

Chapter Seven: Latino Elites, Representation, and Institutions

Latino Elites, Representation, and Institutions - Books

Adams, Florence. 1999. *Latinos and Local Representation: Changing Realities, Emerging Theories*. New York: Routledge.

This study examines trends in Voting Rights Act enforcement and the results for Latino representation. The focus is on local governments of the West and Southwest: some of the communities examined, Latino population is increasing rapidly, often to majority status; and in others, white suburban development is outnumbering, sometimes displacing Latinos. In both situations, district lines can decide the future political power of Latinos and non-Latinos alike. The local districting process, which has never been studied in depth, is shown to be reshaping the political and racial landscape. This study looks behind legal and theoretical formulations to the realities of local districting and redistricting. The author, who participated as principal cartographer in the jurisdictions that are discussed, explores the decisions involved in reflecting rapid population change, the dangers of drawing districts without attention to the vitality of local organization, the problems of displacing incumbents, the unforeseen consequences of district designs, the difficulty of predicting outcomes, and the many ethical dilemmas of line-drawing. In several jurisdictions, Latinos are nearing majority status: Do concepts such as “the majority-minority district” and single-member districts remain relevant there? Are concerns for African American representation in southern states, which have guided so much voting rights enforcement, truly relevant to western and southwestern politics? What are the actual results – in terms of the numbers of Latinos elected – of voting rights litigation? Such questions are discussed against the backdrop of actual line-drawings, but in such a way as to contribute to voting rights theory.

Gutierrez, Jose Angel, Michelle Melendez, and Sonia Noyola. 2006. *Chicanas in Charge: Texas Women in the Public Arena*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

No state has a greater density of Chicano community leaders and politicians than does Texas. This study examines the lives and politics of a distinguished group of Chicana women who have risen to positions of power. The authors profile women who serve in various public capacities – federal judges, candidates for Lieutenant Governor, a statewide chair of a political party, and members of school boards and city and county governments. The diverse careers of these women offer rare glimpses of the kinds of struggles they face, both as women and as members of the Chicano community. *Chicanas in Charge* will be of great value to those interested in gender studies, political science, local government, public policy, oral history, biography, and Chicano studies.

Badillo, David A. 2006. *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Latin Americans make up the largest new immigrant population in the United States, and Latino Catholics are the fastest-growing sector of the Catholic Church in America. In this book, historian David A. Badillo offers a history of Latino Catholicism in the United States by looking at its growth in San Antonio, Chicago, New York, and Miami. Focusing on twentieth-century Latino urbanism, Badillo contrasts broad historic commonalities of Catholic religious tradition with variations of Latino ethnicity in various locales. He emphasizes the contours of day-to-day life as well as various aspects of institutional and lived Catholicism. The story of Catholicism goes beyond clergy and laity; it entails the entire urban experience of neighborhoods, downtown power seekers, archdiocesan movers and shakers, and a range of organizations and associations linked to parishes. Although parishes remain the key site for Latino efforts to build individual and cultural identities, Badillo argues that one must consider simultaneously the triad of parish, city, and ethnicity to fully comprehend the influence of various Latino populations on both Catholicism and the urban environment in the United States. By contrasting the development of three distinctive Latino communities – the Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans – Badillo challenges the popular concept of an overarching “Latino experience” and offers instead an integrative approach to understanding the scope, depth, and complexity of the Latino contribution to the character of America’s urban landscapes.

Burns, Peter F. 2006. *Electoral Politics Is Not Enough: Racial and Ethnic Minorities and Urban Politics*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Examines how and why government leaders understand and respond to African Americans and Latinos in northeastern cities with strong political traditions. Focusing on four medium-sized northeastern cities with strong political traditions, *Electoral Politics Is Not Enough* analyzes conditions under which white leaders respond to and understand minority interests. Peter F. Burns argues that conventional explanations, including the size of the minority electorate, the socio-economic status of the citizenry, and the percentage of minority elected officials do not account for variations in white leaders’ understanding of and receptiveness toward African American and Latino interests. Drawing upon interviews with more than 200 white and minority local leaders, and through analysis of local education and public safety policies, he finds that unconventional channels, namely neighborhood groups and community-based organizations, strongly influence the representation of minority interests.

Connaughton, Stacey L. 2004. *Inviting Latino Voters: Party Messages and Latino Party Identification*. New York: Routledge.

Latino’s increasing numbers and their uncertain voting behaviors have enticed Democrats and Republicans to actively court this demographic group, seeking their partisan identification. Through an in-depth interview with campaign strategists, a thematic content analysis of Latino-oriented television advertisements, and a survey of Latino citizens in Texas, *Inviting Latino Voters* examines these efforts. Interview findings reveal two distinct strategies for courting this stake-

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holder group in Campaign 2000. Results from the content analysis of Latino-oriented Presidential campaign television spots from 1984-2000 indicate that the parties' invitations to Latinos for partisan identification are positive, Latino-centric, social uncontroversial, and empowering. And, results from the survey of Latino citizens in Texas indicate that these Latinos, especially young Latinos, feel modest identification with political parties. Latino's party identification was found to be complex, however, relating to other identification targets such as candidate and country. Connaughton concludes by arguing that identification is relational. That is, it is dynamic, it involves varying degrees of investment and it is embedded in systems of power. Implications for political parties, Latinos, organizations in general and communication scholars are discussed.

Davidson, Chandler, and Bernard Grofman. 1994. *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

This work is the first systematic attempt to measure the impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, commonly regarded as the most effective civil rights legislation of the century. Marshaling a wealth of detailed evidence, the contributors to this volume show how blacks and Mexican Americans in the South, along with the Justice Department, have used the act and the U.S. Constitution to overcome the resistance of white officials to minority mobilization. The book tells the story of the black struggle for equal political participation in eight core southern states from the end of the Civil War to the 1980s – with special emphasis on the period since 1965. The contributors use a variety of quantitative methods to show how the act dramatically increased black registration and black and Mexican-American office holding. They also explain modern voting rights law as it pertains to minority citizens, discussing important legal cases and giving numerous examples of how the law is applied. Destined to become a standard source of information on the history of the Voting Rights Act, *Quiet Revolution in the South* has implications for the controversies that are sure to continue over the direction in which the voting rights of American ethnic minorities have evolved since the 1960s.

de la Garza, Rodolfo O. 1996. *Ethnic Ironies: Latino Politics in the 1992 Elections*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Ethnic Ironies describes the role of Latino electorates in national- and state-level politics during the 1992 elections. The book examines Latino politics from the top down-looking at the efforts of candidates and campaigns to speak to Latino concerns and to mobilize Latino voters-and from the bottom up-reviewing the efforts of Latinos to win electoral office and to influence electoral outcomes. The core of the book consists of eight state-level analyses by experts in their respective states and a chapter that synthesizes and integrates the findings of these case studies.

de la Garza, Rodolfo O., and Louis DeSipio. 2004. *Muted Voices: Latinos and the 2000 Elections*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

The 2000 presidential election was one of the closest in history, yet this book shows that the Latino vote and voice in the election were limited in impact. In time for election year 2004, *Muted Voices* explores general themes and trends in American politics and Latino voter participation

while focusing on key state electoral results including Florida, Texas, and most importantly, California. Since 1988, de la Garza and DeSipio have led the way in interpreting the role of Latinos in U.S. elections. This new installment in their series of electoral studies is chock full of data and thematic suggestions about the future of Latino politics. An original introduction by public opinion specialist Robert Y. Shapiro puts Latino voter potential in context with U.S. politics and policy.

de la Isla, José. 2003. *The Rise of Hispanic Political Power*. Santa Maria: Archer Books.

This is the first detailed inside look at the growth in significance of this increasingly important political block. Journalist José de la Isla takes a hardball look at Hispanic politics from the Nixon presidency up to the current administration of George W. Bush. The Republican and Democrat parties, the key legislation, the political players, the insiders and outsiders, and the various factions (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubanos and other Latin Americans), all receive equal scrutiny from de la Isla as he unravels over four decades of political action.

DeSipio, Louis. 1996. *Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Latinos, along with other new immigrants, are not being incorporated into U.S. politics as rapidly as their predecessors, raising concerns about political fragmentation along ethnic lines. In *Counting on the Latino Vote*, Louis DeSipio uses the first national studies of Latinos to investigate whether they engage in bloc voting or are likely to do so in the future. To understand American racial and ethnic minority group politics, social scientists have largely relied on a black-white paradigm. DeSipio gives a more complex picture by drawing both on the histories of other ethnic groups and on up-to-date but underutilized studies of Hispanics' political attitudes, values, and behaviors. In order to explore the potential impact of Hispanics as an electorate, he analyzes the current Latino body politic and projects the possible voting patterns of those who reside in the United States but do not now vote.

Espinosa, Gaston, Virgilio Elizondo, and Jesse Miranda, eds. 2005. *Latino Religions and Civic Activism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The Latino community in the United States is commonly stereotyped as Roman Catholic and politically passive. *Latino Religions and Civic Activism in the United States* challenges and revises these stereotypes by demonstrating the critical influence of Latino Catholics, Evangelicals, Pentecostals, Mainline Protestants, and others on political, civic, and social engagement in the United States and Puerto Rico. It also revises the ostensibly secular narrative of Latino history and politics. The authors analyze the critical role that institutional, popular, and civil religion has played in Latino activism. This timely book offers readers a new framework by which to understand and to interpret the central importance of religious symbols, rhetoric, ideology, world-views, and leaders to Latino religions and politics over the past 150 years.

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García, Sonia, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, Irasema Coronado, Sharon A. Navarro, and Patricia A. Jaramillo. 2008. *Políticas: Latina Public Officials in Texas*. Austin: U.T. Press.

In the decades since Latinas began to hold public office in the United States in the late 1950s, they have blazed new trails in public life, bringing fresh perspectives, leadership styles, and policy agendas to the business of governing cities, counties, states, and the nation. As of 2004, Latinas occupied 27.4 percent of the more than 6,000 elected and appointed local, state, and national positions filled by Hispanic officeholders. The greatest number of these Latina officeholders resides in Texas, where nearly six hundred women occupy posts from municipal offices, school boards, and county offices to seats in the Texas House and Senate.

In this book, five Latina political scientists profile the women who have been the first Latinas to hold key elected and appointed positions in Texas government. Through interviews with each woman or her associates, the authors explore and theorize about Latina officeholders' political socialization, decision to run for office and obstacles overcome, leadership style, and representational roles and advocacy. The profiles begin with Irma Rangel, the first Latina elected to the Texas House of Representatives, and Judith Zaffirini and Leticia Van de Putte, the only two Latinas to serve in the Texas Senate. The authors also interview Lena Guerrero, the first and only Latina to serve in a statewide office; judges Linda Yanes, Alma Lopez, Elma Salinas Ender, Mary Roman, and Alicia Chacón; mayors Blanca Sanchez Vela (Brownsville), Betty Flores (Laredo), and Olivia Serna (Crystal City); and Latina city councilwomen from San Antonio, El Paso, Dallas, Houston, and Laredo.

García, F. Chris. 1997. *Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

As the Latino voice in U.S. politics has become louder and more clearly defined, the United States has become increasingly an rapidly Latinized – both culturally and politically – in the areas of government and politics, public affairs, and policy-making processes. This transformation provides the focus for *Pursuing Power* the only comprehensive anthology on Latino politics currently available. With an important emphasis on public policies affecting Hispanics and a catalog of articles on education, immigration, language policy, affirmative action, and foreign policy, *Pursuing Power* provides an in-depth look at the cultural and political “browning of America”, as well as a compelling overview of the political potential inherent in what is quickly becoming the largest ethnic group in the United States. The themes of recognition and potential are the common threads running through this diverse collection. It addresses specific questions such as, What do Latinos want and need? How are they involving themselves in the political and policy-making process? What are the actual and likely results of their involvements? After an introductory discussion of the general situation of Latinos in the U.S., the essays examine the ways in which Latinos are presenting their near to policymakers, i.e., through voting, electoral participation, and organization The decision-making process that turned Latino preferences into policy, and the results of this process, are then explore Finally, contributors present several wide-ranging perspectives that presage the future politics and potential of Latinos in the United States of the twenty-first century.

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Garcia, John A. 2003. *Latino Politics in America: Community, Culture, and Interests*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Latinos constitute the fastest growing population in the United States today, and Latino political participation is growing dramatically. Still, Latino political power is not commensurate with the numbers, and much potential remains to be tapped. This text lays out the basic facts of Latino America – who Latinos are, where they come from, where they reside – and then connects these facts to political realities of immigration, citizenship, voting, education, organization, and leadership. Author John A. Garcia brings thirty years of experience in all aspects of politics, policy, and academic theory to bear in painting a nuanced portrait of contemporary Latino political life.

Garcia-Bedolla, Lisa. 2005. *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

This provocative study of the Latino political experience offers a nuanced, in-depth, and often surprising perspective on the factors affecting the political engagement of a segment of the population that is now the nation's largest minority. Drawing from one hundred in-depth interviews, Lisa García Bedolla compares the political attitudes and behavior of Latinos in two communities: working-class East Los Angeles and middle-class Montebello. Asking how collective identity and social context have affected political socialization, political attitudes and practices, and levels of political participation among the foreign born and native born, she offers new findings that are often at odds with the conventional wisdom emphasizing the role socioeconomic status plays in political involvement.

Geron, Kim. 2005. *Latino Political Power*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

An untold story of the last decade is the rapid ascent to electoral office of Latinos nationwide, who now hold more than five thousand elected positions. *Latino Political Power* provides a comprehensive and accessible introduction to Latino politics from the early 20th century to the present. The purpose of the book is twofold: to capture the transition of Latinos from disenfranchised outsiders to political leaders, and to observe the relationship between those leaders and their ethnic communities. Geron tackles a number of key questions: Who is running for office? How are they elected? How does ethnicity variously shape the politics of candidates and the priorities they pursue once in office? He also addresses commonalities and differences among Latinos based on location, gender, party affiliation, and ethnic ties. Students will come away from the rich case studies and nationwide survey data with a broad understanding of contemporary Latino political behavior.

Grofman, Bernard, and Chandler Davidson, eds. 1992. *Controversies in Minority Voting: A 25-Year Perspective on the Voting Rights Act of 1965*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Widely regarded as one of the most successful pieces of modern legislation, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has transformed the nature of minority participation and representation in the United States. But with success came controversy as some scholars claim the Act has outlived its

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usefulness or been subverted in its aim. This volume brings together leading scholars to offer a twenty-five year perspective on the consequences of this landmark act. Beginning with chapters covering the key provisions of the Act, it discusses the way it has transformed American politics and looks at the role played by major civil rights groups in lobbying for extensions and amendments to the Act and in insuring that its provisions would be enforced.

Grofman, Bernard, Lisa Handley, and Richard Niemi. 1992. *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

This book is the most up-to-date treatment of voting rights law and the numerous controversies surrounding minority representation. Written by authors with first-hand experience in the case law, the book details the evolution of the law and precedent from 1965 forward. The authors explain the basic logic underlying the major decisions, introduce the reader to the procedures for establishing standards of representation and measuring discrimination, and discuss the major points of recent contention. In the concluding chapter, the authors address the implications of the recent developments in voting rights law for the future of representation in America.

Hardy-Fanta, Carol. 1993. *Latina Politics, Latino Politics: Gender, Culture, and Political Participation in Boston*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Through an in-depth study of the Latino community in Boston, Carol Hardy-Fanta addresses three key debates in American politics: how to look at the ways in which women and men envision the meaning of politics and political participation; how to understand culture and the political life of expanding immigrant populations; and how to create a more participatory America. The author's interviews with Latinos from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Central and South America and her participation in community events in North Dorchester, Jamaica Plain, and the South End document the often ignored contribution of Latina women as candidates, political mobilizers, and community organizers. Hardy-Fanta examines critical gender differences in how politics is defined, what strategies Latina women and Latino men use to generate political participation, and how culture and gender interact in the political empowerment of the ethnic communities. Hardy-Fanta challenges the notion of political apathy among Latinos and presents factors that stimulate political participation. She finds that the vision of politics promoted by Latina women – one based on connectedness, collectivity, community, and consciousness-raising – contrasts sharply with a male political concern for status, hierarchy, and personal opportunity.

Hero, Rodney. 1992. *Latinos and the US Political System: Two-Tiered Pluralism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bringing together political science research on Latinos and an analysis of American politics from the vantage point of the Latino political condition, Rodney Hero presents a comprehensive discussion of contemporary Latino politics. The distinct and tenuous nature of Latino status in the U.S. has made it difficult to explain their unique status. This “uniqueness” stems from a variety of circumstances, including the differences among Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans,

and Cubans, and their ambivalent racial classification (white but not “Anglo,” or nonwhite but not black). Hero introduces the concept of “two-tiered pluralism,” which describes the political situation for Latinos and other minorities in which equality is largely formal or procedural, but not substantive. He observes that this formal but marginalized inclusion exists for minorities in most facets of the political process. In his critical overview of American politics, Hero explores the major theoretical perspectives that have been used to understand Latino “cultural politics”; he contrasts the three largest Hispanic population in this country; and he considers major political activities and American institutions with specific reference to Latinos. This timely work addresses the politics of an increasingly important segment of the U.S. population and an area in which previous research has been scant.

Jimenez, Francisco, Alma Garcia, and Richard Garcia. 2007. *Ethnic Community Builders: Mexican-Americans in Search of Justice and Power*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Ethnic Community Builders: Mexican-Americans in Search of Justice and Power is an oral history of Mexican-American activism in San José, California, over the last half century. The authors present interviews of 14 people of various stripes – teachers, politicians, radio personalities – who have been influential in the development of a major urban center with a significant ethnic population. These activists tell the stories of their lives and work with engaging openness and honesty, allowing readers to witness their successes and failures. This vivid ethnography of a Mexican-American community serves as a model for activism wherever ethnic groups seek change and justice.

Jones-Correa, Michael. 1998. *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Immigrants come to the United States from all over Latin America in search of better lives. They obtain residency status, find jobs, pay taxes, and they have children who are American citizens by birth; yet decades may go by before they seek citizenship for themselves or become active participants in the American political process. *Between Two Nations* examines the lack of political participation among Latin American immigrants in the United States to determine why so many remain outside the electoral process. Michael Jones-Correa studied the political practices of first-generation immigrants in New York City’s multiethnic borough of Queens. Through intensive interviews and participant observation, he found that immigrant participation was stymied both by lack of encouragement to participate and by the requirement to renounce former citizenship, which raised the fear of never being able to return to the country of origin. The hesitation to naturalize as American citizens can extend over decades, leaving immigrants adrift in a political limbo. *Between Two Nations* is the first qualitative study of how new immigrants assimilate into American political life. Jones-Correa reexamines assumptions about Latino politics and the diversity of Latino populations in the United States, about the role of informal politics in immigrant communities, and about gender differences in approaches to political activity.

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Jones-Correa, Michael. 2005. *Governing American Cities: Interethnic Coalitions, Competition, and Conflict*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publications.

Building on the experiences of such large ports of entry as Los Angeles, New York, Miami, Houston, Chicago, and Washington D.C., *Governing Cities* addresses important questions about the incorporation of the newest immigrants into American political life. Are the new arrivals joining existing political coalitions or forming new ones? Where competition exists among new and old ethnic and racial groups, what are its characteristics and how can it be harnessed to meet the needs of each group? How do the answers to these questions vary across cities and regions? In one chapter, Peter Kwong uses New York's Chinatown to demonstrate how divisions within immigrant communities can cripple efforts to mobilize immigrants politically. Sociologist Guillermo Grenier uses the relationship between blacks and Latinos in Cuban-American dominated Miami to examine the nature of competition in a city largely controlled by a single ethnic group. And Matthew McKeever takes the 1997 mayoral race in Houston as an example of the importance of inter-ethnic relations in forging a successful political consensus. Other contributors compare the response of cities with different institutional set-ups; some cities have turned to the private sector to help incorporate the new arrivals, while others rely on traditional political channels. *Governing Cities* crosses geographic and disciplinary borders to provide an illuminating review of the complex political negotiations taking place between new immigrants and previous residents as cities adjust to the newest ethnic succession. A solution-oriented book, the authors use concrete case studies to help formulate suggestions and strategies, and to highlight the importance of reframing urban issues away from the zero-sum battles of the past.

Kaplowitz, Craig A. 2005. *LULAC, Mexican Americans, and National Policy*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Through the dedicated intervention of LULAC and other Mexican American activist groups, the understanding of civil rights in America was vastly expanded in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Mexican Americans gained federal remedies for discrimination based not simply on racial but also on cultural and linguistic disadvantages. Generally considered one of the more conservative ethnic political organizations, LULAC had traditionally espoused nonconfrontational tactics and had insisted on the identification of Mexican Americans as "white." But by 1966, the changing civil rights environment, new federal policies that protected minority groups, and rising militancy among Mexican American youth led LULAC to seek federal protections for Mexican Americans as a distinct minority. In that year, LULAC joined other Mexican American groups in staging a walkout during meetings with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Albuquerque. In this book, Craig A. Kaplowitz draws on primary sources, at both national and local levels, to understand the federal policy arena in which the identity issues and power politics of LULAC were played out. At the national level, he focuses on presidential policies and politics, since civil rights has been preeminently a presidential issue. He also examines the internal tensions between LULAC members' ethnic allegiances and their identity as American citizens, which led to LULAC's attempt to be identified as white while, paradoxically, claiming policy benefits from the fact that Mexican Americans were treated as if they were non-white. This compelling study offers an important bridge between the history of social movements and the history of policy development. It also provides new insight into an important group on America's multicultural stage.

Leighley, Jan E. 2001. *Strength in Numbers: The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

America's increasing racial and ethnic diversity is viewed by some as an opportunity to challenge and so reinforce the country's social fabric; by others, as a portent of alarming disunity. While everyone agrees that this diversity is markedly influencing political dynamics not only nationally but often on the state and local levels, we know little about how racial and ethnic groups organize and participate in politics or how political elites try to mobilize them. By integrating class-based factors with racial and ethnic factors, Jan Leighley shows what motivates African-Americans, Latinos, and Anglos to mobilize and participate in politics. Drawing on national survey data and on interviews with party and elected officials in Texas, she develops a nuanced understanding of how class, race, and ethnicity act as individual and contextual influences on elite mobilization and mass participation. Leighley examines whether the diverse theoretical approaches generally used to explain individual participation in politics are supported for the groups under consideration. She concludes that the political and social context influences racial and ethnic minorities' decisions to participate, but that different features of those environments are important for different groups.

Lublin, David. 1999. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Using data on all representatives elected to Congress between 1972 and 1994, Lublin examines the link between the racial composition of a congressional district and its representative's race as well as ideology. The author confirms the view that specially drawn districts must exist to ensure the election of African Americans and Latinos. He also shows, however, that a relatively small number of minorities in a district can lead to the election of a representative attentive to their interests. When African Americans and Latinos make up 40 percent of a district, according to Lublin's findings, they have a strong liberalizing influence on representatives of both parties; when they make up 55 percent, the district is almost certain to elect a minority representative. Lublin notes that particularly in the South, the practice of concentrating minority populations into a small number of districts decreases the liberal influence in the remaining areas. Thus, a handful of minority representatives, almost invariably Democrats, win elections, but so do a greater number of conservative Republicans. The author proposes that establishing a balance between majority-minority districts and districts where the minority population would be slightly more dispersed, making up 40 percent of a total district, would allow more African Americans to exercise more influence over their representatives.

Nelson, Albert J. 1991. *Emerging Influentials in State Legislatures: Women, Blacks, and Hispanics*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

This study is the first to provide a detailed analysis of the extent to which representation of women, blacks, and Hispanics in state legislatures translates into actual political power. It also shows how factors such as party affiliation, opportunity and incentives, region, religion, employment,

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and cultural differences affect the political fortunes of each of these groups. Based on systematic comparisons of recent elections and legislative records, Nelson's work contributes significant new information on the operation of the democratic process.

Pardo, Mary. 1998. *Mexican American Women Activists*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Mexican American Women Activists tells the stories of Mexican American women from two Los Angeles neighborhoods and how they transformed the everyday problems they confronted into political concerns. By placing these women's experiences at the center of her discussion of grassroots political activism, Mary Pardo illuminates the gender, race, and class character of community networking. She shows how citizens help to shape their local environment by creating resources for churches, schools, and community services and generates new questions and answers about collective action and the transformation of social networks into political networks. By focusing on women in two contiguous but very different communities – the working-class, inner-city neighborhood of Boyle Heights in Eastside Los Angeles and the racially mixed middle-class suburb of Monterey Park – Pardo is able to bring class as well as gender and ethnic concerns to bear on her analysis in ways that shed light on the complexity of mobilizing for urban change. Unlike many studies, the stories told here focus on women's strengths rather than on their problems. We follow the process by which these women empowered themselves by using their own definitions of social justice and their own convictions about the importance of traditional roles. Rather than becoming political participants in spite of their family responsibilities, women in both neighborhoods seem to have been more powerful because they had responsibilities, social networks, and daily routines separate from the men in their communities.

Polinard, J. L., Robert D. Wrinkle, Tomas Longoria, and Norman E. Binder. 1994. *Electoral Structure and Urban Policy: The Impact on Mexican American Communities*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

This book examines how electoral structure, representation styles, and policy outputs affect the urban Mexican American community in Texas. In so doing, it makes a major contribution to the larger study of minority politics in the context of urban electoral and political structures. The work combines two rich research traditions: case study analysis and aggregate data analysis. The case studies include ten Mexican American communities with a population of at least 18 percent. Aggregate data come from a variety of sources, including surveys of city clerks and of mayors and council members in more than 100 cities as well as from EEO reports, city records, and litigation files.

Prindeville, Diane-Michelle. 2003. *On the Streets and in the State House: American Indian and Hispanic Women and Environmental Policymaking in New Mexico*. New York: Routledge.

This study explores the politics of American Indian and Hispanic women leaders in New Mexico's environmental policymaking arena. Using non-random purposive sampling, 50 women were selected for participation who were political activists in grassroots organization or public officials, elected or appointed to local, state or tribal government. Personal interviews were employed to

gather data on their political socialization, their leadership trajectories, their motives for engagement in public life, their political ideology, their racial-ethnic- and gender identity and their policy agendas and strategies for influencing public policymaking.

Rack, Christine. 2006. *Latino-Anglo Bargaining: Culture, Structure and Choice in Court Mediation*. New York: Routledge.

This book shows the mechanisms by which cultural differences reinforce structural privilege and disadvantage in the informal process of mediated negotiation. Are all people equally likely to pursue their own material self-interest in the negotiation process used in small claims mediation? Did Latinos and Anglos bargain more generously with members of their own group? The central questions, derived from theories of ethnic and gender differences, concerned how, and to what degree; culture, structure, and individual choice operated to alter the goals, bargaining process and outcomes, expressed motivations and outcome evaluations for outsider groups. This book demonstrates how there are real cultural differences in the way that Latinos and Anglos pursue monetary justice that defy dominant assumptions that all culture groups are equally likely to maximize their own outcomes at the expense of others.

Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick. 2005. *Democracy in Immigrant America: Changing Demographics and Political Participation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Democracy in Immigrant America provides a comprehensive analysis of democratic participation among first- and second-generation immigrants in the United States, addressing the questions that are integral to understanding the present-day realities of immigrant politics: How are immigrants changing the racial and ethnic makeup of the American electorate? How do their numbers compare to those in the early 20th century? Do traditional models of political behavior explain the voting participation of immigrants, and should new factors related to immigrant adaptation be considered? By addressing these questions, *Democracy in Immigrant America* points the way forward for a new research agenda in immigrant politics.

Rosales, Rodolfo. 2000. *The Illusion of Inclusion: The Untold Political Story of San Antonio*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

To many observers, the 1981 election of Henry Cisneros as mayor of San Antonio, Texas, represented the culminating victory in the Chicano community's decades-long struggle for inclusion in the city's political life. Yet, nearly twenty years later, inclusion is still largely an illusion for many working-class and poor Chicanas and Chicanos, since business interests continue to set the city's political and economic priorities. In this book, Rodolfo Rosales offers the first in-depth history of the Chicano community's struggle for inclusion in the political life of San Antonio during the years 1951 to 1991, drawn from interviews with key participants as well as archival research. He focuses on the political and organizational activities of the Chicano middle class in the context of post-World War II municipal reform and how it led ultimately to independent political representation for the Chicano community. Of special interest is his extended discussion of the role of Chicana middle-class women as they gained greater political visibility in the 1980s.

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Segura, Gary M., and Shaun Bowler, eds. 2006. *Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

As the racial and ethnic minority population of the United States grows past 30 percent, candidates cannot afford to ignore the minority vote. The studies collected in *Diversity in Democracy* show that political scientists, too, must fully recognize the significance of minority-representation studies for our understanding of the electoral process in general. If anything has limited such inquiry in the past, it has been the tendency for researchers to address only a single group or problem, yielding little that can be applied to other contexts. *Diversity in Democracy* avoids this limitation by examining several aspects of representation, including both Latino and African American perspectives, and a wide range of topics, ranging from the dynamics of partisanship to various groups' perceptions of the political system. The result is a work that pulls together decades of disparate work into a broad and cohesive overview of minority representation. The most significant conclusion to emerge from this multifaceted examination is the overwhelming importance of context. There is no single strategic key, but taken together, these studies begin to map the strategies, institutions, and contexts that enhance or limit minority representation. In navigating the complexities of minority politics, moreover, the book reveals much about American representative democracy that pertains to all of us.

Schultze, George E. 2007. *Strangers in a Foreign Land: The Organizing of Catholic Latinos in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

The Roman Catholic Church and the U.S. labor movement are missing an opportunity to work together to promote the well-being of Latino immigrants, the majority of whom are Catholic. The relationship between the Church and labor has stagnated because the U.S. labor movement (not unlike the Democrat Party) is taking political and social positions on abortion, same sex marriage, and school vouchers that are inimical to Catholic thinking despite the fact that the Church and Latinos immigrants are culturally conservative. *Strangers in a Foreign Land: The Organizing of Catholic Latinos in the U.S.* argues that labor groups would enjoy a better relationship with a natural institutional ally by taking no position on these culture war positions. Author George Schultze also takes the position that the Catholic Church should be taking steps to promote worker-owned cooperatives in the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation tradition, which recognizes the beneficial role of free market economies.

Soltero, Carlos R. 2006. *Latinos and American Law: Landmark Supreme Court Cases*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

To achieve justice and equal protection under the law, Latinos have turned to the U.S. court system to assert and defend their rights. Some of these cases have reached the United States Supreme Court, whose rulings over more than a century have both expanded and restricted the legal rights of Latinos, creating a complex terrain of power relations between the U.S. government and the country's now-largest ethnic minority. To map this legal landscape, *Latinos and American Law* examines fourteen landmark Supreme Court cases that have significantly affected Latino rights, from *Botiller v. Dominguez* in 1889 to *Alexander v. Sandoval* in 2001. Carlos Soltero organizes his study chronologically, looking at one or more decisions handed down by the Fuller Court (1888-1910), the Taft Court (1921-1930), the Warren Court (1953-1969), the Burger Court

(1969-1986), and the Rehnquist Court (1986-2005). For each case, he opens with historical and legal background on the issues involved and then thoroughly discusses the opinion(s) rendered by the justices. He also offers an analysis of each decision's significance, as well as subsequent developments that have affected its impact. Through these case studies, Soltero demonstrates that in dealing with Latinos over issues such as education, the administration of criminal justice, voting rights, employment, and immigration, the Supreme Court has more often mirrored, rather than led, the attitudes and politics of the larger U.S. society.

Stevens-Arroyo, Anthony, and Ana Maria Diaz-Stevens. 1997. *Recognizing the Latino Resurgence in U.S. Religion*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Emmaus is the biblical episode that recounts how the disciples, who had been unable to recognize the resurrected Jesus even as he traveled with them, finally come to know him as their Lord through his inspirational conversation. In this major new work exploring Latino religion, Ana María Díaz-Stevens and Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo compare a century-old presence of Latinos and Latinas under the U.S. flag to the Emmaus account. They convincingly argue for a new paradigm that breaks with the conventional view of Latinos and Latinas as just another immigrant group waiting to be assimilated into the U.S. The authors suggest instead the concept of a colonized people who now are prepared to contribute their cultural and linguistic heritage to a multicultural and multilingual America. The first chapter provides an overview of the religious and demographic dynamics that have contributed a specifically Latino character to the practice of religion among the 25 million plus members of what will become the largest minority group in the U.S. in the twenty-first century. The next two chapters offer challenging new interpretations of tradition and colonialism, blending theory with multiple examples from historical and anthropological studies on Latinos and Latinas. The heart of the book is dedicated to exploring what the authors call the Latino Religious Resurgence, which took place between 1967 and 1982. Comparing this period to the Great Awakenings of Colonial America and the *Risorgimento* of nineteenth-century Italy, the authors describe a unique combination of social and political forces that stirred Latinos and Latinas nationally. Utilizing social science theories of social movement, symbolic capital, generational change, a new *mentalité*, and structuration, the authors explain why Latinos and Latinas, who had been in the U.S. all along, have only recently come to be recognized as major contributors to American religion. The final chapter paints an optimistic role for religion, casting it as a binding force in urban life and an important conduit for injecting moral values into the public realm. Offering an extensive bibliography of major works on Latino religion and contemporary social science theory, *Recognizing the Latino Resurgence in U.S. Religion* makes an important new contribution to the fields of sociology, religious studies, American history, and ethnic and Latino studies.

Latino Elites, Representation, and Institutions - Articles

Bratton, Kathleen A. 2006. "The Behavior and Success of Latino Legislators: Evidence From the States." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1136-57.

Objectives: Research on the link between descriptive and substantive representation has focused almost exclusively on women and African Americans. In the last two decades, Latino representation in state legislatures has more than doubled, yet scholars have only begun to examine the policy interests and legislative success of these legislators. The objectives of this study are to test a descriptive representation model, in which the ethnicity of the legislator influences legislative behavior even after accounting for the ethnic composition of the district, and to examine ethnic differences in legislative success. **Methods:** Multivariate regression analyses are used to examine the effect of legislator ethnicity and district composition on bill sponsorship, committee service, and bill passage in seven U.S. legislatures. **Results:** I find that both constituency composition and the ethnicity of the legislator influence legislative behavior. The success of measures sponsored by Latino legislators varies substantially across states. **Conclusions:** I conclude that both the ethnicity of the legislator and the composition of the district influence legislative behavior and success. There is clear support for a descriptive representation model of agenda setting, particularly on issues involving immigration. However, this link between descriptive and substantive varies substantially by political context.

Cruz Takash, Paula. 1993. "Breaking the Barriers to Representation: Chicana/Latina Elected Officials in California." *Urban Anthropology* 22(3-4): 325-360.

Latina political participation in the United States includes not only non-electoral community-based mobilization but grassroots electoral activism as well. Despite barriers of race, class, gender and culture, Latinas are penetrating formal political office, often after long careers as community advocates. In this article, the political trajectories and experiences of Latina elected officials in California are examined with particular focus on their positions regarding gender and campaigns for a more participatory polity. The results of our survey of Latina representatives clearly demonstrates their support of feminist goals for equity between the sexes and between white women and women of color; less clear is their transcendence of legal and social norms defining who is entitled to participate in ballot box politics.

Garza, Jose. 2001. "History, Latinos, and Redistricting." *Texas Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy* 6: 125-135.

The gap of under-representation slowly narrowed between the 1970s and 1990. However, the gap is widening once again. The progress made by the Mexican American community in the last three decades in jeopardy of serious erosion. As jurisdiction prepare for the 2000 redistricting and as a result of *Hunt*, a critical distinctive to the drawing of minority based districts should not be the threat of possible violation of White voters' right as protected by the Supreme Court in the *Shaw* and *Vera* reverse discrimination cases. Of course only time will tell if the promise of *Hunt*

becomes a reality. In the meantime representatives of the minority community should proceed aggressively with challenges to election plans that do not fairly permit full access to the political process for the minority community, using the Constitution and the Voting Rights Act to their full measure. The minority community should, as in the words of Thomas Jefferson, “in questions of power let no longer be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution.

Gerber, Elizabeth R., Rebecca Morton, and Thomas A. Rietz. 1998. “Minority Representation in Multimember Districts.” *American Political Science Review* 92(1): 127-144.

Given the recent court rulings against racial gerrymandering, the effects of multi-member district elections on minority representation are an important issue. We present a model of voting in double-member district elections with two majority candidates and one minority candidate and consider the voting equilibrium under straight and cumulative voting. In straight voting, while equilibrium always exists in which the two majority candidates are expected to win the two seats, minority candidates may be elected. In cumulative voting, minority candidates wins are also possible in equilibrium but are less likely when minority voters prefer one majority candidate over another. We then present experimental evidence showing that minority candidates win significantly more seats in cumulative than in straight voting elections. When minority voters perceive a substantial difference between the majority candidates, however, they are more likely to split their votes between the minority and majority candidates, winning fewer seats.

Gryski, Gerard S., Gary Zuk, and Deborah J. Barrow. 1994. “A Bench That Looks Like America? Representation of African Americans and Latinos on the Federal Courts.” *Journal of Politics* 56(4): 1076-86.

We explore whether political and socioeconomic determinants identified in research on state and local representation help to explain the political incorporation of African Americans and Latinos to appointive positions in national politics, namely, federal judgeships. We find somewhat different results for the two minority groups. Whereas the recruitment of African Americans is attributed primarily to political and demographic factors, Latino representation is most strongly influenced by socioeconomic standing. Using data from the U.S. census of 1970, 1980, and 1990, and state and national political directories, socioeconomic and political profiles are constructed for 90 of the 94 U.S. judicial districts from which federal judges are selected (the four territorial districts are excluded). The watershed of bench diversification was the Carter years; Latino representation continued to increase moderately during the ensuing Republican administrations while African-American representation declined. Although diversification in general had increased, this has occurred primarily on the district bench rather than the more prestigious courts of appeals.

Hajnal, Zoltan L. 2001. “White Residents, Black Incumbents, and a Declining Racial Divide.” *American Political Science Review* 95(3): 603-17.

Despite the hopes of the civil rights movement, researchers have found that the election of African Americans to office has not greatly improved the well-being of the black community. This

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study focuses on the white community, however, and finds that black leadership can have a profound effect. Under black mayors there is positive change in the white vote and in the racial sentiments expressed by members of the white electorate. Although white Republicans seem largely immune to the effects of black incumbency, for Democrats and independents an experience with a black mayoralty tends to decrease racial tension, increase racial sympathy, and increase support of black leadership.

Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97(4): 529-50.

Investigating reports of marginalization from Congresswomen of color, I examine legislative practices in the 103rd and 104th Congresses to illuminate dynamics that structure hierarchies on the basis of race and gender. I advance an account of racing-gendering as a political process that silences, stereotypes, enforces invisibility, excludes, and challenges the epistemic authority of Congresswomen of color. Racing-gendering constitutes a form of interested bias operating in Congress, which has important implications for understandings of the internal operations of political institutions, the policy priorities of Congresswomen of color, the substantive representation of historically underrepresented groups, and the practice of democracy in the United States.

Hero, Rodney E., and Caroline J. Tolbert. 1995. "Latinos and Substantive Representation in the U.S. House of Representatives: Direct, Indirect, or Nonexistent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 39(3): 640-52.

This article poses and examines theories concerning substantive representation of Latinos in the U.S. House of Representatives. With increasing numbers of Latinos in the United States and in the U.S. House during the 1980s, an increase in direct (dyadic) substantive representation of Latinos might be anticipated. Regression analysis is used to analyze scores of congressional voting patterns from Southwest Voter Research Institute (SWVRI) relative to (a) the ethnic background of representatives, and (b) the percent of Latino constituents in House districts. As with previous studies of Representatives' voting patterns in the 1970s, this study finds little direct, substantive representation of Latinos. Representatives who are of Latino origin have somewhat distinct voting patterns, and Latino constituencies have little impact on how representatives vote. But during the period studied, legislation deemed salient to Latinos was enacted, indicating that collective or partisan substantive representation does occur. The empirical and normative implications of these findings are considered.

Lopez, Mark Hugo. 2008. "The Hispanic Vote in the 2008 Election." *Pew Hispanic Center*. November 5, 2008. <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/98.pdf>

Hispanics voted for Democrats Barack Obama and Joe Biden over Republicans John McCain and Sarah Palin by a margin of more than two-to-one in the 2008 presidential election, 67% versus 31%, according to an analysis by the Pew Hispanic Center of exit polls from Edison Media

Research as published by CNN. The Center's analysis also finds that 9% of the electorate was Latino, up from 8% in 2004. This report contains an analysis of exit poll results for the Latino vote in 9 states and for the U.S.

Kerr, Brinck, and Will Miller. 1997. "Latino Representation, It's Direct and Indirect." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 1066-71.

Based on an examination of Southwest Voter Research Institute (WSVRI) scores from the 100th Congress (1987-88), Hero and Tolbert (1995) conclude that the roll call voting behavior of Hispanic House members is not distinctive from that of non-Hispanic House members and that direct substantive representation of Latinos does occur. Unlike Hero and Tolbert, we find that Hispanic House members do behave distinctively on roll call votes and that direct substantive representation of Latinos occurs on SWVRI votes taken in the 100th United States House. We argue that the incorrect conclusion reached by Hero and Tolbert result from (1) erroneous interpretations given to their regression coefficients and diagnostics and (2) a faulty understanding and exposition of concepts central to their basic model.

Meier, Kenneth J., J. L. Polinard, and Robert D. Wrinkle. 2000. "Michael Giles and Mancur Olson Meet Vincent Ostrom: Jurisdiction Size and Latino Representation." *Social Sciences Quarterly* 81(1): 123-35.

Objectives: Two theories of politics predict that jurisdictional size will have different consequences for minority representation. Ostrom and colleagues suggest that representation is enhanced in smaller jurisdictions. The work of Giles and Olson, in contrast, implies that smaller jurisdictions will reduce minority representation. We expect that smaller jurisdictions will have fewer Latino representatives on school boards and on the teaching faculty, and these representatives will have less impact on Latino students. **Methods:** We combine census data with school district data for 1,039 school districts in Texas. **Results:** All other things being equal, small school districts have lower levels of Latino representation on the school board and on faculties; the representation that does exist is less effective in generating benefits for the Latino community. **Conclusions:** Jurisdiction size is an important variable for quantity and quality of representation.

Minushkin, Susan and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2008. "The Hispanic Vote in the 2008 Democratic Presidential Primaries." *Pew Hispanic Center*. June 3, 2008. <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/86.pdf>

Hispanics have emerged as a potentially pivotal constituency in the battle between Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama for the Democratic presidential nomination. This report examines the turnout, demographic characteristics, opinions and voting patterns of the Hispanic electorate in Democratic primaries and caucuses held so far in 2008. Where possible, it draws comparisons and contrasts between Latino, black and white voting patterns. It also compares

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Latino turnout in 2008 with turnout in 2004. The report is based on an analysis of Super Tuesday exit polling data about Hispanics that the Pew Hispanic Center received on a contractual basis from Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International, the firm that conducts exit poll surveys for the National Election Pool, a national consortium of media organizations. It also contains analysis of publicly available exit poll data for the Texas primary and vote tallies for the Puerto Rico primary from the State Electoral Commission of Puerto Rico.

Pantoja, Adrian D., and Gary M. Segura. 2003. "Does Ethnicity Matter? Descriptive Representation in Legislatures and Political Alienation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(2): 441-60.

Objective: This article uses a political empowerment approach to explore the effect that descriptive representation in legislatures has on levels of political alienation among Latinos. **Methods:** Using data from the 1997 Tomás Rivera Policy Institute post-election survey carried out in California and Texas, supplemented with data on the ethnicity of legislators serving each respondent, we test this political empowerment thesis. **Results:** The presence of Latino representatives in the state assembly, state senate, and/or U.S. House is associated with lower levels of political alienation among Latino constituents. The effect is modest, and we find that other factors – demographic, political, and ethnic-specific – also exert powerful influences on levels of political alienation among Latinos. **Conclusions:** Although finding modest evidence for the political empowerment thesis, descriptive representation alone is not a panacea for creating politically engaged personas among Latinos.

Polinard, J. L., Robert D. Wrinkle, and Tomas Longoria. 1990 "Education and Governance: Representational Links to Second Generation Discrimination." *Western Political Quarterly* 43(3): 631-46.

We examine the electoral and policy impact of changing from an at-large system to a districting system for school board elections in one state. We present a simple model to examine second generation discrimination among Hispanic schoolchildren. We posit form of electoral structure as the prior variable in a path analytic model. Our data suggest that single member electoral systems will increase the number of Mexican American school board members, which will increase the number of Mexican American school administrators and teachers. An increase in the number of Mexican American administrators and teachers, in turn, depresses the negative impact of second generation discrimination ratios.

Rocca, Michael and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2008. "The Effect of Race and Ethnicity on Bill Sponsorship and Co-sponsorship in Congress." *American Politics Research* 36: 130-152.

This article examines Black and Latino legislators' use of bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship in Congress. As we explain, sponsoring and cosponsoring legislation are unique in that they are among the few activities outside the roll call arena that have both position taking and policy implications. We hypothesize that given minority legislators' lack of influence in Congress, they sponsor and cosponsor fewer bills than do non-minorities. We find support for our expectation; on average, Black and Latino legislators sponsor and cosponsor significantly fewer bills in Congress than do Whites and non-Latinos, respectively. But we also find the relationship to

be contingent on which party controls Congress. Whereas Democratic Congresses encourage minorities' bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship, Republican Congresses depress it. Because the concepts of participation and representation in Congress are so intimately tied to one another, these findings have a number of implications for the study of descriptive and substantive representation.

Rocca, Michael, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Joe Uscinski. 2008. "Personal Attributes and Latino Voting in Congress." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(2):392-405.

Objective: Researchers have long examined the nature of representation, paying particular attention to the dynamics of descriptive and substantive representation in racial and ethnic communities. The objective of this article is to determine the extent to which personal attributes influence the voting behavior of Latino members of Congress. **Methods:** We test the relationship between legislator's personal attributes and Poole and Rosenthal's DW-NOMINATE scores for Latino members of the 101st-108th Congresses. **Results:** After controlling for institutional and electoral factors, results show that education, gender, nativity, and generation have significant effects on Latino legislators' voting behavior. Religion and national origin appear not to have an effect. **Conclusions:** This analysis shows that personal attributes predict Latino congressional voting even when controlling for district and institutional factors. As such, this study demonstrates that Latino legislators have in-group differences and therefore should not be considered a monolithic group.

Welch, Susan. 1990. "The Impact of At-Large Elections on the Representation of Blacks and Hispanics." *Journal of Politics* 52(4): 1050-76.

Political scientists have long been interested in the link between election structures and the representation of interest. Here we examine one such link, that between local election structures and minority representation. Research of the middle and late 1970s revealed that at-large city council election procedures resulted in a dramatic under-representation of blacks and some under-representation of Hispanics. Now a revisionist position claims that at-large elections no longer have this detrimental effect on minority representation, if needed they ever did. In this paper we examine this controversial link by assessing the impact of at-large and district elections on the representation of blacks and Hispanics using varied methodologies and 1988 data. We find that although at-large elections represent blacks much better than a decade ago, there is still a small gap between the representations afforded by at-large and district systems. On the other hand, the impact of local election structures on Hispanic representation is less clear-cut and seems to vary from region to region.

Wright Austin, Sharon D., and Richard T. Middleton IV. 2004. "The Limitations of the Deracialization Concept in the 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election." *Political Research Quarterly* 57: 283-93.

In June 2001, Mexican American candidate Antonio Villaraigosa and white candidate James Hahn competed in the Los Angeles mayoral runoff election. Both were liberal Democrats seeking office in a political climate characterized by nonpartisan mayoral elections, a majority Latino

population, and a long history of successful deracialized campaigns and biracial coalition politics. From 1973 to 1993, former Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley utilized deracialized campaigns to develop a coalition of liberal white, African American, Latino, and Jewish voters. In June 2001, however, the coalitions supporting white candidate Hahn and Latino candidate Villaraigosa differed from the Bradley coalition. Whereas African Americans, moderate whites, and conservative whites preferred Hahn, the majority of Latinos and liberal Democrats voted for Villaraigosa. A Villaraigosa victory would have symbolized the evolving political power of Latinos both locally and nationally. In addition, Villaraigosa's mayoralty would have resulted in an electoral and governing coalition dominated by white liberals and Latinos in Los Angeles. Although he won the plurality of votes in the primary, Villaraigosa lost the runoff after the Hahn campaign used racially-offensive ads to attack his integrity and character. We attempt to provide explanations for the loss of a Latino candidate to a white candidate who "played the race card" and the possible implications for the theory of deracialization. First, we examine the question, Why was Antonio Villaraigosa's deracialized campaign unsuccessful? The concept of deracialization was developed to describe one useful method for developing citywide biracial and multiracial electoral coalitions. Candidates "deracialize" their campaigns by de-emphasizing racially-divisive issues in an attempt to garner crossover support from voters of other races while also receiving the lion's share of support from voters of the candidate's racial group. We hypothesize that Villaraigosa lost the runoff because he received a small percentage (less than 20 percent) of the black vote and failed to mobilize a turnout of 50 percent or more of the Latino voting-age population. We conclude with a discussion of the possible implications of Villaraigosa's loss about the future usefulness of deracialized mayoral campaigns in racially-mixed cities.