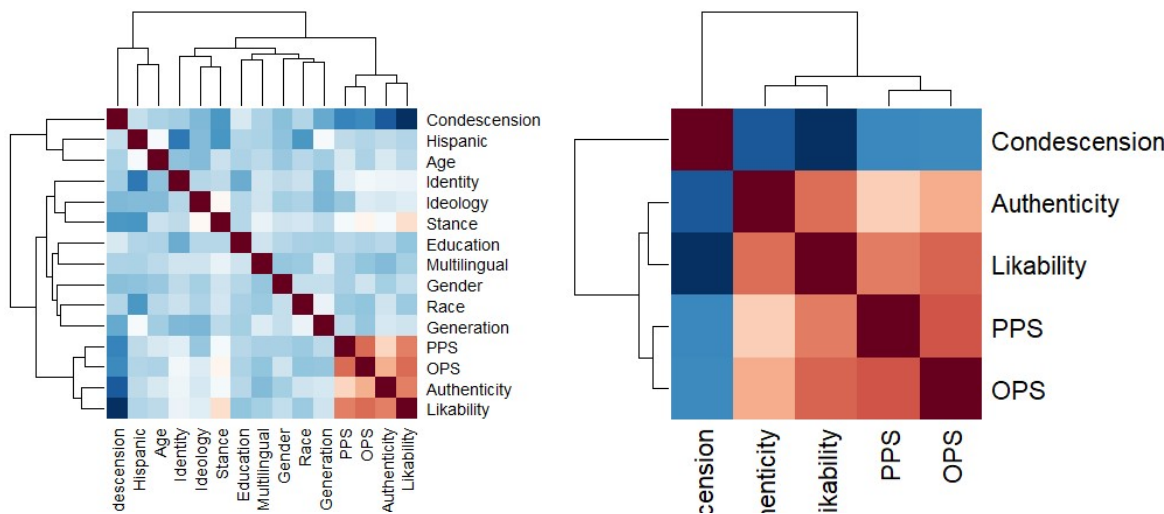
Note. Left: correlation matrix of all demographic and dependent variables. Right: correlation matrix of all dependent variables. (OPS: Own Political Support; PPS: Peer Political Support)

The preceding correlation matrices suggest that the most significant correlations we see are among items that form a composite variable; visually, we see little correlation of dependent variables to demographics or to stance agreement and political ideology or of dependent variables to one another.

Secondary Analyses

ANCOVAs were run between each dependent variable and three demographic variables for which we suspected covariate effects. These were language identity, political ideology, and agreement with the stimulus speech ("stance").

No main effect was originally found for authenticity or condescension. Additional covariate effects on authenticity were found for stance, $F(1, 155) = 4.75$, $p = 0.03$, and marginally for language identity, $F(1, 155) = 3.24$, $p = 0.074$. Covariate effects were also found on condescension for stance, $F(1, 155) = 6.30$, $p = 0.013$, and marginally for political ideology, $F(1, 155) = 3.07$, $p = 0.082$.

For likability we found a main effect of condition that holds when controlling for language identity, political ideology, and stance. There was also covariate effect for stance, $F(1, 155) = 12.8$, $p < 0.001$, and for political ideology, $F(1, 155) = 3.36$, $p = 0.069$.

For own political support we found no main effect of condition, although marginal main effect of condition emerges when political ideology is controlled for. Own political support is also predicted by stance, $F(1, 155) = 9.86$, $p = 0.002$, and by political ideology, $F(1, 155) = 3.63$, $p = 0.059$.

Finally, for perceived political support of peers, we found a main effect of condition that holds when controlling for language identity, political ideology, and stance. There was also a covariate effect of stance, $F(1, 155) = 4.72$, $p < 0.001$.

Results Summary

We find no significant differences in the means of authenticity or condescension across conditions. This means the possibility that code-switching does not affect impressions of authenticity or condescension cannot be rejected; the possibility must remain open. We also find some significant interactions between language identity, political ideology, and agreement with the stances expressed in the stimuli with the five dependent variables measured in this study.

Likability, own political support, and perceived peer political support all significantly differ between the participants in the full code-switch and in the no code-switch conditions. A bilingual who experienced a full code-switch found the confederate politician more likable, supported the confederate more themselves, and thought that other bilingual peers would have higher support for the confederate too. Participants were not themselves significantly influenced by partial code-switches, but they thought that other bilinguals would be; a partial code-switch was thought to increase the political support from bilingual peers compared to no code-switch at all.

Discussion

The data align with some of the original hypotheses. A politician who makes a full code-switch, for example, is more likable than one who does not perform a code-switch at all. Similarly, one's personal political support for a politician was expected to align with likability. Here we again find that participants are more likely to vote for a politician who makes a full code-switch than for one who does not code-switch at all. The lack of significance of authenticity and condescension between groups does not support the hypotheses on peer support, though. We had suspected that bilinguals experiencing code-switching would feel pandered to – resulting in low authenticity and high condescension ratings that would undermine political support – but

this pitfall appears not to exist to any significant extent. The existence of some covariate effects strengthens this conclusion because these covariate effects absorb some of the error variance. It seems that code-switching truly is not changing authenticity and condescension ratings.

The absence of significant differences for condition within authenticity and condescension also, while against the original hypotheses, is internally consistent with the positive effects of more complete code-switching. High likability and high political support go together; authenticity and condescension may not be seen as relevant. The data show a repeated relationship between a full code-switch and likability. They also show repeated relationship between full code-switch and political support. Of the affective variables tested, then, it may be likability may drive one's own political support rather than authenticity or condescension that drives one's own political support.

Interestingly, a partial code-switch was taken to increase bilingual peers' support for the candidate even though a partial code switch did not significantly influence their own support ratings. This suggests that Spanish-English bilinguals hold different standards for political support for others than for themselves. Further studies would be needed to determine why. It may be that our participants overestimate how much their peers value the use of Spanish. We did not observe a relationship between language identification (the language with which a politician identified more, namely English or Spanish) and either political variable, though. Alternatively, a higher-powered study that enlists more participants in order to identify smaller effect sizes may find that participants themselves also rate the politician more highly in partial code-switch (compared to a no code-switch condition). This is in keeping with the partial code-switch data's constant position as an intermediary step between the significantly different conditions. In this case participants would themselves support politicians who perform partial switches more than

those who do not code switch, pointing to similarity in how people make their own political choices and how they perceive others to do so. Further studies could then determine whether the difference in strength that we discussed above should be attributed to misperceptions in others' political decision-making, lack of awareness of being impacted by partial switches oneself, or other causes.

Multiple limitations of this study stem from possible connotations of political elections. Many Americans colloquially talk about election environments as negative, out-of-touch, or polarized (Tavernise, 2018). This may have led the participants to anticipate negative affective responses such as lower authenticity ratings or higher condescension rating, resulting in no significant differences between conditions, and conversely may have raised the significance of code-switching among politicians. Likewise, participants may associate the sphere of American politics with the English language. A politician's switch from English to Spanish would be rare in this case, making it more salient or significant. Surprise, perception of "considerateness," and appreciation of more positive messaging could then contribute to the higher likability and political support ratings; currently, we assume that the likability and political support for a code-switching politician are only due to the participant's own affiliation with the Spanish language.

Future directions of research therefore include presenting the same stimuli and questions to English monolinguals. People who speak only English would serve as a true control by being a litmus test of what the majority of the American population thinks of code-switching politicians. After all, only 21.9% of U.S. residents speak more than one language at home, suggesting that around 80% of U.S. residents natively speak only English (Ziegler & Camarota, 2019). Only 13 percent of Latinos who are currently registered to vote in the United States speak Spanish as their primary language (Pew Research Center, 2018). Political candidates are likely

balancing the political boost that code-switching gives them among bilingual voters with the unknown effects that code-switching has on voters who speak only English. This may account for the negative perceptions of Beto O'Rourke's code-switching in the race to be the Democratic Party's candidate in the 2020 presidential election (Choi, 2019).

Future studies can also ask participants about the confederate politician. Specifically, questions about his perceived race and his perceived identity (whether he identifies as Latino or not, regardless of whether he looks Latino or not) could illuminate whether effects vary for politicians speak fluent Spanish or appear to match a particular ethnic or racial description. It may be the case, for instance, that Latino-presenting politicians would be more harshly critiqued by Spanish speakers due to higher expectations.

Lastly, this study does not account for the many types of code-switches that a politician has at his or her disposal. As mentioned in the introduction, we define code-switching as a transition between two languages in one speech event for our convenience, but code-switching really refers to all instances of alternating between two language behaviors: vernaculars, registers, dialects, and so forth. The forms of code-switching listed here are generally considered less drastic than language changes. This may make them more palatable to politicians at large, as the smaller difference between codes A and B may make the change less noticeable. At the same time, the act of code-switching still allows the politician to psychologically ingratiate him- or herself with the voters. Future studies can quantitatively assess voters' affective and political responses to various types of codeswitching and to the perceived traits of politicians performing said switches. For example, certain code-switches may only be allowed to a particular subset of people; New York voters object when Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez uses slang from the Bronx even

though she was born there, suggesting that such a code-switch would hurt her campaign efforts (refer to the introduction for more detail).

Conclusion

Code-switching between Spanish and English is gaining traction at a national level. This presidential election cycle alone, multiple candidates have spoken Spanish on the campaign trail, including at televised national debates. These efforts have been met with mixed reactions from Latinos (Medina, 2019). Despite the prevalence of Spanish-English code-switching, few studies offer psychological, linguistic, or political insights. This study sought to draw from the many code-switching literatures to begin to fill that gap.

The data from this study appear to support the linguistic tradition of considering a code-switch either present or absent. Only for perceived political support of Spanish-English bilingual peers was there any significant difference between the groups of participants who experienced the partial and the full code-switch. However, the partial code-switch group's likability and own political support ratings did repeatedly serve as an intermediary step between the significant difference between the low values of the no code-switch condition and the high values of the full code-switch condition. The data therefore do not wholly fit the classical model. The effects of a partial code-switch may be significant with higher power and should be investigated further.

From a psychological lens, this study's findings support a positive affective response to recognition of one's linguistic identity. On the other hand, it fails to find a negative affective response to code-switching. This absence can likely be attributed to voters' already negative

perceptions of politics, although I have not yet found studies that provide quantitative support for this claim.

These findings are also promising for political science. Code-switching has qualitatively been studied in countries with multiple national languages, and has been found to positively affect voter support when candidates consider the valences naturally attached to each language. This study provides a quantitatively foundation for similar findings in a country with only one official language. It also suggests that support for code-switching is not tied to governmental support (e.g. preferring both Taiwanese and Mandarin in Taiwan because both are sanctioned, and only English in the United States because Spanish has not been sanctioned). Rather, it seems tied to individual or community identities (e.g. preferring Spanish because one's family speaks it at home). More practically, these findings are promising for politicians and campaign managers. Switching between English and Spanish positively impacts a politician's support and perceived support among peers in English-Spanish bilingual communities. Further research could explore whether this high perceived support contributes to a social bandwagon effect or extends to other codes and communities.

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Appendix A

At the time that this speech was recorded (12/1/2019) iSideWith indicated the following support for each topic in the speech:

- GMO labels: "Should producers be required to label genetically engineered foods (GMOs)?"
  - 5,990,303 total votes
  - Overall: 84% support
  - Republican: 80% support (of 2,040,009)
  - Democrat: 81% support (of 1,234,110)
- Equal Pay: "Should employers be required to pay men and women the same salary for the same job?"
  - 14,155,813 total votes
  - Overall: 79% support
  - Republican: 69% support (of 5,234,698)
  - Democrat: 92% support (of 5,612,506)
- Foreign Lobbying: "Should foreign lobbyists be allowed to raise money for American elections?"
  - 653,536 total votes
  - Overall: 11% support
  - Republicans: 7% support (of 309,125)
  - Democrats: 16% support (of 129,387)

Appendix B

The following questions were used to assess affective response using a 7-point Likert scale:

- Likability: Reysen Likability Scale, abridged
    - This person is likable.
    - This person is approachable.
    - I would ask this person for advice.
- Authenticity: Wood Authenticity Scale, abridged
    - This person always stands by what he believes in.
    - Other people influence this person greatly. (reverse scored)
- Condescension
    - This person is patronizing.
    - This person is condescending.
    - This person is humble. (reverse scored)

And the following questions assessed own and perceived peer political support on tailored 7-point Likert scales:

- Do [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] support or oppose this candidate?
- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to donate time to support this candidate?
- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to donate money to support this candidate?
- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to tell friends and family about this candidate?
- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to tell strangers about this candidate?
- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to endorse this candidate to friends and family?

- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to endorse this candidate to strangers?

- How likely are [you/other English-Spanish bilinguals] to vote for this candidate?